facing Title Vol 4th.



K. EDWARD . I.

Vertue Sc.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, AS WELL Eccleſiaſtical as Civil.

BY

M^r DE RAPIN THOYRAS.

VOL. IV.

CONTAINING

I. The HISTORY of the Reigns of EDWARD I. EDWARD II, EDWARD III, and RICHARD II.

II. A Diſſertation on the SALICK-LAW, and a true State of the *Controverſy* between EDWARD III, and PHILIP DE VALOIS King of *France*.

III. The STATE of the CHURCH from the Year 1272 to 1399.

Done into *ENGLISH* from the *FRENCH*, with large and uſeful NOTES mark'd with an ^x, by N. TINDAL *A. M. Vicar of* Great-Waltham *in* Eſſex.

Illuſtrated with Maps, Genealogical Tables, *and the Heads of the* KINGS, *and of* EDWARD *the* Black Prince, *curiouſly engrav'd on Copper-Plates, by Mr.* Vertue.

LONDON: *Printed for* J. [illegible] *and* J. KNAPTON, *at the* Crown *in St. Paul's Church-yard* 1728.

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To the HONOURABLE

Sir *Charles Wager*, Kt.

One of the *Lords Commiſſioners* for executing the Office of Lord *High-Admiral* of *Great-Britain*, *Vice-Admiral* of the *Red Squadron* of his MAJESTY's Fleet, and *Commander in Chief* of his MAJESTY's Ships now at *Gibraltar*.

This TRANSLATION *is humbly dedicated by*

His moſt Obedient,

and moſt obliged

humble Servant,

NICOLAS TINDAL.

From on Board the *Torbay* in *Gibraltar-Bay*, *Sept.* 4. 1727.

THE HISTORY of *ENGLAND.*

BOOK IX.

The Reigns of EDWARD I. *and* EDWARD II. *containing the Space of Thirty-five Years.*

SECT. I.

9. EDWARD I. (a) *Sirnamed* LONG-SHANKS.

THE Death of *Henry* III, falling out during the Abſence of *Edward* his Son who was to ſucceed him, ſeemed to offer the Malecontents a favourable Opportunity to ſtir up freſh Commotions. However it was not attended with any ill Conſequence. *Leiceſter*'s Party was ſo humbled, that they were no longer in a EDWARD I. 1272.

(a) This was in reality the fourth King of this Name, there having been three *Edwards* in the time of the *Saxons*. For this Reaſon, in ſpeaking of this and the two following *Edwards*, by the Name of *Edward* I, II, III, it was uſual to add *Poſt Conqueſtum, after the Conqueſt*, but by degrees that Addition was omitted.

1272. Condition to lift up their Heads. And altho' ſome reſtleſs Perſons ſhou'd have laid hold of this Juncture to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom, the good Opinion the Nation had entertained of *Edward* would have rendered their Projects impracticable. This Prince had ſhined with great Luſtre, during the latter Part of his Father's Reign. The Victory of *Eveſham*, the ſubduing the Rebels of *Ely*, and his Clemency to them after he had reduced them, were ſtill freſh in the Minds of the *Engliſh*, and filled them with Eſteem and Admiration for his rare Qualities. They did not doubt but he would employ all his Talents in ſettling the Peace and Tranquillity of the Kingdom, which had received ſuch violent Shocks in the two foregoing Reigns. So that far from being inclined to favour the Malecontents, they ſhowed an extreme Impatience to ſee their new Sovereign, building on him alone all hopes of their future Happineſs. Altho' *Edward* was abſent, and they had not even heard from him, yet all the Barons with one Conſent ſwore Fealty to him. At the ſame time they wrote him a very reſpectful and ſubmiſſive Letter, inviting him to come with all ſpeed and take Poſſeſſion of the Throne of his Anceſtors. In the mean while, they aſſembled at *London*, in order to commit the Regency of the Kingdom to ſuch as ſhou'd be deem'd the moſt capable of it. Their Choice falling upon the Archbiſhop of *York*, and the Earls of *Cornwal* and *Cheſter*, the Parliament which met quickly after, confirmed all the Meaſures that had been taken to preſerve the Peace of the Kingdom.

The Barons ſwore Fealty to Edward *tho' abſent.*

This Parliament was compos'd not only of the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, but alſo of the *Knights* of the *Shires*, and *Repreſentatives* of the principal Boroughs and Cities. The ſame thing had been practis'd under the Government of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, during the late King's Captivity. But theſe Aſſemblies had not been conven'd by a lawful Authority. I ſhall not ſtay to examine whether before the Time I am now ſpeaking of, the *Commons* had a Right to ſend *Repreſentatives* to Parliament. This is a Point full of Difficulties, and which has not yet been thoroughly clear'd up. I ſhall content my ſelf with

with saying, it can't be denyed that they enjoy'd this Privilege in the Reign of *Edward* I, and from thence forward have continued to do so without Interruption to this Day. 1272.

Edward pursuing his Voyage without knowing what was doing in *England*, safely arriv'd in *Sicily*; where *Charles of Anjou* receiv'd him with all the Respect due to his Rank and Merit. At *Messina* it was that he heard of the Death of the King his Father, at which he appear'd much more concern'd than at the Death of *John* his eldest Son, the News whereof was brought him at the same Time. From *Sicily* he set out for *Rome*, where he stay'd some Days, to visit the new Pope, who was his particular Friend, and had attended him to *Palestin*, in quality of *Legate*. After this he took the Road to *France*, and pass'd through *Burgundy*. As he had the Reputation of being a Prince of great Valour and Bravery, the Earl of *Chalon*, who valued himself upon the same Qualities, desir'd his Presence at a *Tournament* which was to be made in the Country, and even sent him a sort of a Challenge. Though a King of *England* might honourably decline measuring Swords with an Earl of *Chalon*, *Edward* accepted his Challenge without a Moments hesitation. He was apprehensive no doubt, of injuring his Reputation, in Case he refus'd it. Neither cou'd the Pope's Letter, which *His Holiness* sent him to divert him from his Purpose, prevail with him. Some Historians pretend that the *Burgundians* did not use all the fair Play requisite on such Occasions. They tell us that the *Tournament* was turned into a real Fight, wherein the *English* got the Better, and which was call'd, *The little Battle of Chalon*.

Edward *arrives in* Sicily.

1273. *He is present at a* Tournament *at* Chalon.

As *Edward* was crossing *France*, he thought he cou'd not dispense with taking a turn to *Paris*, to pay a Visit to King *Philip* who gave him a very honourable and civil Reception, and receiv'd from him Homage for *Guienne*. After which, *Edward* came to *Bourdeaux*, where the Vassals of that Dutchy did him Homage. Some say, that *Gascon de Moncade*, Viscount of *Bearn*, wou'd have avoided doing Homage, and that he was taken into Custody

He visits the King of France, *and from thence goes to* Guienne. Mezeray.

1273. dy at *Bourdeaux*, where he was come to meet the King. But altho' it be true, that the Viscount promis'd not to leave the Court of *Edward* without his Consent, it is certain however that his Difference with the King related not to the Homage of *Bearn*. *The Collection of Publick Acts* evidently makes appear that the Dispute was about quite another Affair. The Matter was decided at *Limoges* by *Accursus* a famous *Civilian* then in the Service of the King.

Act Pub. II. *p.* 132.

1274. *He arrives in* England, *and is crown'd.*

As soon as *Edward* had settled his Affairs in *Guienne*, he came into *England* where he was received with all possible Demonstrations of Affection and Respect, as having acquir'd fresh Merit by his late Expedition to *Palestin*. A few Days after his Arrival he was crown'd together with *Eleanor* his Queen, in the Presence of *Alexander* III King of *Scotland*, the Duke of *Bretaign* and all the Peers of the Realm. Historians tell us, that on occasion of this Solemnity, five Hundred Horses were let loose about the Field, which were liberally given to such as cou'd catch them.

He sends Commissioners into the several Counties.

The new King's first Care, after his Coronation, was to make strict Inquiry into the Affairs of the Kingdom. To that Purpose, he appointed *Commissioners* to go through the several *Counties* and take exact Information concerning the *Fiefs* held of the Crown, and the State they were in. They were likewise order'd to examine into and punish the Misdemeanours of the Magistrates, who for some Time had but too much abus'd their Authority in oppressing the Subjects. This first Step produc'd a wonderful Effect among the People. It was plain from thence, that the King intended to govern in a very different Manner from his Father and Grandfather, and every one expected with Assurance the happy Fruits of the Maxims he was following to preserve himself a Reign of Peace and Tranquillity. It was absolutely necessary for *Edward* to make himself esteem'd and fear'd by his Subjects, that no Domestick Troubles might obstruct the grand Designs he had in his Head. The First, and that which chiefly possess'd his Thoughts, was the chastising *Lewellyn* Prince

He designs to chastise the Prince of Wales.

Prince of *Wales*. This Prince had plainly enough discovered, during the late Troubles in *England*, how dangerous a Neighbour he was, since he had been ever ready to countenance the *Engliſh* Malecontents. Had it not been for him, the Earl of *Leiceſter* wou'd never have riſen to that Height of Power; neither would the Earl of *Gloceſter* have become ſo formidable, without *Lewellyn*'s Aſſiſtance. The Conduct of this Prince on theſe and ſeveral other Occaſions, had caus'd *Edward* to reſolve to diſable his Enemy from doing any more Miſchief. But the preſent Circumſtances of the Times, and his Voyage to the *Holy Land*, had conſtrain'd him to defer the putting his Project in Execution. *Lewellyn* was not ignorant of it. He conſider'd *Edward* as his greateſt Foe. But the Precautions he took to ſcreen himſelf from his Reſentment, had a quite contrary Effect, ſeeing they furniſh'd the King with a Pretence to attack him. 1274.

I have obſerv'd before, that old *Lewellyn*, Grandfather to this Prince, was become *Vaſſal* and *Tributary* to *Henry* III; and that his Succeſſor did Homage to him for all *Wales*. Although from that Time the *Welſh* had made ſome Struggles to throw off their Yoke, even to the offering to give themſelves up to the Pope, they had never been able to ſucceed. In ſpite of the Troubles in *England* during the late Reign, the Crown continued to reckon among her *Vaſſals* the Prince of *Wales*. Immediately after the Death of *Henry* III, and before the Return of *Richard*, *Lewellyn* was ſummon'd to appear and do Homage to the abſent King, but he made no manner of Account of the Summons. His Refuſal was the Reaſon that the new King preſently after his Arrival, order'd him to be ſummon'd a ſecond Time, to come and do him Homage, and to aſſiſt at his Coronation as *Vaſſal*. *Lewellyn* alledg'd Reaſons to be excus'd. He pretended that the *Engliſh* had not kept the late Treaty of Peace, and that they had committed on his Frontiers ſeveral Outrages, for which he demanded Satisfaction. To take from him this Pretence, the King nominated *Commiſſioners* who had Orders to adjuſt all Things, and at the ſame Time, he ſummon'd him 1275. *The Reaſon of the War with* Wales. Pub. Act. II. 26.

again

1275. again to appear and do him Homage. This third Summons was no more regarded than the former ones. In the mean while, *Lewellyn*, having been inform'd that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was going to *excommunicate* him and put his Territories under an *Interdict*, wrote to the Pope, to try to divert this Blow. The Means he made uſe of to bring the Court of *Rome* into his Intereſts, were ſo effectual, that the Pope forbad the Archbiſhop to act againſt him, as long as he offer'd to do Homage in his own Country. *Edward* not being to be put off thus, ſent him a peremptory Summons, which the *Welſh* Prince did not think fit to diſobey. He wou'd however ſtill inſiſt upon the Place, pretending that he was oblig'd to do Homage only to the King in Perſon, and that on the Borders of the two Kingdoms. *Edward* readily conſented to this. But a ſudden Illneſs, which ſeiz'd him as he was ſetting out from *Shrewsbury*, caus'd the Homage to be deferr'd to another Time. Afterwards *Lewellyn* repented of the Advances he had made. And from thence forward nothing cou'd prevail upon him to truſt himſelf in the Hands of a Monarch whom he look'd upon as his ſworn Enemy. After ſeveral fruitleſs Summons, the King found at length that a more effectual Method muſt be taken. However as he was willing to ſettle the Affairs of the Kingdom, before a War was enter'd into with his Neighbours, he was contented with citing *Lewellyn* before the Parliament, which was to meet tht beginning of the next Year. The *Welſh* Prince appear'd not. He alledg'd in his Vindication, that the King having ſhown on ſeveral Occaſions an extreme Animoſity againſt him, he cou'd not truſt his Perſon with his declar'd Enemy. Nevertheleſs, he poteſted, that he was ready to do him Homage in his own Country, if the King would ſend Commiſſioners thither to receive it, or elſe in ſome third Place, where he might be without Danger. He offer'd moreover to come into the King's Territories, provided he would let him have in Hoſtage the Prince his eldeſt Son, with the Earl of *Gloceſter*, and the High Chancellor. So arrogant an Anſwer ſerv'd only to confirm *Edward* in the

Act. Pub. II. 68.

the Reſolution he had taken. He diſſembled the Matter however, that he might not interrupt the Seſſions of the Parliament, which was employ'd in Affairs of great Importance; namely, in enacting excellent Laws, for the ſecuring the Peace and Liberties of the People, as well as the Immunities of the *Church*, and Privileges of the *Clergy*. They were called, *The Statutes of Weſtminſter*. 1275. *Statutes of* Weſtminſter.

As ſoon as the Parliament broke up, the King ſeriouſly applied his Thoughts to the War, which he had reſolv'd to carry into *Wales*, in order to puniſh the Diſobedience of *Lewellyn*. Whilſt he was making Preparations, it happen'd that ſome *Briſtol*-Men took a Veſſel, on Board of which was one of the Daughters of the late Earl of *Leiceſter*, who was going to *Lewellyn*, to whom ſhe had been contracted. The Prince demanded his Wife, and the King having refus'd to ſend her to him, he perceiv'd he had nothing to expect but a War. And indeed as ſoon as *Edward* had taken all his Meaſures, he conven'd the Peers of the Realm, who paſs'd a Judgment againſt *Lewellyn*, declaring him guilty of *Felony*; upon which the War was proclaim'd. *Lewellyn* was ſorry then that he had puſh'd Matters ſo far. To divert the impending Storm he humbly ſued for Peace, and at the ſame Time, intreated the King to let him have his Wife. Both his Requeſts were denied, unleſs he would bind himſelf to make Satisfaction for all the Damages he had done to the Borders of *England* during the late Wars; a Condition which he wou'd not agree to. The War therefore was begun; but was not carried on very warmly the firſt Campaign. 1276. Edward *attacks the Prince of* Wales.

In the Beginning of the next Spring, *Edward* having drawn together a great Number of Forces, put himſelf at the Head of his Army and march'd into the Enemies Country. He caus'd there a very large Way to be cut through a vaſt Foreſt, opening by that Means a Paſſage to the very Center of *Wales*. Before he made any further Advances, he built the Caſtles of *Flint* and *Rutland*, which ſecur'd him an Entrance at all Times, and a Retreat in Caſe of Neceſſity. As the *Welſh* were not able 1277. Edward *preſſes* Lewellyn,

to

1277. to face him, he advanc'd further, and drove them to the Mountain of *Snowdon*, which was their usual Sanctuary when pursued by the *English*. At the same Time his Fleet attack'd the little Isle of *Angleſey*, which made but a slight Resistance.

Who submits to hard Terms.

Lewellyn finding it was not in his Power to oppose so formidable an Enemy, saw himself oblig'd humbly to sue for Peace, which was not granted but on very hard Terms. He was constrain'd to bind himself to pay Fifty Thousand Pounds *Sterling*, for the Expences of the War. Moreover *Edward* having restor'd to him the Isle of *Angleſey*, it was agreed, that for the future, he shou'd hold it of the Crown of *England*, under the yearly Payment of a thousand Marks. He promis'd likewise to give entire Satisfaction to *David* his Brother, who had fled for Refuge to the King, and deliver'd Hostages for the Performance of his Word. The Haughtiness of the Prince of *Wales* being pretty well tam'd by so mortifying a Treaty, *Edward* was contented for this Time with the Honour of the Victory. He generously restor'd the Hostages, and forgave him the Sums he was bound to pay. However, he caus'd a Grant of the Isle of *Angleſey* to be made to him, which nevertheless he was not to enjoy, but in Case *Lewellyn* died without Heirs. After this, he deliver'd him up the Lady he was contracted to, and did him the Honour to assist at his Nuptials. He created also *David*, Brother to *Lewellyn*, Earl of *Denbigh*, and to attach him to the Interests of *England*, he gave him to Wife a rich *English* Heiress.

1278. Act. Pub. II. 91. Edward *restores the Hostages.* ibid. p. 95.

1279. *The Earldom of* Ponthieu *falls to him.*

The happy Issue of the War with *Wales* was immediately follow'd by the Acquisition *Edward* made in *France*, of the Earldom of *Ponthieu* and *Montrevil*, fallen to the Queen his Wife, by the Death of the Queen of *Castile* her Mother, who was in Possession of it. But to obtain of the King of *France* the Investiture of that *Fief*, he was oblig'd to confirm the Treaty which the King his Father had made whilst he was detain'd in Captivity by the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and to renounce, as he had done, all Claim to *Anjou* and *Normandy*. He reserv'd however the yearly

yearly Rent of Thirty Pounds out of the Revenues of *Normandy*, apparently as an Acknowledgement that it once belonged to his Anceſtors. 1279.

This Affair being ended, *Edward* ſeriouſly ſet about putting the Coin to rights, which had been very much altered and adulterated during the Troubles of the late Reign. Upon Information that the *Jews* were chiefly concerned in this Buſineſs, he cauſed all that were in the Kingdom to be ſeized in one Day, that the Guilty might not eſcape. Which done, after a ſtrict Examination, two Hundred and eighty of them, convicted of clipping and coining, or putting off falſe Money, received Sentence of Death, and were executed without Mercy. *The Jews puniſhed for clipping and coining.*

An Affair of another nature, but of no leſs Importance to the Publick, furniſhed the King with a freſh Opportunity to ſhow his Reſolution to reform the Abuſes which had been introduced into the Kingdom. The prodigious increaſe of the Riches of the *Clergy* and *Monaſteries*, had been for a long Time a Subject of Complaint, without any one being able hitherto to find out an effectual Method to put a ſtop to a Thing ſo prejudicial to the *State*. The Barons, who had exacted from King *John* the *Charter* ſo often mentioned, had taken Care to inſert a Clauſe, expreſſly forbidding all Perſons to alienate their Lands to the *Church*. But this Prohibition, as well as ſeveral others, had not been well obſerved. The Complaints upon this Head were renewed in the Beginning of this Reign, in which every one thought he had Reaſon to hope all Grievances would be redreſſed. It was demonſtrated to the King, that in proceſs of Time, all the Lands would be in the *Clergy*'s Poſſeſſion, if People were ſuffered to go on to alienate their Eſtates to the *Church*. And indeed, the *Church* never dying, always acquiring and never alienating, it could not be but that her Riches ſhould increaſe immenſely, and in the End all the Lands of the Kingdom would be in her Hands. *Edward* having maturely conſidered this Affair, ſummoned the Parliament, and propoſed the making a Law to reform this Abuſe. The Propoſal was received with Joy, and a *Statute* was made whereby *Statute of* Mort-Main.

1279. whereby all Persons were forbid to dispose of their Estate to *Societies* which never die, without the King's expres Consent. This *Statute* was called *the Statute* of *Mort-main*, because it was intended to prevent Estates from falling into *Dead Hands*, that is, Hands of no Service to the King and the Publick, without hopes of their ever changing their Owners.

1280. *The Statute of* Quo Warranto.

The Parliament which met the next Year, being desirous to redress another Grievance, unadvisedly opened a Door to a Greater. During the Troubles of the two late Reigns, several Persons had appropriated to themselves Lands which belonged not to them. The Crown it self had been a Sufferer by this means. To remedy this Evil, and to give every one his Due, the Parliament passed an *Act* which in it self was very just. It imported that all who were in Possession of the contested Estates should be obliged to show how they came by them, and produce their Title before the Judges, in order to be examined into. This *Statute* from the *English* Word *Warrant*, was stiled *Quo Warranto*, as much as to say, an *Act* which serves for a Foundation or Security of the Possession. So that the *Quo Warranto*, is properly a Right to demand of any Person, by what *Warrant* or Title he holds the Estate in dispute.

The King makes an ill use of it.

This Regulation was just and necessary: But the King, misled by ill Advice, and a Desire of heaping up Money, made use of it, contrary to the Design of the Parliament, to oppress his Subjects. As he was sensible, that among the great Number of People who held their Lands of the Crown, it could not be but that many of them had lost their Titles, he was resolved to take Advantage of their Misfortune, under Colour of putting the Statute of *Quo Warranto* in Execution. To that End he published a Proclamation enjoining all Persons that held Lands of the Crown, to lay their Titles before the Judges of the Realm. This Proclamation was looked upon as the Source of a very great Grievance. And indeed, those that were attacked the first, and could not produce their Original Titles, though they proved a Possession of a long standing, saw themselves constrained to pay large Sums to the King,

to

to have their Eſtates continued to them. This Grievance would have gone much further, had not a Stop been put to it by the Courage of the Earl of *Warren*. The Earl having made his Appearance before the Judges, was required to ſhow the Title, by Vertue whereof he held his Lands. He made Anſwer, by drawing an old ruſty Sword out of the Scabbard, and ſaying to the Judges, *This is the Inſtrument by which my Anceſtors gained their Eſtate, and by This I will keep it as long as I live.* So bold an Anſwer ſeemed likely to involve the Earl in Trouble; but it had a quite contrary Effect. The King found by it how difficult it would be for him to pillage the *Nobility*, on ſo frivolous a Pretence, without falling into great Inconveniencies. He ſaw plainly that there were ſtill among the Barons, thoſe that were no leſs ready to run all Risks in Defence of their Rights and Properties, than they who lived in the Time of *John* and *Henry* III. Beſides he knew from thence, how unjuſt his Pretenſions appeared in the Eyes of the People, as indeed they were. Theſe Conſiderations having induced him to revoke his Proclamation, the People expreſſed their Joy at it in ſuch a manner as plainly ſhowed how much they were provoked at this Oppreſſion. On the other hand, the King's Moderation turned more to his Advantage than his Injuſtice had done to his Injury. His Subjects caſt on *the Miniſtry* the Blame of all that was Odious in his Conduct, and attributed to him the Honour of having reformed what was amiſs by his Prudence. What Glory ſoever this Prince had acquired by his Victories, his Conqueſt over himſelf upon this Occaſion gained him more Honour than all his warlike Exploits. It is infinitely leſs glorious for a Sovereign to ſubdue Provinces and Kingdoms which belong not to him, than to deſiſt voluntarily from a Pretenſion which he comes to diſcover the Unreaſonableneſs of.

1280. *Bold Reply of Earl* Warren.

Theſe domeſtick Employments were interrupted by the Revolt of *Lewellyn*. This Prince, not being able without extreme Regret to bear the Yoke of the *Engliſh*, made a freſh Attempt to ſhake it off, but it ſerved only to hurry him down the Precipice. Three Things eſpecially

1281. *War with* Wales.

1281. engaged him in this Enterprize. The first was the restless Temper of *David* his Brother. What Precaution soever *Edward* had taken to secure his Affections by heaping several Favours on him, this Prince never ceased spurring on his Brother to take up Arms, in order to free himself from the Subjection he was in. He thought himself particularly concerned in the Matter, because, as *Lewellyn* had no Children, he was his Heir apparent. The second Thing which made *Lewellyn* incline to War, was a certain *Prophecy* of the famous *Merlin*. The *Welsh* fancied they saw in this Prediction, that *Lewellyn* was destined to wear the Crown of *Brutus* the first King, as they pretended, of the whole Isle of *Albion*. This Notion had taken so deep Root in their Minds, and even in *Lewellyn*'s himself, that they built upon it, as upon a sure Foundation. The third Thing, which was the only one alledged by *Lewellyn*, was founded on certain *Grievances*, a List whereof he deliver'd to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was come to try to perswade him to Peace. If these Grievances, of which an Historian * has given us the Substance, were real, it is certain that this Prince had but too much Reason to use his Endeavours to throw off the Yoke imposed upon him. But *Edward* refused to hearken to his Complaints. This hard Usage convinced *Lewellyn*, that a vigorous Defense was the only means which could free him from a Subjection which he looked upon as a real Servitude. He took up Arms therefore in order to shake off this galling Yoke, and having surprized the Lord *Clifford*, the King's General, on the Frontiers, he slew several of his Men, and took him Prisoner. After this he penetrated further into the *English* Territories, where he committed great Ravages, and defeated the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Surrey*, who had been sent into those Parts to put a stop to the Progress of his Army.

Walsing.

Edward *marches in Person against the* Welsh.

It was a great Mortification to *Edward*, that his Troops should suffer themselves to be worsted by the *Welsh*. However, in hopes of being more fortunate himself, he drew

* They are in *Powel*'s Chronicle of *Wales*, p. 336.

drew together a numerous Army, to go once more and tame the Fierceneſs of *Lewellyn*. Whilſt his Troops were on their March towards the Borders of *Wales*, he went and paid a viſit to the Queen his Mother, who was retired to the Nunnery of *Ambresbury*. This Princeſs, prejudiced in Favour of the late King her Husband, brought before the King a Man who pretended to have received his Sight at the Tomb, and by the Interceſſion of *Henry* III. She imagined no doubt the King would be pleaſed with it. But ſhe was very much ſurprized to hear him ſay, that he was ſo well perſwaded of the Juſtice and Probity of the late King his Father, that he did not queſtion in the leaſt, but that if it had been in his Power, he would rather have deprived the Impoſtor of, than reſtored him to his Sight. 1282. *Falſe Miracle attributed to* Henry III.

Edward having made but a ſhort ſtay with the Queen his Mother, went and put himſelf at the Head of his Army. He entered *Wales* without meeting with any Oppoſition, *Lewellyn* being retired to the Mountain of *Snowdon*, where he had poſted himſelf ſo as he could not be attacked. Not at all diſheartned at this Obſtacle, *Edward* reſolved to inveſt the Enemy, by ſecuring all the Avenues, through which he might make his Eſcape. Nothing could more fully demonſtrate the great deſire he had of ſucceeding in his Undertaking, than a Project of this Nature, which none of his Predeceſſors had ever ventured to attempt. To that Purpoſe, after he had fortified all the Poſts, he cauſed a Bridge of Boats to be made over the River *Mennay*, over againſt *Bangor*, that he might paſs ſome Troops likewiſe over into the Iſle of *Angleſey*. After which, foreſeeing that the Blockade would be of long Continuance, he left the Management of it to *Roger Mortimer*, and went and waited the Iſſue of it in the Caſtle of *Rutland*, which he had ordered to be built during the late War. In the Station *Lewellyn* was in, he would doubtleſs have tired out the Patience of his Enemies, if an unexpected Accident had not induced him to deprive himſelf of that Advantage. Some of the *Engliſh* that were in *Angleſey* having paſſed the Bridge above mentioned, 1283.

1283. ed, in order to go and view the Country, were attacked by the *Welsh*, and so closely pursued, that the greatest Part were slain or drowned in endeavouring to regain the Island. This small Advantage made *Lewellyn* imagine that Heaven began to declare in his Favour, and that the Prophecy of *Merlin* was going to be accomplished. Possessed with those flattering Hopes, he descends into the Plain, in order to give the *English* Battle, not considering the Inequality of his Forces. But he quickly found how groundless his Expectations were, since in the Battle wherein he had rashly engaged, he was slain on the Spot, after he had beheld his Army entirely routed. In his Pocket were found some Letters in *Cypher*, by which it appeared that he held very good Intelligence in *England*; but *Edward* did not think fit to examine strictly into the Matter. However, to strike a Terrour into those that had held Correspondence with this Prince, he commanded his Head crowned with Ivy, to be exposed to view on the Walls of the *Tower* of *London*. From whence it might be gathered, what Subjects were to expect from the King's Severity, since a Sovereign Prince was treated in that manner.

Lewellyn *vanquish'd and slain.*

Act. Pub. II. p. 224.

His Head set upon the Tower.

Such was the End of this Prince, descended from *Rhoderick the Great*, of whom I have spoken elsewhere, and from one of the most antient Royal Families in *Europe*. With him expired the Liberty of his Nation. The *Welsh*, discouraged by the Death of their Prince, and their Defeat, and being no longer able to resist, *Edward* became with Ease Master of their whole Country, which he distributed, for the most Part, amongst his Officers and Courtiers, reserving to himself only the Sovereignty and fortified Places.

Edward *becomes Master of all* Wales.

Some time after, *David* Brother of *Lewellyn*, roving up and down the Country, had the Misfortune to be taken by the *English*, and sent to *Rutland*, where the King still remained. It was to no Purpose that he earnestly demanded the Favour of casting himself at his Feet to implore his Mercy. As he was the last of his Family, *Edward* was bent to secure his Conquest by the Death of that Prince. Pursuant to this Resolution, he ordered him to be conducted

He puts David, Lewellyn's *Brother to Death.*

ducted to *Shrewsbury*, where by the Advice of the Parliament, which had been called upon that Occaſion, he was condemned to die the Death of a Traytor. This rigorous Sentence was put in Execution with all the Circumſtances attending that infamous Puniſhment. His Head was fixed near that of the Prince his Brother, and his four Quarters were ſent to *York*, *Briſtol*, *Northampton*, and *Wincheſter*. 1283. Act. Pub. II. 247.

Edward's Severity towards this Prince is related by all the Hiſtorians without any one's vouchſafing to ſtay a Moment to cenſure it. And yet it is an Action which can hardly be excuſed. Suppoſing the Rigour of the Law had juſtified his being ſentenced to die, was it not a very great Barbarity, to put to Death a Prince of a Royal Family, in a manner 'till then unuſual with regard to Perſons diſtinguiſhed by their Births? What would not theſe ſame Hiſtorians have ſaid, if a King of *France*, after having taken in Fight, a Brother of the King of *England*, had ordered him to be ignominiouſly hung on a Gibbet? Or if, having found the Body of the King himſelf ſlain in Battle, he had cauſed his Head to be ſet up on the Walls of the *Baſtile*?

After *Edward* had thus ſecured the Poſſeſſion of the Principality of *Wales*, he ſought Means to prevent all Accidents which might cauſe him to loſe it again. The Union of that Country to the Crown of *England*, was what ſeemed the moſt proper to that End. Accordingly, he ſummoned a Parliament, wherein it was reſolved that *Wales* ſhould be inſeparably united to the Crown. Thus it was that the *Welſh*, thoſe ſmall Remains of the antient *Britons*, loſt at length their Liberty, after having maintained it in that little Corner of the Iſland, during the Space of above Eight hundred Years. Surely, one cannot without Injuſtice deny them the Commendations due to the Reſolution and Courage wherewith they had 'till then defended their Country. Deſtitute of all Succours, without Foreign Alliances, and without a Naval Power, they had ſtood their Ground againſt the Kings of *England*, *Saxons*, and *Normans*, who had almoſt all

Wales *united to* England.

of

1283. of them attempted to subdue them with Forces vastly superiour. It is true indeed they had been often obliged to pay Tribute to the *English* Monarchs: But however that did not hinder them from being all along a distinct Nation, and governed by their own Laws. It was not by their Valour alone that they preserved their Liberty, but also by their Politicks, in dexterously fomenting the Dissentions of their Neighbours, 'till in the End the Time appointed for their losing that most valuable Blessing happened in the Reign of *Edward* I. It may however be said, that if Amends can be made for such a Loss, they have had reason to sit easy under it, since they became one and the same Nation with their Conquerors. From that Time they have all along enjoyed the same Laws and Privileges, which render the People of *England* the happiest Nation under the Sun.

1284. *Death of* Alphonsus *Son to the King.* Act. Pub. II. 175. II. 18.

The Satisfaction *Edward* received from his Conquest of *Wales* was immediately followed by a great Affliction, caused by the Death of *Alphonsus* his Son. He was a Prince of great Hopes, and being now arrived to Twelve Years of Age, was going to marry the only Daughter of *Florence* Earl of *Holland*. This was the third Son *Edward* lost within the Space of three Years. *John* his eldest Son died before his Return from the *Holy-Land*. *Henry* his Second Son, had been contracted to the only Daughter of *Theobald* King of *Navarre* *.

Birth of Prince Edward.

Although the *Welsh* were entirely subdued, they failed not however to show, on all Occasions, their extreme Regret, to see themselves subject to the *English*. Some of them had even the Boldness to tell the King, that he should never be in peaceable Possession of their Country, as long as they should not be governed by a Prince of their own Nation. If we may believe certain Historians, this bold Declaration induced the King to give them some sort of Satisfaction. They affirm, that from that Moment he proposed to give them for Prince, the Son, whom he was in hopes his Queen, then with

* They all three lie buried in *Westminster*.

with Child, would ſhortly be delivered of. They add, it was with this View that he would have her go and lie-in at *Caernarvne*, a Town in *Wales*, where, according to his Expectation, ſhe was brought to Bed of a Prince, who was called *Edward*, and ſirnamed *of Caernavon*, the Place of his Birth. 'Tis ſaid further, that immediately after the Queen's Delivery, he convened the *States* of *Wales*, and declared to them that his Reſolution was to give them a Prince born in their own Country, and who could not ſpeak one Word of *Engliſh*: And then he nominated to them the Prince his Son juſt born at *Caernarvon*. But other Writers not ſo credulous, looking no doubt upon this Circumſtance as a childiſh Thing, have thought fit to paſs it over in Silence. And indeed it was only a poor Equivocation, little capable of ſatisfying the *Welſh*, and not at all agreeable to the Character of *Edward*. Beſides, it is certain, that the young Prince was not inveſted 'till the Year 1301, with the Principality of *Wales*, being then ſeventeen Years of Age. 1284.

The Conqueſt of *Wales*, and the univerſal Eſteem the King was in among his Subjects, having procured *England* a profound Tranquillity, what paſſed in the Kingdom 'till the War with *Scotland*, is of no great moment. The which obliges me ſlightly to touch upon the Domeſtick Affairs, contenting my ſelf with briefly relating ſome of the principal Circumſtances.

We find in the Year 1285, the King took away the *Charter* of *London*, and turned out the *Mayor*, becauſe he had ſuffered himſelf to be bribed by the *Bakers*, and put in another by his own Authority. But quickly after the City found means to have their *Charter* reſtored, by making the King a Preſent. 1285.

This Year the King called a Parliament, which made ſome Additions to the antient *Statutes*, by the Name of *the Second Statutes of Weſtminſter*.

In the Year 1286, *Edward* ordered all the *Jews* in the Kingdom to be ſeized, upon one and the ſame Day *. 1286. *The King gets from the Jews large Sums.*

* They were all baniſhed, and their Goods confiſcated.

1286. The *Commons* granted him a *Subsidy* of the fiftieth Part of their *Moveables*, to get him to expell the Kingdom all those Foreigners that were a Burden to the Nation. He promised to do it; but after he had obtained the *Subsidy*, he deferred the Execution of his Promise, which Delay was by them dearly purchased.

He goes into France. About the middle of the same Year, three important Affairs called for *Edward*'s Presence in *France*, where he continued above three Years. As in the mean Time nothing very remarkable passed in *England*, I shall only relate the Affairs he had to manage in that Country. The *Motives of his Voyage.* first was the Demand which he made the Court of *France*, of the Provinces taken from the Kings *John* and *Henry* III. concerning which, there was a long Negotiation. The second related to the Homage he was to do to *Philip the Fair*, King of *France*, who had just succeeded *Philip the Hardy*, his Father. The Third was the Accommodation which he undertook to bring about between the Houses of *Arragon* and *Anjou*, concerning the Kingdom of *Sicily*.

Earl of Pembroke *left Regent.* The King finding his Presence was not absolutely necessary in his Kingdom, which was in profound Tranquillity, left the Regency to the Earl of *Pembroke*, and embarked for *France*. He spent the best Part of a Year in solliciting the Restitution of the Provinces taken from the Crown of *England* by the Predecessors of *Philip the Fair*; but all the Pains he took upon that account were to no purpose. The Court of *France* being then in a flourishing Condition, and having nothing to fear from *England*, was deaf to all his Proposals. All the Benefit he could get from this Negotiation was a Pension of six thousand Pounds, in lieu of his Claim to certain Lands situated beyond the *Charent*, of which *Philip* kept Possession contrary to the Tenour of former Treaties. Upon this Foot it was that the two Monarchs signed a new Treaty, after which *Edward* did Homage to *Philip*. The Form of the Homage, which was performed in general Terms only, and the Protestations which preceeded it, evidently show, that *Edward* had still a Mind to keep up

A new Treaty between Edward *and* Philip the Fair.

up his Pretenſions that he might make the beſt of them when a more favourable Juncture offered. Without ſpecifying, in his Homage, any particular Country, he affected to include in it all thoſe Provinces to which he had any Claim. As this is a Matter of Moment, which was attended with great Conſequences at another Time, it will not be improper to recite the very Words of the Homage, with the Proteſtations made on that account, as they are to be found in the *Collection of Publick Acts*. 1286.

Homage done by Edward *to* Philip.

On Wedneſday in Whitſun-Week, in the 14*th Year of the Reign of* Edward, *and in the* 1*ſt of* Philip, *at* Paris *in a Room of the Royal Palace, King* Edward *did Homage to King* Philip, *in the following Terms, ſpoken by the Biſhop of* Bath *and* Wells.

Sire, King of France, *King* Henry *Father to my Lord the King of* England *here preſent, made certain Demands upon* Lewis *King of* France, *your Grandfather, whereupon a Treaty of Peace was concluded between them. Purſuant to that Treaty* Henry *did Homage to your ſaid Grandfather, for the Lands he actually held on this Side the Water, and for ſuch as the ſaid* Lewis *had obliged himſelf to put into his Hands, by the above mentioned Treaty of Peace. My Lord King* Edward *here preſent, after the Death of his Father, did Homage to the King your Father, for theſe ſame Lands, and according to the Tenour of the ſaid Peace. And although my ſaid Lord might with Juſtice, as ſeveral of his Council are of Opinion, refuſe to do the ſame Homage, becauſe the ſaid Peace has not been obſerved, and becauſe, to his great Prejudice, ſeveral Attempts have been made upon the Lands which he holds, nevertheleſs he is unwilling at preſent to enter into a Diſpute upon that ſcore, provided you will cauſe the ſaid Peace to be kept, and the Damages he has ſuſtained to be repaired.*

I become your Man for the Lands I hold of you on this Side the Water, according to the Tenour of the Peace made with your Anceſtors.

It is eaſy to ſee, that in this Homage *Edward*'s Intereſt was to word it ſo, as not to engage himſelf too far. Beſides the Proteſtations which he made by the Mouth of

1286. the Bishop, he would not do Homage but in general Terms, for the Lands he held, without specifying any Thing, reserving to himself the Explanation of them at some other Time. But whatever his Thoughts were, *Philip*, imagining no doubt that he had a Right to explain the same Terms to his own Advantage, was very ready to receive the Homage, with this affected Obscurity. He even granted him, a few Days after, *Letters Patents*, whereby he consented that the Lands *Edward* was possessed of in *France*, should not be liable to be forfeited either for unjust Judgement, or for denial of Justice. Moreover he promised to send the Parties appealing to the Seneschal of *Guienne*, and bound himself to allow him three Months to maintain or rectify the Judgements. But this Concession was not to take Place but during the Life of *Edward*, after which Things were to return to their former State.

Act. Pub. II. 321.

Differences between the Houses of Anjou *and* Arragon.

These two Affairs kept *Edward* at the Court of *France* about a Year. But the Accommodation which he undertook to bring about between the Kings of *Sicily* and *Arragon* employed him much longer, and brought upon him a great deal of Trouble and Pains, for which he had no other Reward but the Satisfaction of endeavouring to reconcile these two illustrious Houses. Although this Affair relates not directly to *Edward*, who acted only as Mediator, yet as it wholly took him up for the Space of two Years, I hope it will not be taken amiss if I briefly relate the Occasion of those Differences, and the principal Events which they produced.

I have already taken notice in the late Reign, how the Popes had invested the House of *Swabia*, with the Crown of *Sicily*, and the Efforts they used afterwards to wrest it from thence. I left *Manfred* the Bastard in Possession of the two *Sicilies*, and the Pope solemnly giving the Investiture of these two Kingdoms to *Charles of Anjou*, after having a long while amused Prince *Edmund*, Brother to our *Edward*, with the Hopes of that Crown. It will be necessary to resume, in a few Words, the Sequel of that

that Hiſtory, down to the Time I am ſpeaking of at preſent. 1286.

Charles of Anjou knew how to make a better uſe of the Pope's Favour than *Edmund* had done. With the Aſſiſtance of the King his Brother, he levied a powerful Army, and came to *Rome*, where the Pope ſolemnly crowned him King of the two *Sicilies*, on the 28th of *June* 1265. In the Beginning of the next Year, he marched towards the Kingdom of *Naples*, and on the 26th of *February*, he obtained a complete Victory over *Manfred* who was ſlain on the Spot. Freed by this ſingle Battle from all the Obſtacles which lay in his way, he took Poſſeſſion of the two *Sicilies*, and enjoyed them ſometime without a Rival. The *Gibellines*, that is to ſay, the Party againſt the Pope, caſt down by the flouriſhing Condition of *Charles*, who ſupported the *Guelphs*, and was himſelf ſupported by them, ſought all poſſible means to make him loſe the two Kingdoms. They perſwaded *Conradin* Son to the Emperor *Conrade*, that being the ſole Heir of the Houſe of *Swabia*, he ought to aſſert his Right to the *Sicilies*, and ſnatch the Prey out of the Hands of *Charles of Anjou*. There was no need to uſe much Sollicitation to incline *Conradin* to this Undertaking. Without a Moment's Conſideration, the young Prince aſſumed the Title of *King of Sicily*, and in ſpite of the *Excommunication* thundred out againſt him by the Pope, came into *Italy*, where at firſt he made ſome Progreſs. This proſperous Beginning having made him entertain great Hopes, he advanced towards *Naples*, to give his Enemy Battle. Upon his Approach, *Charles* raiſed the Siege of *Nocera*, which he had begun, and marching towards him, met him near the *Lacus Fucinus*, now called *Calano*, where he fought him. The Iſſue was fatal to *Conradin*, who had the Misfortune to loſe the Day, and to be taken Priſoner, The Conqueror making a cruel Uſe of his Victory, carried his Barbarity ſo far as to cauſe the young Prince's Head to be ſtruck off, who was then but Sixteen Years of Age. He got him to be tried and condemned by the *Syndics* of the Cities of the Kingdom,

1286. Kingdom, who were so base, as blindly to follow the Directions of that bloody Prince.

The Extinction of the House of *Swabia*, of which *Conradin* was the last Male Heir, seemed to take from the *Gibellines* the Power of ever raising their Heads again. But if this fatal Blow threw them into a Consternation, yet did it not quite bereave them of Courage. By the Death of *Couradin*, the Rights of the House of *Swabia* were devolved to *Peter* King of *Arragon*, who had married *Constantia* Daughter of *Manfred*. Although these Rights came not but by a base Son of that House, the *Gibellines* were in hopes to get the King of *Arragon* to espouse their Quarrel, since it might be the means of procuring him two Kingdoms. *John* Lord of *Procida*, an old Friend to the House of *Swabia*, took upon him this Negotiation, and to concert with *Peter* necessary Measures to carry on the Design they had formed of dethroning *Charles of Anjou*. In the first Place, he made sure of the Concurrence of Pope *Nicholas* III, who was incensed against King *Charles*. After this he went to *Constantinople*, where he obtained an Aid of Money from the Emperor *Michael*, who was threatened with a War by the King of *Sicily*. These Measures being taken, he went and communicated his Project to the King of *Arragon*. *Peter* was at first somewhat backward to embark in an Undertaking which seemed to him to be beyond his Power. But the Pope's Approbation, the *Grecian* Emperor's Money, and the *Sicilians* Revolt, which he was made to look upon as certain, determined him to it at length. Besides *Procida* gave him to understand, that he might, without running any Risk, put himself in a Condition to take Advantage of the good Success of the Revolt, or to drop the Undertaking without appearing to have any Hand in the Matter. To that End, he advised him to fit out a Fleet, on Pretence of making War on the *Moors* of *Africa*, and actually to besiege some one of their Towns. He added, that if, contrary to all Expectation, the Revolt of the *Sicilians* should miscarry, he might continue the War against the Infidels, without discovering that

Fazellus *Hist.* Sicil.

that he had any other Deſign: but if, on the other hand, the *Sicilians* ſhould be as good as their Word, he would be in a readineſs to make Advantage of what ſhould follow. 1286.

Matters being thus concerted, *John de Procida* returned home, to ſet his Friends at work, when Time ſhould ſerve. The Armament of the King of *Arragon* ſomewhat alarmed the Kings of *France* and *Sicily*, but he knew how to diſſemble the Matter ſo well, that he made them eaſy. As ſoon as his Fleet was ready, he ſailed for the Coaſt of *Africa*, where he laid Siege to *Andacalle*. He had with him *Roger de Lauria* the moſt experienced Sea-Officer then in *Europe*. In the mean time, *Procida* took his Meaſures ſo well, that in one Night the *Sicilians* cut the Throats of above eight Thouſand *French* who were at that Time in the Iſland. This Maſſacre, which was called the *Sicilian Veſpers* *, was acted upon *Eaſter-Eve*, on the 30th of *March* 1282. The News of it being carried to *Rome*, where *Charles of Anjou* then was, he made all poſſible Expedition, to prevent the Conſequences of this Conſpiracy. As he had a Fleet ready equipped, which was deſigned againſt the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, he ſet Sail and arrived before *Meſſina*. His ſudden coming ſurprized the Inhabitants of that great City, to ſuch a Degree, that deſparing of timely Succours, they offered to ſurrender upon Condition of having their Lives ſpared. The deſire of Revenge, which wholly poſſeſſed the Mind of the King of *Sicily*, would not ſuffer him to grant them that Favour. Whereupon the *Meſſinians* finding by his Refuſal what they were to expect from a Prince of ſo revengful a Temper, reſolved to ſell their Lives at a dear Rate, chuſing rather to die with their Swords in their Hands, than on Gibbets and Scaffolds. Act Pub. II. 201.

In the mean Time, the King of *Arragon* having been informed that the *Sicilians*, had proceeded ſo far that there was no Fear of their going back, came in a few Days to *Palermo*,

* Becauſe the Bell which rang to *Evening Prayers* was made the Signal.

1286, Pub. Act. 1225. *Palermo*, where he was crowned. Which done, he sent *Charles* a Note, wherein he commanded him in a haughty Strain, to quit the Island, where he had no longer any ibid. Thing to pretend to. *Charles* returned him a still more haughty and abusive Answer; but however fearing that the *Spanish* Fleet would prevent all Provisions from coming from *Naples*, resolved to break up the Siege, and retire to *Calabria*. He was no sooner gone, but the King of *Arragon* made his Entry into *Messina*, where the Inhabitants received him with all possible Demonstrations of Joy and Thankfulness.

Project of a single Combat between the Kings of Arragon *and* Sicily. *Charles*, enraged to the last degree, went and carried his Complaints to Pope *Martin* IV, who had succeeded *Nicholas*. He made use, in speaking of the King of *Arragon*, of the most opprobrious and abusive Terms, and offered even to fight him Hand to Hand, or a Hundred against a Hundred, in order to force him to own himself to be a base, cowardly, and prefidious Traitor. This Discourse coming to the Ears of the King of *Arragon*, he sent Ambassadors to *Rome*, to justify what he had done, and to accept the Challenge. *Charles* received this Proposal with Joy, and the burning Desire he had to be revenged personally of his Enemy, caused him to consent to a Truce, during which were settled the Conditions of the single Combat which was to be between the two Kings. It was agreed that they should both appear at *Bordeaux* at the Head of a Hundred Horse each, on the 1st of *June* 1283, and that the King of *England*, should instantly be intreated to appoint the *Lists* in that City, to Honour their Duel with his Presence, or to send some Person in his Stead. It must however be observed, that it was expressly said in the Articles: *That the two Kings should appear at* Bourdeaux, *on the Day appointed, happen what would: But that if* Edward *should not be present in Person, the intended Duel should not be fought, unless the Parties agreed to it afterwards.* Although all the Historians unanimously affirm that *Edward* appointed the Lists at *Bourdeaux*, it is very certain that he refused it. His Letters upon this Occasion to the King of *Sicily*, and the Prince

Act. Pub. II. 226.

ibid. 239, *and* 240.

of

of *Salerno* his Son, are a clear Evidence, that he had never any Thoughts of granting their Requeſt, ſince he plainly told them, that were he to gain the Kingdoms of *Sicily* and *Arragon*, he would not appoint the Liſts for ſuch a Duel. Theſe Letters are in *the Collection of the Publick Acts* taken from the *Records* of *England*. 1286.

Though *Edward*'s refuſal diſengaged the two Kings from the Obligation to fight, they were however bound by the Articles to be at *Bourdeaux*. *Charles* came on the Day appointed, attended with an hundred Horſe, and ſtayed there from Sun-riſing to Sun-ſetting; but finding that his Adverſary appeared not, and that he could hear no News of him, he retired. As ſoon as he was gone, *Peter*, who was all the while in *Bourdeaux* diſguiſed like a *Squire*, went before the *Seneſchal* of the City, and having taken a *Certificate* of his Appearance, left him his Arms for a Teſtimony. This Procedure of the King of *Arragon* gave occaſion to the *French* Hiſtorians to ſpeak of that Prince in a diſhonourable Manner, as if want of Courage had been the Reaſon of his breaking his Word, and of his making uſe of that Trick to evade his Engagements. But it would be no difficult Matter to juſtify his Conduct in this Reſpect, if this were a proper Place for it. (*a*)

Although, as hath been obſerved, the King of *Arragon* was freed from the Obligation of fighting, ſince *Edward* came not to *Bourdeaux*, yet the Step he had taken was very much exaggerated in *France* and *Italy*. They gave out that it was a plain Proof that he himſelf was convinced of the Injuſtice he had done *Charles of Anjou*, ſeeing he durſt not venture to decide their Difference by a ſingle Combat, which he himſelf had accepted. Pope *Martin* IV, who was a *Frenchman*, and wholly devoted to the Houſe of *Anjou*, thundered out againſt the King of *Arra-* ibid. p. 252,

(*a*) See the Extract of Volume II of the Publick Acts of *England*, in the *Bibliotheque Choiſie* of Mr. *Le Clerc*, Tom. XX. p. 53. where this Affair is fully diſcuſſed, and the King of *Arragon*'s Conduct juſtified.

1266. *gon* a Sentence of *Excommunication*, notwithstanding he produced the Investiture of *Sicily* which *Nicholas* III had privately given him. He even absolved his Subjects from their Oath of *Allegiance*, and gave the Kingdom of *Arragon* to *Charles* Earl of *Valois* second Son to the King of *France* (*b*). In spite of all this, *Peter* kept Possession of the two Kingdoms; and to insult the Pope, under colour of paying a Deference to his Authority, he ordered himself to be called only *The Chevalier of Arragon*. *Martin*, perceiving he was thus made a Jest of, resolved to make that Prince know that he should not insult him with Impunity. He published a *Crusado* against him, of which *Philip* III King of *France*, was declared General, and there were People silly enough to imagine they should obtain *Paradise*, by espousing the Quarrel of the Pope, and the House of *Anjou*. It is true, there were scarce any but *Frenchmen* that engaged in this *Crusado*, wherein their King was particularly concerned, since it was intended for the placing his Son on the Throne of *Arragon*.

Whilst *Philip* was preparing for this Undertaking, *Roger Lauria* was successfully carrying on the War for his Master in the *Mediterranean*. He had taken *Malta* from *Charles of Anjou*, after gaining a naval Battle, wherein the *French* Fleet was entirely destroyed. Immediately after his Victory, he went and attacked the Coasts of *Naples*, with design to draw out of his Ports the Prince of *Salerno*, to whom King *Charles* his Father had left the Command of his Fleet. His Design succeeded according to his Wish. The Prince of *Salerno*, greedy of Glory, and unable to bear the Insults of *Lauria*, rashly engaged in a Sea-Fight, wherein he had the Misfortune to be vanquished and taken Prisoner. He was forthwith sent to *Sicily*, where he saw himself in danger of losing his Head on a Scaffold, the *Sicilians* resolving to make him suffer by way of Reprisal for *Conradin*. But *Constantia*, Wife to the King of *Arragon*, was so generous as to free him from his Danger, by sending him to the King her Husband,

(*b*) *Philip* III, who was then alive.

Husband who was then in *Spain*. *Charles*'s Vexation at the loſs of his Fleet, and Impriſonment of his Son, was ſo much the greater, as he arrived three Days after with a powerful Reinforcement, and as he had expreſſly commanded the Prince not to fight till he came with the Succours. This Accident, which put his Affairs in great Confuſion, was in all likelihood the Cauſe of his Death, which fell out on the 6th of *June* 1285. He left for Succeſſor, *Charles* II, his Son, ſirnamed *The Lame*, Priſoner in *Spain*, to whom the *Arragonians* gave only the Title of Prince of *Salerno* during his Captivity. 1286.

Neither the Death of *Charles*, nor the Loſs of the Battle of *Naples*, were capable of cauſing *Philip* to deſiſt from his Projects. In the Month of *May*, that very Year, he had put himſelf at the Head of his Troops, conſiſting of fourſcore Thouſand *Foot*, and twenty Thouſand *Horſe*, and though he had News in his March of the Death of the King his Brother, yet he entered *Rouſſillon* and became Maſter of *Perpignan*. After which he advanced into *Catalonia*, where after ſeveral Conqueſts, he laid Siege to *Gironne*. The King of *Arragon*, having attacked a *Convoy* which was going from *Rozes* to the Siege, was hurt in the Skirmiſh, and died three Months after of his Wounds. He left *Arragon*, and *Catalonia* to Prince *Alphonſo* his eldeſt Son, and *Sicily* to *James* his ſecond Son, on Condition that in caſe *Alphonſo* died without Heirs, *James* ſhould ſucceed in *Arragon*, and ſhould give up *Sicily* to *Frederick* his younger Brother.

The proſperous Succeſs the King of *France* met with in the Beginning of the War, did not laſt to the End of the Campaign. *Roger Lauria* having attacked the *French* Fleet, deſtroyed all the Ships, except a few which eſcaped to *Rozes*. On the other hand, the Sickneſs, which got into *Philip*'s Army, retarded his Progreſs by Land. In fine, ſeeing himſelf attacked thereby, he ordered himſelf to be carried to *Perpignan*, where he ended his Days on the 6th of *October*. *Philip* IV his Son, Sirnamed *the Fair*, ſucceeded him. *Honorius* IV, had been choſen in the Room of *Martin* IV, who died this ſame Year.

1287. Such was the State of the Affairs between the Houſes
Edward *is Mediator between the Kings of* Arragon *and* Sicily. of *Arragon* and *Anjou*, when *Edward* undertook to make up their Difference, after having accepted the Mediation which had been offered him by both Parties. The main Difficulty of this Negotiation conſiſted in freeing the Prince of *Salerno* out of the Hands of the King of *Arragon*, without which it was impoſſible to procure a Peace. *Edward* took a great deal of Pains to bring this about. He had upon that occaſion ſeveral Interviews with *Alphonſo*. *Mezerai* affirms, that he even went to *Sicily* to talk with King *James*: But the Hiſtory of *England* mentions not this Voyage. In fine, at a Conference which *Alphonſo* and he had together at *Oleron* in *Bearn*, they ſettled the Terms on which the Prince of *Salerno* was to be ſet at Liberty, and for the Performance of which, as far as concerned the Ranſom, *Edward* conſented to become bound. After this, the Articles of Agreement were confirmed by a Treaty concluded at *Campo Franco* the fourth of *October* 1288 *Nicholas* IV, Succeſſor to *Honorius*, ſtrongly oppoſed the Execution of the Treaty. He found it too advantagious for the King of *Arragon*, and too diſhonourable for *the Holy See*, in as much as the Prince of *Salerno* without conſulting him, had obliged himſelf to manage it ſo that the Earl of *Valois* ſhould renounce the Kingdom of *Arragon*. This Oppoſition ſtarted freſh Difficulties: But they were at length ſurmounted by the Prudence and Pains of *Edward*, who acted as Mediator with great Impartiality. To facilitate the Performance of the Treaty, he was willing to give *Engliſh* Hoſtages to the King of *Arragon*, and to cauſe the principal Cities of *Guienne* to interpoſe as Pledges, *Alphonſo* having done the ſame thing with regard to the principal Cities in his Dominions.

Act. Pub. II. 342.

1288. ibid. p. 358.

p. 371.

ibid. 435, 450, 455. Purſuant to this Agreement, the Prince of *Salerno* was ſet at Liberty, leaving his Sons in Hoſtage. It ſeemed that this Affair which was in ſo fair a way, would quickly be ended, the main Obſtacle being removed by the Prince's having his Liberty, who had bound himſelf

the moſt ſolemn Oaths. But he performed nothing of what he had ſworn. He not only cauſed himſelf to be crowned King of the two *Sicilies* by the Pope, contrary to the expreſs Words of the Treaty, but alſo did his utmoſt to confirm the Earl of *Valois* in the Reſolution to make uſe of his pretended Right to the Kingdom of *Arragon*. When he thought he had put his Affairs in pretty good Order, he made as if he would return to Impriſonment, as he had obliged himſelf to do, in caſe he performed not the Articles of the Treaty. To that Purpoſe, he came to a certain Place where the King of *Arragon* was to be in order to receive him, and to exchange him for the Princes his Sons: But he came thither ſo well attended, that *Alphonſo* did not think fit to truſt himſelf to his Honeſty. This occaſioned Complaints, Reproaches, Apologies, on both Sides, each Party making Application to the King of *England*, as Mediator and Guarantee of the Treaty. *Edward* in all appearance being tired with acting in favour of theſe Princes, who made ſo ill a Return for all the Pains he was at, let them alone to decide their Difference as they pleaſed, without concerning himſelf any farther in the Matter. But not to leave the Reader in Suſpence how the Diſpute ended, I ſhall add in two words, that after long Negotiations, mixed with many Hoſtilities, the two Princes made up their Quarrel by a Treaty. The Prince of *Salerno*, called *Charles the Lame*, kept *Sicily* on this Side *the Fare*, the which from thenceforth began to be diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *the Kingdom of Naples*, and the Houſe of *Arragon* remained in Poſſeſſion of the Iſle of *Sicily*. The Earl of *Valois* dropped alſo his Pretenſions to the Kingdom of *Arragon*. 1288.

After *Edward* had continued above three Years beyond Sea, he returned to *England* in *Auguſt* 1289. His firſt Care immediately after his Return was to reform ſeveral Abuſes which had been introduced in his Abſence, particularly in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice. Upon Complaints made to him from all Hands that the Judges had ſuffered themſelves to be corrupted with Bribes, he ſtrict- 1289. Edward *returns to* England.

ly

1289. ly examined into their Conduct, and ſeverely puniſhed the Guilty. In the Number of whom was [Sir *Thomas Weyland*] the *Chief Juſtice*, or Firſt Judge, who was baniſhed the Realm, and his Eſtate confiſcated. Theſe Miſdemeanours, which had been but too frequent, gave the King Occaſion to conſtrain the Judges to ſwear, that for the time to come they would take neither Money nor Preſent of any Kind, except only a Breakfaſt, which they might receive, provided there was no Exceſs. An Hiſtorian aſſures us that the King got above a hundred thouſand Marks by the Confiſcation of the Eſtates of thoſe that had been faulty *.

1290. *The* Jews *baniſhed* England. In the Beginning of the Year 1290, *Edward* convened a Parliament, wherein were made *the Third Statutes of Weſtminſter*, and the Baniſhment of the *Jews* was abſolutely determined. The Nation had a long time deſired it; but the *Jews* had ſtill found means to divert the Blow, by Preſents to the King and his Miniſters. They would fain have made uſe of the ſame Method now, but there was nothing to be done, the King not being able to protect them any longer without diſobliging the Parliament. Their *real* Eſtates were confiſcated, but they had leave to carry off the reſt with them. It is the general Opinion, that they began to ſettle in the Kingdom in the Reign of *William the Conqueror*: But ſome believe their Settlement was of a longer ſtanding. At firſt they were but few in Number; but by Degrees, they had increaſed to fifteen Thouſand. Their Money had procured them ſeveral conſiderable Privileges, which *Edward* himſelf had confirmed, as the having a *Synagogue* at *London*, a Head of their Religion, being a ſort of High-Prieſt, and Judges of their own Nation to hear and determine the *Suits* they

* *Speed* has given us the Names and the *Fines*, viz. Sir *Ralph Hengham*, 7000 Marks; Sir *John Lovetot*, 3000; Sir *William Brompton*, 6000; Sir *Solomon Rocheſter*, 4000; Sir *Richard Boyland*, 4000; Sir *Thomas Sodentone*, 2000; Sir *Walter Hopton*, 2000; Sir *William Saham*, 3000; *Robert Littlebury*, Clerk, 1000; *Roger Leiceſter*, Clerk, 1000; *Adam de Stratton*, 32000.

had

had againſt one another. They loſt all theſe Advantages, by their not being able to curb their inſatiable Greedineſs of inriching themſelves by unlawful Means, as Uſury, adulterating the Coin, and ſuch like Ways, which cannot but render thoſe that practiſe them deteſtable. As for their being accuſed of crucifying, from Time to Time, Chriſtian Children, one may almoſt depend upon it for certain, that it was only a Calumny invented by their Enemies. 1290.

The Affairs of Scotland.

We are now come to the Grand Affair of the Reign of *Edward* I, I mean the Conqueſt of *Scotland*, of which it is extremely difficult, not to ſay impoſſible, to ſpeak in ſuch a Manner as may be at the ſame time ſatisfactory to the *Engliſh* and *Scotch*. Though both Nations are pretty well agreed as to the Facts, and what gave Occaſion to this Conqueſt, they widely differ however as to the Right. If we may believe the *Engliſh*, *Edward* did nothing on this Occaſion, but what was conformable to Reaſon and Juſtice. The *Scotch*, on the contrary, maintain that Ambition alone induced that Prince to take Advantage of the Troubles which diſtracted the Kingdom of *Scotland*, in order to become Maſter of it on frivolous Pretences. Although ſeveral *Centuries* are paſſed ſince this Event, Hiſtorians have not been able to get over the Prejudices of their reſpective Nations. The *Engliſh* ſtill conſider *Edward* I as a great Prince, who employed his Arms only in maintaining the Juſtice of his Cauſe. The *Scotch* ſpeak of him as of a Tyrant, who had ſworn the Deſtruction of their Nation, and who, contrary to all manner of Right, was bent upon ſatisfying his Ambition, by uniting all the People of *Great-Britain* under his Dominion. As I am not engaged in either Party by Birth or any other Motive, I flatter my ſelf that I have impartially examined into this Affair, and produced from *the Collection of Publick Acts* ſuch Informations as may ſerve to give a juſt Notion of the Thing. To this End it will be neceſſary to give a particular Account of all Circumſtances, the which is ſo much the more requiſite as it is the only poſſible

Means

1290. Means to diſpell thoſe thick Clouds of Prejudice, which help to darken the Affair.

Account of the Diſputes about the Succeſſion to the Crown of Scotland.

Alexander III, King of *Scotland*, married, as hath been ſaid elſewhere, *Margaret* Daughter of *Henry* III, King of *England*, and Siſter to *Edward*. He had by her three Children, *Alexander*, *David*, and *Margaret*. *David* died an Infant, and *Margaret* was married to *Eric* King of *Norway*, in 1281. It was ſtipulated in the Marriage-Contract, that if Prince *Alexander* died without Heirs, and if the King his Father ſhould leave no Male-Iſſue, *Margaret* his Daughter ſhould ſucceed to the Crown of *Scotland*, and her Children ſhould enjoy the ſame Right in Caſe ſhe died before the King her Father. Shortly after *Alexander* having loſt his only Son of the ſame Name with him, and the Queen of *Norway* his Daughter being likewiſe dead, after having brought into the World a Daughter called *Margaret*, that Prince reſolved to perform the Agreement above-mentioned. To that Purpoſe, he obliged the *Scotch* Barons to promiſe with an Oath, that in caſe he died without Male-Heirs, they would acknowledge the young Princeſs of *Norway* for their Queen. *Alexander* lived not above two Years after having thus ſettled the Succeſſion; his Death was occaſioned by a fall from his Horſe, in the Year 1285.

Alexander III *dies.*

Margaret *of* Norway *acknowledged Queen of* Scotland.

As ſoon as the *Scotch* had loſt their King, they choſe ſix Regents to govern the Kingdom, 'till the Princeſs of *Norway*, who was at moſt but three Years old, ſhould be capable of holding the Reins of the Government. I do not find in the Hiſtories either of *England*, or of *Scotland*, for what Reaſon the *Scotch* were three or four Years before they demanded their Queen, or wherefore *Erick* her Father neglected to ſend her over. It was not 'till 1289, after *Edward*'s return into *England*, that *Erick* ſent Ambaſſadors to him upon that Occaſion. *Edward* being *Margaret*'s Great-Uncle, *Erick* thought he could not do better than ask his Advice and Aſſiſtance, in order to place the young Princeſs on the Throne of *Scotland*. Immediately after having received this Ambaſſy *Edward* wrote to the Regents of *Scotland*, ſtrenuouſly recom-

recommending to them the Intereſts of young *Margaret*. At the ſame time, he ſent them word, that he deſigned to ſend Ambaſſadors upon that Account, that certain Affairs might be ſettled relating to the Welfare and Tranquillity of *Scotland*. But the Regents thought it more proper to ſend themſelves *Plenipotentiaries* into *England*, to adjuſt with the Ambaſſadors of *Norway*, in the Preſence of *Edward*, all Matters concerning the Intereſts of *Scotland*. Nevertheleſs they omitted not to inſert this Clauſe in the *Credentials* of their Ambaſſadors, *Saving the Honour and Liberties of the Kingdom*. The Biſhops of St. *Andrews* and of *Glaſcow*, were commiſſioned to tranſact this Affair. 1290. Act. Pub. II. 448.

Although Hiſtorians have neglected to clear up the Difficulties relating to the coming of *Margaret* into *Scotland*, yet it plainly appears they were very great. This is evident, as well from the Time which had paſſed ſince the Death of King *Alexander*, as from the Precaution which was taken in aſſembling at *Salisbury* the Plenipotentiaries of *Edward*, *Erick*, and the *Scotch*, to ſettle together whatever related to the Reception of that Princeſs. In this Aſſembly, it was agreed, that the young Queen ſhould be ſent into *England*, free from any Engagement of Marriage. *Edward* promiſed on his Part to take care of her and ſee her educated, 'till ſuch time as *Scotland* ſhould be in perfect Tranquillity, and in a Condition to receive her. Moreover he gave his word, that he would not ibid. ſuffer her to be contracted in Marriage, provided the *Scotch* would not do any thing of that Kind without his and the King of *Norway*'s Conſent.

It was not without Reaſon that *Edward* had cauſed this laſt *Article* to be inſerted in the Conventions. Ever ſince the Death of the King of *Scotland*, he had been forming the Project of uniting the two Kingdoms of *Great Britain*, by the Marriage of the Prince his Son with *Margaret*. He had even already demanded and obtained a Diſpenſation from the Court of *Rome*, although he had not thought fit to make known his Deſign ſo ſoon. But after he had taken the Meaſures above-mentioned, he

Edward propoſes the Marriage of his Son with Margaret. ibid p. 450.

1290. he got the Marriage propoſed to the Regents. His Propoſal having been taken into Conſideration by a Council conſiſting of all the Great Men of the Kingdom, it was unanimouſly reſolved to agree to it. But it was upon certain Terms, which they were to lay before the firſt Parliament that ſhould be aſſembled in *England*. There were upon this Occaſion, ſeveral Negotiations, the Particulars whereof would be needleſs here. It is ſufficient to ſay, that the Deputies of the two Nations being met at *Bingham*, ſeveral Articles were agreed upon, the chief of which, with reſpect to the Sequel, were as follows :

The Regents conſents to it. ibid. *p.* 471.

The Terms of the Marriage.

I. The Plenipotentiaries of *Edward* promiſed in his Name, that he would inviolably keep the Laws, Liberties, and Cuſtoms of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, in all Things and in all Times, throughout the whole Realm, with all its *Marches*.

Act. Pub. II. 482.

II. That in caſe *Edward* the Son, or *Margaret* the future Spouſe, ſhould happen to die one or other of them, without having any Children by their Marriage, and in all Caſes or Events, whereby the Kingdom of *Scotland*, ſhould fall to the next Heir, he ſhould be reſtored to the People of *Scotland*, *free*, *independent*, and *without any Subjection*, ſaving however the Rights of the King of *England* to the Crown of *Scotland*, in Caſe it ſhould devolve to him, or his Heirs, by a lawful Succeſſion.

III. That the Kingdom of *Scotland* ſhould remain ſeparate, divided, and free in it ſelf, without any manner of Subjection to or Dependance on *England*; ſaving to the King of *England*, and his Succeſſours, the Right he had to certain Lands in the Frontiers, or elſewhere, before this Agreement, or *That* which he ſhould lawfully acquire hereafter.

IV. No Perſon holding Lands in *Fee* of the King of *Scotland*, ſhould be obliged to anſwer to any Proceſs out of the Kingdom, according to antient Cuſtom.

V. That all the Subjects of the Crown of *Scotland*, ſhould enjoy the ſame Privilege according to antient Cuſtom.

VI. That all *Records*, *Charters*, and *Privileges*, or other *Memo-*

Memorials concerning the Royal Dignity, and the Kingdom of *Scotland*, ſhould be depoſited in a Place of Safety, without carrying them out of the Realm, under the Seals of certain Lords, till the Queen ſhould come into the Kingdom, and have Children. 1290.

VII. That there ſhould be made no Subjection, Alienation, or Obligation, of any Thing relating to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, till the Queen ſhould be there in Perſon, and have Children alive.

VIII. That no Parliament ſhould be held out of the Kingdom.

Theſe Precautions are a plain Demonſtration how far the *Scotch* were from believing in thoſe Days, that the Kingdom of *Scotland* was dependant on *England*.

Theſe and ſeveral other Articles which I paſs over in ſilence, having been conſented to and ratified, the Marriage was concluded and reſolved upon, to the general Satisfaction of the two Nations. *Edward* began from thenceforward to take as it were Poſſeſſion of *Scotland* for the Prince his Son, by ſending thither the Biſhop of *Durham*, who jointly with the ſix Regents, was intruſted with the Adminiſtration of Affairs, in the Name of young *Edward* and *Margaret*. No one queſtioned but the two Kingdoms of *Great Britain* were going to be united by means of this Marriage, when on a ſudden and moſt unexpectedly, all Hopes of an Union vaniſhed. *Edward* received a Letter from the Biſhop of St. *Andrews*, acquainting him with the Report of Queen *Margaret*'s Death, and that ſome *Scotch* Lords upon the News began to ſtir in aſſerting the Right they pretended to have to the Crown. The Biſhop intreated him at the ſame Time to advance towards the Frontiers, to prevent by his Preſence the Commotions, which the Queen's Death, if found true, would cauſe in the Kingdom. The Report that was ſpread of her Death, was but too well grounded. The Princeſs, whom the King her Father had promiſed to ſend into *England* before the Month of *October*, ſet out accordingly from *Norway*, and died in a certain Iſland, where ſhe was conſtrained to put in for Refreſhment.

The Marriage is concluded.

Act. Pub. II. 1090. Omiſſa.

Margaret's *Death.*

1290. As soon as this News was spread in *Scotland*, it occasioned there extraordinary Commotions, which threw the Kingdom into a more wretched Condition than it had ever been in. The late King, who had taken Care to cause the Great Men to swear that they would acknowledge *Margaret* of *Norway* for Queen, had not had the Foresight to settle the Succession in Case that Princess died without Heirs. They were therefore not a little embarrassed about the Choice of a Successor. This Perplexity became still greater every Day, by Reason of the Factions which were formed in Favour of the Pretenders to the Crown. Never would Union among the great Men have been more necessary. But private Interest stifling the Love of their Country, every one steered his Course according as he was engaged, either by Family-Ties, or by other Motives, without giving himself any Trouble to examine whether Right was on the Side his Inclination attached him to.

John Baliol *and* Robert Bruce *pretend to the Crown of* Scotland.

Among the Pretenders to the Crown, *John Baliol* and *Robert Bruce* divided almost all the Suffrages of the Kingdom between them. The first held large Possessions in *France*, in the Province of *Normandy*. The other had a considerable Estate in *England*; and both were very powerful in *Scotland*, where their Alliances procured them very great Credit. For the better Understanding the Foundation of their Titles, it will be necessary to have before one the *Genealogy* of the Royal Family of *Scotland*, of which I am going to give a short Explanation.

Genealogy of the Royal Family of Scotland.

David King of *Scotland* had but one Son named *Henry*, who dying before him, left three Sons, *viz.* *Malcolm* IV, who ascended the Throne after his Grandfather, and died without Heirs: *William*, who succeeded his elder Brother; and *David* who was Earl of *Huntington* in *England*. The Race of *William* being extinct by the Death of *Margaret* of *Norway*, there was a Necessity of going back to that of *David* Earl of *Huntington*, third Son of Prince *Henry*. *David* died without Male-Issue: But he left three Daughters, *Margaret* married to *Alan* of *Galloway*, *Isabella* Wife to *Robert Bruce*, and *Ada* Wife to *John Hastings* an *English* Lord. *Margaret* the eldest of the

the three Sisters, left only two Daughters, *Devergild*, whom some call *Dornagilla*, and *Marjory*. *Devergild* married *John Baliol*, by whom she had a Son of the same Name, who was one of the two Candidates for the Crown. *Marjory*, who had been Wife to *John Cumin*, died without Issue, *Isabella*, second Daughter of *David*, had by *Robert Bruce*, a Son named *Robert* from his Father, who was the other Candidate. *Ada*, third Daughter of *David*, had left a Son called *John Hastings*, who put in a Claim likewise to the Crown. To avoid Confusion I shall defer speaking of this Third Candidate, and confine my self at present to the two principal Claimants, namely, *John Baliol*, and *Robert Bruce*, who were properly the only ones who had a Right to pretend to the Succession. 1290.

Foundation of the Titles of the Competitors.

It must be observed, that at the time of the Death of *Margaret* of *Norway*, the three Daughters of *David* Earl of *Huntington* were not alive. But *Devergild*, Daughter of the eldest, was still living, and gave up all her Right to *John Baliol* her Son, who, as descended from the eldest of *David*'s Daughters, pretended that he ought to have the Preference of all the rest of the Claimants. On the other hand, *Robert Bruce* Son of the younger Daughter alledged for himself, that he was one Degree nearer than *Baliol*, since he was Grandson to *David*, whereas his Rival was but Grandson to the Daughter of the same Prince. It was objected against him, that *Devergild* being of the same Degree of kin with him, ought to succeed, saying she was Daughter to the eldest, whereas he was only Son to one of the younger Daughters of *David*. But he replied, that where the Degrees are equal, the Males ought to be preferred to the Females, and that this was the constant Law and Custom of all the States, for which he produced several *Precedents*, taken from the Histories of Foreign Countries. Thus stood the Case, which could not be decided without displeasing one half of the Kingdom.

State of Affairs in Scotland. *according to the* Scotch *Historians.*

Here it is that we begin to find the *English* and *Scotch* Historians clashing with one another. The latter affirm that Things were in such a State, that it was impossible to find

1290. find in *Scotland* impartial Judges. They add, that ſuppoſing ſuch could have been found, it would have been too difficult a Matter to put their Sentence in Execution, by Reaſon of the equality of Credit and Power in both Parties. *Baliol* was Lord of the Province of *Galloway*, one of the moſt conſiderable of the Kingdom. He was likewiſe ſupported by the Family of the *Cumins*, which was very powerful, and of great Intereſt. *Robert Bruce* held in *England* the Earldom of *Cleveland*, and in *Scotland* thoſe of *Anandale* and *Gariock*. Beſides this, by means of *Robert* his Son, to whom his Wife had brought in Portion the Earldom of *Carrick*, he was allied to the moſt powerful Families of *Scotland*. So that, continue they, in order to avoid a Civil War, which could not fail to break out, it was agreed by the two Parties, that the Deciſion of this important Affair ſhould be left to the King of *England*. They believed they might expect all Kind of good Offices from him, as well becauſe of the good Underſtanding which had long ſubſiſted between the two Nations, as in Return for their ready complying with the Marriage of the Prince his Son with their late Queen. He was intruſted therefore, ſay they, to be Judge of this Diſpute, and to aſſiſt the Perſon he ſhould think proper to place on the Throne. They add, that *Edward* accepted the Arbitration, and came to *Norham*, where he ſummoned the *States* of *Scotland*, proteſting, that he aſſembled them not as Sovereign, but as a Friend, who deſired them to meet the Arbitrator they themſelves had made choice of. But this is a Fact which the *Engliſh* deny. They affirm that *Edward* ſummoned the *States* of *Scotland* to *Norham*, not as a Friend and Umpire, but by Vertue of his Right of Sovereignty over *Scotland*. They add, the bare Conſideration of the Situation of *Norham*, which is a Town in *England*, plainly enough makes appear that *Edward* exerciſed an Act of Sovereignity, in convening the *States* of *Scotland* in his own Kingdom. The *Scotch* reply, that this Proof cannot take Place, ſince upon this very Occaſion *Edward* granted them *Letters Patents*, which intirely deſtroyed the Force of it. His Words are theſe:

Buchanan.

Edward *choſen Umpire*,

and ſummons the States of Scotland *to* Norham.

That

1290. *That he did not intend that the coming of the* Scots *on this Side the* Tweed, *ſhould be any Prejudice to them, or that for the future, upon any account whatever, they ſhould be obliged to come and treat with him on this Side the River.* So expreſs a Declaration, which ſeems to prove that *Edward* pretended not to the Sovereignty of *Scotland* in Fact, is only a Proof of his Policy or Diſſimulation; ſince it is certain, that from henceforward his Deſign was to eſtabliſh the Right of Sovereignty. Accordingly, as ſoon as it was once eſtabliſhed, he ſtiled his *Letters Patents*, a pure *Conceſſion*, which he might revoke at Pleaſure, and which was actually done. In the View this Monarch had, of getting his Sovereignty to be acknowledged by the *States* of *Scotland*, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, it was by no Means proper to alarm the *Scots* by an Act of abſolute Authority, before the *States* were aſſembled. Such a Step might have induced them to take Meaſures oppoſite to his Deſigns. It was much more natural and more advantagious for him, to conveen, firſt the *States*, that he might lead them by Degrees to the Acknowledgement he wanted to extort from them. So that, in all likelihood, when he ſummoned the *States* to *Norham*, he made uſe of ambiguous and well contrived Expreſſions, proper to hide his real Intention. It was not his Intereſt then to diſcover it, though his Deſign was to make uſe of the ſame Aſſembly to ſtrengthen his Right.

Buchanan affirms, that immediately after the Death of the young Queen, *Edward* formed the Project of becoming Maſter of *Scotland*. Perhaps he goes too far. It is much more likely, that his firſt View was only to get himſelf owned for Sovereign of that Kingdom, whether he imagined it was his Due, or whether he had a Mind to take Advantage of the favourable Opportunity which offered of fully eſtabliſhing his pretended Right. The better to accompliſh his Deſign, continues the ſame Hiſtorian, he perſwaded eight others, beſides the two abovementioned, to put in a Claim to the Crown. His Intereſt was, according to this Hiſtorian, to puzzle the Cauſe, ſo that the two chief Claimants might ſee that he ſhould not

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1290. want means to render their Titles dubious, in case they were not compliable to his Will.

After these Remarks, which are necessary for the Sequel, it is time to come to the Decision of this famous Process. But first it will be requisite to observe that this Affair includes in it two Things, really distinct from one another; namely, the Right of Succession to the Crown of *Scotland*, and the Right of Sovereignty over the said Kingdom, claimed by *Edward*. The former appears at first sight to be the most important, and the latter seems to be an Incident which took its Rise from the other. But we shall find that it became the main Point, by the fatal Consequences it was attended with, and therefore it is not to be wondered at that I should stay to clear up this Matter. It must be observed, that the Particulars I am going to relate, are taken from a *Journal*, or *Verbal Process*, inserted in *the Collection of Publick Acts*, made by Mr. *John de Cadam*, one of *Edward*'s Clerks or Notaries. This Observation should cause us to read with some Precaution, what appears to be too much in favour of the King of *England*, with regard to his Claim to the Sovereignty of *Scotland*.

1291. Edward *requires the States of* Scotland *to own him for Sovereign.* Act. Pub. II. 542. Instrumentum Publicum.

The *States* of *Scotland* being met at *Norham*, *May* 10. 1291, *Roger Brabanzon* Chief Justice of *England*, speaking by the Order and in the Name of the King his Master, who was present, told them, That the King of *England*, taking into Consideration the unsettled State of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, had required the *States* to assemble in that Place, in order to lay before them certain Matters tending to the Preservation of the Peace and Tranquillity of the Kingdom: That he had no Design to usurp the Rights of any Person, to stop the Course of Justice, or to infringe the Liberties of the People of *Scotland*: But that as Sovereign Lord of *Scotland*, he was come to do Justice to every one: And that this might be done the more easily, though what he claimed could not be justly disputed, he required the *States* to own him, over and above his Right, as Sovereign and direct Lord of *Scotland*: That then he would make use of their Counsels to

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do what Juſtice and Reaſon required. The *States*, extreamly ſurprized at this Propoſal, demanded Time to conſult the abſent Biſhops and Barons, to the End they might return an uniform Anſwer in an Affair of that Importance. *Edward*, in his Turn, ſhowed ſome Surprize that the *States* ſhould demand Time to give in their Anſwer. He ſaid, that he had reaſon to believe they were come ready prepared as to this Matter, ſince they were not ignorant of his Intention, and therefore he gave them only the reſt of that Day to conſider of his Demand. On the Morrow, the *States* having inſiſted upon more Time, the King granted them three Weeks, reckoning from the 10*th* of *May*. During which time they were to prepare what they had to object againſt his Pretenſions, and to produce all the *Acts* and *Monuments* whereby they might think to invalidate his Demand. 1291.

Although, according to the Time appointed by the King, the next Meeting was to be held on the firſt of *June*, I find however in the *Journal*, which I take for my Guide, only *That* of the ſecond of the ſame Month. The Biſhop of *Bath and Wells* was Spokeſman for the King, and recited what had been done in the two former Aſſemblies. After which he added, that the three Weeks which the King had granted to the *States* being expired, and they had not produced or alledged any Thing to invalidate his Right, his Intention was to act by virtue of his *acknowledged* Sovereignty over the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and as Sovereign, to do Juſtice to the Claimants. *The States make no Anſwer.*

Let us ſtay a Moment to make one Remark upon this Subject. How good an Opinion ſoever one may have of the Faithfulneſs of *Edward* and his Notary, who drew up the *Journal*, from whence what I have juſt related is taken, a Man cannot help perceiving that there is ſomething wanting here. In the two preceeding Aſſemblies, *Edward* produced his Pretenſions to the Sovereignty of *Scotland*. The *States*, far from owning on the Spot this Sovereignty, demand Time to conſult together upon ſo nice an Affair. The King granted them three Weeks; and that Time being expired, in the firſt Meeting, mentioned *Remarks on the Silence of the States.*

1291. tioned in the *Journal*, the Chancellor of *England* begins with saying, that the *States* had produced or alledged nothing against the King's Pretensions. Does it not seem that he ought to have begun with calling upon the *States* to give in their Answer, which the *Journal* should have mentioned, either by relating their Objections or Assent, or at least by setting forth that they had returned no Answer; which done, the Chancellor's Speech would have been very proper. But instead of this he begins with declaring, that the *States* having nothing to say against the King's Pretensions, his Majesty was resolved to make use of his Right. This Management makes it suspected, either that the Account of what passed that Day is curtailed, or that the Day before there had been another Assembly, wherein the *States* had produced their Proofs; but the Author of the *Journal* did not think fit to mention them. It has been observed, that according to the Time fixed by the King, an Assembly was to be held on the first of *June*, whereas this was not till the second. But I offer this only as a Conjecture, on which I do not pretend to establish any thing. The greatest Difficulty lies in that after a Consultation of three Weeks the *States* of *Scotland* should have nothing to answer or object to *Edward*'s Pretensions; the which is astonishing: for it is certain that hitherto the Sovereignty of the Crown of *England* over *Scotland* had never been so generally acknowledged, that the bare publick Notoriousness of the Fact could put the *States* to Silence. Of this there needs no other Proof than the Marriage-Articles before-mentioned, wherein the *Scots* had taken so great Care to maintain their Independence. In the second Place, the Time they took to consult about the King's Demand, plainly enough shows, that they were not fully persuaded of their Subjection to the Crown of *England*. In short, the Precaution it self *Edward* took to extort from them this Acknowledgement, testifies that the Thing was at least doubtful. It is not customary to act in such a manner, when a Man has an undeniable and a generally acknowledged Right. If it be true then, that the *States* return-

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ed no Anſwer to the King's Demand, it muſt be thought, either that they were over-awed, or that the two principal Claimants acted in Concert, and prevailed with the *States*, by ſecret Practices, not to oppoſe the Pretenſions of the King of *England*. In all appearance they were afraid of retarding the Deciſion of the main Affair, by this Incident. But to return to our *Journal*. 1291.

The High Chancellor having ſpoken as is related in the *Journal*, and taking his Maſter's Right for granted, addreſſed himſelf firſt to *Robert Bruce*, and demanded of him, whether he would acknowledge the King of *England* for Sovereign of *Scotland*, and receive from him, as ſuch, the Juſtice he ſued for. The *Journal* adds, that *Robert Bruce* anſwered in clear and expreſs Terms, that he owned the King of *England* for Sovereign Lord of the Realm of *Scotland*, and conſented to receive from him as ſuch, the Judgement that Prince ſhould think fit to pronounce. The ſame Queſtion being put to *Florence* Earl of *Holland*, and to *John Haſtings* *, they both made the ſame Anſwer. After which, *Patrick Dunbar* Earl of *March*, *William Roſs*, *Walter de Huntercumbe*, *William Veſci* by Proxy, *Robert de Pynkeny*, and *Nicholas de Soules*, appeared and demanded to be admitted ſeparately, to prove that the Crown of *Scotland* was devolved to them by Right of Succeſſion. The ſame Queſtion was put to them, as to the three firſt, concerning *Edward*'s Right, to which having returned the ſame Anſwer, their Petition was admitted. *John Baliol* being abſent, his Maſter of Horſe ſtood up, and alledging ſome Excuſe for his Maſter's Abſence, demanded, in his Name, that he might be heard the next Day, which was granted him. Edward *owned for Sovereign by all the Claimants.*

On the Morrow, after the Chancellor had made a Recapitulation of all that had paſſed to that Time, *Baliol*, who was preſent, was asked the ſame Queſtion as the reſt of the Claimants, and made the like Anſwer. Which done, the Chancellor proteſted aloud in behalf of the King: *That although the King of* England *acted on this Occa-* *The Proteſtation of* Edward.

* Lord of *Abergavenny*.

1291. *ſion as Sovereign Lord of* Scotland, *yet he did not intend thereby to cut himſelf off from the Hereditary Right which he might have to the Crown of that Kingdom, or to exclude himſelf as to the Propriety. That he expreſſly reſerved to himſelf the Liberty to proſecute his Right, as well as the other Claimants, in ſuch Manner and at ſuch a Time as he ſhould think fit.* As ſoon as the Chancellor had done ſpeaking, the King repeated word for word the ſame Proteſtation with his own Mouth. Then *John Comin* Lord of *Badenoch* roſe up, and demanded leave to prove his lawful Right to the Crown. His Requeſt was granted him, after he had, with the other Claimants, acknowledged the Sovereignty of the King of *England*. What related to *Edward* being thus ſettled, the Claimants drew up a Writing, whereby they acknowledged him for Sovereign Lord of *Scotland*. This *Act* was ſigned by All, and particularly by *Robert Bruce* and *John Baliol*, and ſealed with their Seals. As for the Silence of the *States* on this Occaſion, *Edward* without giving himſelf any farther Trouble, took it for an Aſſent, and ſo became poſſeſſed of the Sovereignty.

Authentick Acknowledgement of the Claimants.

Edward is put in Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom.

This Step being made, the King proceeded ſtill farther. He repreſented to the Claimants, that it would be to no Purpoſe to give Sentence in favour of any one of them, if it was not in his Power to ſee it executed. Upon this Foundation, he demanded to be put in Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, that he might be able to deliver it up to the Perſon which ſhould be declared King. To this the Claimants conſented, and ſigned an *Act* according to his Deſire, as if their bare Pretenſions to the Crown had given them a Right to diſpoſe of the Kingdom as they pleaſed. In this *Act* they own the King of *England* for Sovereign Lord of *Scotland*, and in that Quality, for Judge of the Proceſs concerning the Succeſſion. They promiſed to hold for good and valid the Judgement he ſhould pronounce. They agreed he ſhould be put in Poſſeſſion of all the Caſtles of the whole Kingdom, in order to reſtore it to him, to whom it ſhould be awarded. They added however this Condition, that he ſhould be obliged

to give it up again two Months after Judgement given, in the ſame State he had received it, except the Homage which the new King ſhould be obliged to do him. 1291.

All that had hitherto paſſed in favour of *Edward*, was only the *Acts* of ſome private Perſons, but among whom were *Bruce* and *Baliol*, who divided all *Scotland* between them, and conſequently their Approbation drew after it that of the whole Kingdom. In thoſe Days of *Anarchy*, the Regents had no great Authority, neither did they dare to do any thing which might diſpleaſe the King, or the two chief Candidates, one of whom was to be their Maſter. As to the *States*, after *Edward* found they were little inclined to favour his Pretenſions, he conſulted them no longer. As they were aſſembled out of *Scotland*, and under the Power of the King, they were not at liberty to take ſuch Meaſures as they would have done. So that the King hardly met with any Oppoſition from the Governours of the Caſtles, when he came to take Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom. *William de Umfreville*, who had the Cuſtody of the Caſtles of *Dundee* and *Forfar*, was the only Perſon that made any Reſiſtance. He conſidered the *Act* above-mentioned as very irregular, and could not reſolve upon ſuch a Security, to deliver up the Places which had not been committed to his Truſt, either by the King of *England*, or by the Claimants. It was neceſſary that the Claimants, Regents, and King himſelf, ſhould paſs an expreſs *Act*, to indemnify him in Caſe he ſhould one Day come to be called to an Account.

Whatever *Edward*'s Pretenſions were, it is certain, that the Sovereignity of the Crown of *England* had never been fully acknowledged in *Scotland*. Accordingly the *Scots* in general could not but look upon theſe Proceedings of the Claimants, and of the Regents themſelves, as a manifeſt Prevarication; And yet it was very difficult to act otherwiſe. All the Great Men were gained either by *Edward*'s Promiſes, or awed by his Threats. The Troops he had ordered to march to *Norham*, under Colour of guarding the *States* of *Scotland*, did not a little help to ſtrike them with Terrour. So that they were forced to do

1291. do almoſt whatever he pleaſed. It was neceſſary however that the Regents ſhould give the People ſome Satisfaction, in letting them ſee that they took Care of their Intereſt. With this View it was that they demanded of *Edward* *Letters Patent*, declaring that the Deciſion of the Proceſs ſhould be made in the Kingdom of *Scotland*. *Edward* conſidering this Step as a ſort of Approbation of his Sovereignty, becauſe the Demand was expreſſed in ſuch a manner as claſhed not with it, very readily condeſcended to their very humble *Petition*, and ordered the *Letters* thus demanded to be diſpatched out of hand.

Edward's *Conceſſion.*

Examination of the Proceſs concerning the Crown.

The Affair of the Sovereignty being thus ended, though without the Intervention of the *States*, the Grand Affair came on, of examining the Claims of the ſeveral Competitors to the Crown, to the End the King might know the Grounds of their reſpective Pretenſions. To this Purpoſe it was agreed among them, that *Baliol* and *Comin*, as well for themſelves as for all the Claimants, ſhould nominate Forty Perſons, and that *Robert Bruce*, in like manner, ſhould chuſe Forty others, to examine into the Rights of the Competitors. That to theſe Fourſcore, the King ſhould add about Twenty Four more, and theſe Commiſſioners, after having maturely examined all things, ſhould make their Report to the King.

In the Aſſembly of the 5th of *June*, they did nothing but give in the Names of the *Examiners* which had been choſen.

The next Day the King ordered the *Examiners* to appoint the Time and Place of Meeting, to proceed to the Inquiry. All agreed upon *Berwick*, a Town in *Scotland* ſituated on the *Tweed*, for the Place. But as they could not agree about the Time, the King fixed it to the 2d of *Auguſt* following.

There was another Aſſembly at *Norham*, wherein the Regents of *Scotland* reſigned their *Patents* to the King, and the Governours of the Caſtles their Commiſſions, to be diſpoſed of at his Pleaſure. *Edward* received, but returned them with the neceſſary Alterations to make it appear that they governed in his Name. The ſame Day, he made

made the Biſhop of *Caithneſs* Chancellor of *Scotland*, and joined with him in Commiſſion *Walter Hamondeſham* an *Engliſhman*, one of his Clerks. 1291.

On the 12th of *June*, *Edward* iſſued out Orders to all that held any Office in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to come and take the Oath of Allegiance to him, the which was done that Day by all that were preſent. The *Claimants* took the ſame Oath, after which they broke up till the Day appointed for the meeting at *Berwick*.

Though it was ſome Time to that Day, *Edward* came thither quickly after, and on the 3d of *July* made the following Proteſtation: *That although he had granted heretofore, that the Affair of the Succeſſion ſhould be tried in the Kingdom of* Scotland, *yet he did not intend to bind himſelf to the ſame Condeſcenſion, if the ſame Caſe ſhould happen again, or on any other Occaſion.* Apparently the Aſſembly, before whom he made this Declaration, was neither full nor authoriſed to receive it. Since the *Examiners* were not to meet at *Berwick* till the 3d of *Auguſt*, that is, a Month after.

The Day being come, the *Examining* Commiſſioners met at *Berwick* in the Preſence of the King, and received the *Petitions* of the Claimants in the Order following. But becauſe theſe *Petitions* containing the Grounds of their Pretenſions, were founded on the *Genealogy* of the Royal Family of *Scotland*, it is neceſſary to have before one this *Genealogy*, although ſuppoſititious, without which it would be difficult to have a Notion of their reſpective Rights.

Florence Earl of *Holland*, ſhowed that he was deſcended from *Ada* Daughter of Prince *Henry*, and Siſter to the Kings *Malcolm* IV, and *William*.

Patrick Dunbar Earl of *March*, founded his Claim upon his being deſcended from *Ilda* Daughter of King *William*, and Siſter of *Alexander* II.

William Veſci aſſerted, that he was Iſſue of *Margaret* Daughter of King *William*.

Robert

1291. *Robert de Pynkeny* affirmed, that he came from *Margaret* Daughter of Prince *Henry*, and Sister of the Kings *Malcolm* and *William*.

Nicholas de Soules said, that being Grandson of *Alexander* II by *Margery*, second Daughter of that King, and the Race of *Margaret* eldest Sister of his Mother, being extinct, the Crown was devolved to him as next Heir.

Patrick Galythly founded his Claim on his being Grandson to King *William* by *Henry* Son of that Prince. In all appearance *Henry*, Father of *Patrick* was a Bastard, since had he been legitimate, his Son's Title would have been indisputable.

Roger de Mandeville claimed the Crown as Son of *Africa*, Daughter of King *William*.

John Hastings maintained that the Kingdom of *Scotland* being *Divisible*, ought to be shared among the Descendants of the three Daughters of *David* Earl of *Huntington*, the youngest of whom was his Mother.

Robert de Ross stiled himself Issue of *Isabella* eldest Daughter of King *William*, and Sister of *Alexander* II.

John Cumin derived his Claim further back, namely, from *Donald* formerly King of *Scotland*.

John Baliol set forth, that he was Son of *Deverguld*, eldest Daughter of *Margaret* the eldest of the Daughters of *David* Earl of *Huntington*, and that the Race of King *William* being extinct, he was the next Heir to the late Queen. It must be observed that he took it for granted in his *Petition*, that *Margery* and *Isabella*, eldest Daughters to *Alexander* II, died without Issue, although *Nicholas de Soules* called himself Son of the first. After that passing over in silence, *Henry*, *Isabella*, *Ilda*, *Margaret*, and *Africa*, Children of King *William*, from whom *Galythly*, *Ross*, *Dunbar*, *Vesci*, and *Mandeville*, stiled themselves Descendants, he proceeded to the Family of *David*, younger Brother to King *William*. His Silence leaves Room to presume, either that these Claimants had falsely set forth their *Genealogies*, or that those from whom they derived their Descent were Bastards, otherwise their Issue would have had more Right to the Crown than *David's*. Ac-

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cordingly we ſhall ſee in the Sequel, that their Pretenſions were not regarded at all. It may be further obſerved, that this favours what is ſaid by *Buchanan*, that *Edward* drew in eight Claimants, beſides *Baliol* and *Bruce*, to demand the Crown, on purpoſe to puzzle the Cauſe. And indeed, it is eaſy to ſee, that of all the above-named, *Baliol* excepted, there was not ſo much as one that had the leaſt Title to the Succeſſion, ſuppoſing, as is very likely, that they were deſcended from Baſtards, and that *Nicholas de Soules* had not truly ſet forth his *Genealogy*. 1291.

Robert Bruce alledged, that he was one Degree nearer than *Baliol*, ſince he was Grandſon of *David*, whereas his Rival was only Grandſon of his Daughter. *That* indeed *Deverguld* was in the ſame Degree with himſelf; but that ſhe could not claim the Crown, becauſe it was the Cuſtom that the Males ſhould be preferred before the Females, in the ſame Degree of Conſanguinity. To ſtrengthen his Title, he added, that *Alexander* II had declared him his Heir in Caſe he died without Iſſue, and offered to prove it by living Witneſſes. Moreover, he maintained that *Alexander* III had always looked upon him as his *preſumptive* Heir, and that he had ſaid as much to them he was familiar with.

All theſe *Petitions* being read, and the King, ſays the *Journal*, willing to give the Commiſſioners Time to examine into them, appointed the 2d of *June* in the following Year 1292 for another Aſſembly, wherein the Claimants might more fully urge their reſpective Rights.

I ſhall make uſe of this Interval to examine as briefly as poſſible, the Grounds on which *Edward* built his Right of Sovereignty over *Scotland*. We find them at length in a *Memorial* drawn by that Prince's Order. And becauſe this *Memorial* is frequently alledged by the *Engliſh* Authors, as containing the *juſtifying* Proofs of the Right of Sovereignty which *England* has all along had over *Scotland*, it will not be amiſs to give an Abſtract of it, to the end the Reader may be perfectly informed concerning this Matter.

1290.

PROOFS alledged by EDWARD I. *to eſtabliſh the* RIGHT *of* SOVEREIGNTY *of the* KINGS *of ENGLAND over SCOTLAND.*

IN the Year 901 *Edward the Elder*, King of *England*, ſubjected to his Dominion the Kings of the *Scots*, *Humbrians*, and *Welſh*. This is to be found in the Hiſtories of *Marianus Scotus*, *Roger de Hoveden*, and *William of Malmsbury*.

In the Year 921 the King of *Scotland*, *Reginald* King of the *Danes*, the *Engliſh* which inhabited *Northumberland*, the King of *Wales* and his Subjects, choſe *Edward the Elder* for their *Father* and *Lord*, and made a ſtrict Alliance with him. *Marianus Scotus*, *Roger de Hovedon*.

In the Year 924, the ſame *Edward* reigned over all the Inhabitants of *Great Britain*, *Engliſh*, *Scots*, *Cumbrians*, *Danes*, and *Britons*. *Mar. Scotus*, *Roger de Hoveden*.

In the Year 926 King *Athelſtan*, Son of *Edward*, vanquiſhed *Conſtantine* King of *Scotland*, together with the King of the *Wentes*, and compelled them to take to flight. After the Victory they took an Oath to him, and concluded an Alliance with him at *Ulnoth*, *July* 4th *Mar. Scotus*, *Rog. de Hoveden*.

We find in the Hiſtories of *William of Malmsbury*, *Ralph de Diceto*, and *Henry of Huntington*, that *Athelſtan* forced *Conſtanſtine* King of *Scotland*, to quit his Crown, and that afterwards he gave him leave to reſume it, on Condition that he ſhould hold it of the Kings of *England*, ſaying, It was more glorious to make Kings, than to be one.

In 934, the ſame *Athelſtan* vanquiſhed *Conſtantine*, who had revolted, and ravaged *Scotland* as far as *Dunferd*. *Conſtantine* gave him his Son in Hoſtage, with great Preſents, and a Peace was concluded between them. *Mar. Scotus*

Scotus, Rog. de Hoveden, Henr. de Huntington, Ral. de Dicet. 1291.

In the Year 937 *Eugenius* King of *Cumberland*, and *Conſtantine* King of *Scotland*, met *Athelſtan* at *Dacor*, and ſubmitted himſelf to his Mercy. *Athelſtan*, who commanded *Conſtantine* to cauſe his Son to be baptized, ſtood Godfather himſelf. *Will. de Malmsbury.*

In 940 *Athelſtan* was ſucceeded by *Edmund*, who reigned four Years, during which Space the *Scots* revolted not.

In 947 *Edred*, Brother and Succeſſor of *Edmund*, having vanquiſhed the *Northumbrians*, carried his Arms into *Scotland*. The *Scots* ſeized with Fear, ſubmitted without Reſiſtance, and took the Oath of Allegiance which was due to him. *Edred* ſet over the *Scots* a King called *Edrick*. *Mar. Scotus, W. of Malmsbury, H. de Huntington.*

In the Year 955, *Edwy* was King of *England* after *Edred*, and reigned four Years, and there was during his Reign no Revolt on the Part of the *Scots*.

In 977 *Edgar* King of *England* having ſummoned to his Court *Keneth* King of *Scotland*, *Malcolm* of *Cumberland*, and ſix other Kings, made them row him in a Barge, of which he himſelf held the Rudder. He ſaid upon that Occaſion, as 'tis affirmed, that his Succeſſors might boaſt of being really Kings of *England*, ſince they enjoyed ſo great a Prerogative.

Another Time the ſame *Edgar* having been informed that *Keneth* had ſpoken ill of him, ſent for him to Court, and having walked with him into the Fields, offered him the Choice of two Swords, in order to fight him. *Keneth* refuſed it, and caſting himſelf at *Edgar*'s Feet, begged his Pardon, and had it. *Mar. Scotus, Rog. of Hoveden, W. Malmsbury, H. of Huntington, Ra. de Diceto.*

During the Reigns of *Edward the Martyr*, *Ethelred* II, and *Edmund Ironſide*, the *Scots* revolted not.

Canute the Great, at his Return from *Rome*, in the 15th Year of his Reign, ſubdued with eaſe *Scotland*, which had

1091. had revolted, and King *Malcolm* was subject to him. *Canute* was King of *England*, *Denmark*, *Norway*, and *Scotland*. *Mar. Scotus*, *W. of Malmsbury*, *H. of Huntington*, *Ra. de Diceto*.

One does not find that the *Scots* revolted, during the Reigns of *Harold* II, and *Hardicanute*.

In the Reign of *Edward the Confessor*, *Siward* Earl of *Northumberland*, vanquished *Macbeth* King of *Scotland* and slew him. After which, by the Command of King *Edward*, he placed *Malcolm* Son of the King of *Cumberland*, on the Throne of *Scotland*. *Ibid.*

We find likewise these Words in the History of *William of Malmsbury*, *King* Edward *gave the Kingdom of* Scotland *to* Malcolm *Son of the King of* Cumberland, *to hold it of the Crown of* England.

We meet with nothing about the *Scots*, whilst *Harold* II was on the Throne of *England*.

William the Conqueror having marched into *Scotland* in the sixth Year of his Reign, *Malcolm* met him at *Abernethy*, where he did him Homage, or became his Man. *Chron. of St. Albans.*

In the same *Chronicle* it is said, that *William* returned into *England*, after having received Homage of *Malcolm*, and some Hostages.

In the third Year of *William Rufus*, *Malcolm* having revolted, and ravaged *Northumberland*, *William*, accompanied by *Robert* his Brother, led his Army into *Scotland*, and made Peace with *Malcolm*, on Condition that *Malcolm* should obey him, as he obeyed *William* his Father. *M. Scotus*, *Rog. de Hoveden.*

Henry of Huntington says, that *Malcolm* seized with Fear, *became Man* * to King *William*.

The

* That is, did him *Homage*, the Form of which you have in the second *Statute* 17 *Edw.* II. When a Free Man shall do Homage he shall hold his Hands together between the Hands of his Lord, and shall say thus on his Knees: *I become your Man from this Day forth, for Life, for Member, and for worldly Honour, and shall owe you my Faith for the Land I hold of you, saving the Faith*

I owe

The ſame King dethroned *David* of *Scotland*, and placed *Edgar* Son of *Malcolm* in his Room. 1291.

Edgar King of *Scotland* dying, *Alexander* I his Brother ſucceeded him, by the Conſent of *Henry* I, King of *England*. *H. of Huntington.*

Stephen King of *England* having demanded Homage of *David* King of *Scotland*, and upon his refuſing it, becauſe he had taken an Oath to *Matilda*, *Henry* his Son did Homage to King *Stephen*. *M. Scotus*, *H. of Huntington*, *Rog. de Hoveden.*

William King of *Scotland*, *David* Earl of *Huntington* his Brother, the Earls and Barons of *Scotland*, did Homage to *Henry* II, King of *England*, and ſwore Fealty * to him.

In the Year 1174, *William* King of *Scotland* ravaging *England*, was taken Priſoner and delivered to King *Henry* II, who ſet him at Liberty, on Condition he ſhould do him Homage for the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

As the Treaty between theſe two Kings has been ſpoken of elſewhere, it is needleſs to repeat it here. It is ſufficient to ſay in a word, that William, *in order to obtain his Liberty, was forced to bind himſelf to do full Homage to* Henry II, *for the Kingdom of* Scotland, *and accordingly did ſo. This is the beſt Proof in favour of* Edward, *and as ſuch he inſiſts upon it the moſt in the Memorial, entering into a long Detail, which amounts to what is above-related.*

I owe to our Sovereign Lord the King, and to my other Lords. The *Eccleſiaſticks* ſay inſtead of *I become your Man, I do you Homage, and to you ſhall be Faithful and Loyal.*

* *Fealty*, from the *Latin Fidelitas*. The Form of it ſee in *Anno* 14 *Edw.* I. Stat. 2. When a Free-Man ſhall do *Fealty*, he ſhall hold his Right Hand over the Book and ſay: *Hear you, my Lord, that I* A. B. *ſhall be to you faithful and true, and ſhall owe my Fealty to you, for the Land that I hold of you, and truly ſhall do you the Cuſtoms and Services that I ought to do you at the Terms aſſigned, ſo help me God, and all the Saints.* He that holdeth Land by this Oath only, holdeth in the freeſt Manner that any Man in *England* under the King may hold.

1291. In the Reign of *Richard* we do not find the *Scots* revolted. On the contrary, *William* came to *Canterbury* to do Homage to *Richard*.

Edward *wisely passes over here in Silence the Letters Patent of* Richard I, *whereby he relinquished the Sovereignty of the Kingdom of* Scotland.

The same *William* came and did Homage to King *John* at *Lincoln*, and swore *Fealty* to him upon the Cross of *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. *Rog. de Hoveden.*

The same King *John* would have made War on *William*, for having, without his Consent, married his Daughter to the Earl of *Bulloign*. This is to be found in the Chronicle of the Monastery of *Bridlington*. We also read in the Chronicle of the Abbey of *Honywood*, that *William* gave his two Daughters in Hostage to King *John*.

Henry III, in the 35th Year of his Reign, came to *York* to marry his Daughter to *Alexander* King of *Scotland*, and the latter did there Homage to the King of *England*. The Guardianship of the young King, and the Regency of the Kingdom, were conferred on *Robert Ross* and *John Baliol*, by the Advice of the Great Men of both Kingdoms. *Chron. of St. Albans.*

To strengthen all these Proofs, *Edward* heaped together some Passages extracted from divers *Charters* and several *Bulls*, and from a Book intitled, *The Life of St. John of Beverley.*

In a *Charter* of *Edgar* King of *Scotland*, granted to the Church of *Durham*, that Prince acknowledges that he holds the Land of *Londoney*, and the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*, by the Grant of *William* King of *England* his Lord.

In another *Charter*, *William* King of *Scotland* grants to King *John* of *England* his dear Lord, the Power of marrying *Alexander* his Son, Prince of *Scotland*, to whom he pleased. Moreover he promised King *John*, that whatever might happen, he and Prince *Alexander* his Son, would

would be true to *Henry* Son of *John* as to their Sovereign Lord. 1291.

In a *Bull* of *Gregory* IX, that Pope ordered the Barons of *Scotland* to ſide with the King of *England* againſt their own Prince, in caſe the latter ſhould break the Treaty he had made with *Henry* II.

The ſame Pope in another *Bull* commanded the Archbiſhop of *York*, and the Biſhop of *Carliſle*, to perſwade the King of *Scotland* to keep the Treaty.

In another directed to the King of *Scotland*, the ſame Pope told him, that ſince he was *Liege-Man* to the King of *England*, and had ſworn *Fealty* to him, he ought not to attempt any thing againſt him.

Pope *Clement* in a Letter to *Henry* King of *England*, in behalf of the Biſhop of St. *Andrews*, outed of his See by the King of *Scotland*, requires him among other things, to warn, exhort, and if neceſſary, to force that Prince, by the Power granted unto him, to reſtore the Biſhop.

The Proof taken from *the Life of St. John of Beverly*, the Author whereof is unknown, conſiſts in this Narrative. King *Athelſtan* marching towards *Scotland*, met upon the Road certain People who having been blind and lame, were juſt cured by the Interceſſion of St. *John of Beverly*. This made him reſolve to go and perform his Devotions in the Church where the Body of this Saint lay. After he had ended his Prayers, he left his Dagger on the Altar, as a Pledge of what he had promiſed the Saint, in caſe he was proſperous in his Undertaking. After this, having entered *Scotland*, St. *John* appeared to him and aſſured him of his Aſſiſtance. Upon this Aſſurance *Athelſtan* attacked the *Scots*, and gained a ſignal Victory over them. Which done, he ſubdued the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*, and ſtayed there three Years. In returning to *England*, a great Rock ſtood in his way, and he intreated God, through the Mediation of St. *John of Beverly*, to give him ſome Sign, whereby the Standers-by might know that the *Scots* were juſtly ſubdued by the *Engliſh*, and that the conquered Kingdom ought for ever to pay Tribute to his Succeſſors. Then drawing his Sword,

1291. Sword, he struck the Rock, which yielded like so much Butter, and he made a Hole in it an Ell deep. Whereupon the Author adds, that this is an evident Sign *Scotland* was brought into Subjection by the *English*.

Edward produced some other Testimonies, but without naming his Authors, in order to show that the Lords of *Galloway* had done Homage to the King of *England*.

In 1185, *Roland* Lord of *Galloway* submitted to the King of *England*, fearing, as 'tis presumed, says the Author, the Power of that Monarch, who was advancing with a great Army to make War against him.

Henry II, King of *England*, having received Homage of *Alan* of *Galloway*, and of *David* Brother of King *William*, returned into his Dominions.

In the 22d Year of *Henry* II, *Gilbert* Son of *Fergus* Lord of *Galloway* came with the King of *Scotland* into *England*, where he became *Liege-Man* of *Henry the Father*, and swore *Fealty* to him. Which done, in order to gain his Good-will, he gave him a thousand Marks of Silver, and *Duncan* his Son in Hostage.

These are the Proofs made use of by *Edward* to justify his Right of Sovereignty over *Scotland*. As it passes for certain, among several *English* Historians, that *Edward* proved beyond all Dispute his Right from antient *Chronicles*, I imagined that the Reader would not be displeased to be able to judge for himself, without being obliged to refer to the Writers of both Parties. For which reason I retrenched none of these Proofs, though some of them are far enough from being evident.

Certainly, there is Reason to think it strange that the *Scots* should find nothing to oppose to these Proofs, the greatest Part whereof are very weak, not to say altogether frivolous. But it must be considered that they were in *England*, over-awed by the Presence of the King, and that *Bruce* and *Baliol*, who were in great Credit, did all that lay in their Power to prevent any Incidents which might retard the Decision of the main Affair. However, since *Edward* supported his Pretensions by the Proofs set forth in the *Memorial*, and since the Homage extorted from

from the Kings of *Scotland*, was the ſole Cauſe of the War which broke out afterwards between the two Nations, it will not be needleſs to clear up this Matter a little, by adding what the *Scots* might have alledged againſt the Proofs, if powerful Motives had not induced them to keep Silence, and what they actually did object, as ſoon as a more favourable Juncture happened. 1291.

In the firſt Place, they might ſay, That it was neceſſary to diſtinguiſh two Things, which *Edward* affected to confound in his *Memorial*, namely, the Superiority of the Forces of the Kings of *England*, and the Advantages they frequently gained over the *Scots*, from the pretended Acknowledgement made by the Kings of *Scotland*, that they held their Crown of the Kings of *England*. The latter was the main Point in Diſpute, and yet the Proofs alledged in the *Memorial* chiefly relate to the former.

2. The Buſineſs was not to prove in general, that the Kings of *Scotland* were frequently conſtrained to make diſadvantagious Treaties, and to take Oaths relating to theſe Treaties: The *Acts* themſelves ſhould have been produced, and it ſhould have been made appear that they really contained the Acknowledgement of the Sovereignty of the Kings of *England* over *Scotland*. It was alſo neceſſary to prove the Continuation of this Acknowledgement by the *Homages* which the Kings of *Scotland* ought to have done upon every Change of Government in either Kingdom, according to the conſtant Cuſtom practiſed by *Vaſſals*, for many Ages ſince: But this is what *Edward* did not do.

3. When *Edgar* King of *Scotland* owns in his *Charter* granted to the Church of *Durham*, that he held his Kingdom of *William Rufus*, that Acknowledgement did not import a Confeſſion that the Crown of *Scotland* was dependent upon that of *England*. It was only a Declaration, that it was by the Aſſiſtance of the King of *England* that he had aſcended the Throne of *Scotland*, which an Uſurper had ſeized, as appears from the Hiſtory.

4. This ſame *Charter*, which is one of *Edward*'s principal Proofs, is affirmed to be a Forgery by the *Scotch* Writers, and oppoſed with ſuch ſtrong Reaſons in point Anderſon's *Eſſay* p. 86.

1291. of *Chronology*, that one cannot scarce help being convinced by them.

5. As to what passed between *Henry* II and *William* King of *Scotland*, it is very true *William* did full Homage for his whole Kingdom. But it is no less certain, that it was in Pursuance of a Treaty, wherein that Homage was expressly stipulated, as a Condition of the Captive King's Liberty. It is even evident from hence, that he was not subject to it before, since there was need of binding him to it by a Treaty. And this is what would never have been thought of, unless the War had been undertaken on the Score of that Homage, which is not Fact. Besides this Homage, which was only a Consequence of *William*'s Captivity, was not continued by his Successors, since *Richard*, Son of *Henry*, entirely gave it up, as we have seen in the Reign of that Prince.

6. As for the rest of the Proofs, which are much weaker, they are not only taken from *English* Writers or Subjects of *England*, who for the most Part lived long after the Events they relate, but are founded on uncertain Expressions, which do not necessarily bear the Sense *Edward* put upon them.

7. Had *Edward* no other Proofs to alledge, but the Testimony of some partial Historians? Why did he not produce the Homages paid by the antient Kings of *Scotland*, as he did that which *William* paid to *Henry* II? If the Matter had been only to prove the Homage for the Earldom of *Huntington*, he would have had no occasion to rummage the Historians, his own *Records* would have supplied him with Proofs. What is the Reason then that it was more difficult to preserve the Homages paid for the Kingdom of *Scotland*? If the King of *France* could not have proved his Sovereignty over *Guienne*, and the Earldom of *Pontieu*, but by Passages taken from *French* Authors, there is room to Question whether *Edward* would have submitted to do him Homage for these two Provinces.

8. The *Scots* might alledge, that when *Henry* III demanded Aid of the King of *Scotland* against the Earl of *Leicester*

Leiceſter, he owned in expreſs Terms, that the Succours were given him out of Friendſhip, and not of Duty. 1291.

9. The ſame *Henry* would have had *Alexander* III his Son-in-law do Homage for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, but *Alexander* refuſed it, and would only do it for the Lands he held in *England*.

10. *Edward* himſelf being deſirous that the ſame *Alexander* III his Brother in-law, ſhould aſſiſt at his Coronation, gave him *Letters Patent*, wherein he acknowledged that the Preſence of that Prince was not of Duty, and that he aſſiſted at the Solemnity only out of Friendſhip, and to do him Honour, without being any ways obliged to it.

11. When the ſame *Alexander* did Homage to *Edward*, he made an Authentick Declaration, that he did not mean to do Homage for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, but only for the Lands he held in *England*, and his Homage was received with that Limitation.

12. The *Scots* might ſay further, that the Homage done for the Lands in *England*, though paid by a King of *Scotland*, had no manner of Relation to the Kingdom of *Scotland*. In like manner the King of *England*, by doing Homage to the Kings of *France*, did not intend to make the Kingdom of *England* dependant on the Crown of *France*, but only to acknowledge the Dependancy of the Lands they held in that Kingdom.

13. Homage was frequently paid for *Penſions*; for Inſtance, the Earls of *Flanders* did ſo to the Kings of *England* upon that Account, as did the Earl of *Savoy*, for a Penſion of two Hundred Marks. So that barely to ſhow, that the Kings of *Scotland* had done Homage to the Kings of *England*, was not to prove the Point in Queſtion. It ſhould have been made appear that theſe Homages were for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, either by *Letters Patent* under the Hands of the Kings of *Scotland* themſelves, or by the Inſtruments of the Homages well-atteſted, according to the uſual Cuſtom. But *Edward* produced no other *Act*, but that of *William*'s forced Homage which King *Richard* freely gave up.

1291. As to the Paſſages extracted from the Popes *Bulls*, they could amount to no Proof, ſince the *Scots* do not deny that their Kings were *Vaſſals* to *England* for the Earldom of *Huntington* and ſome other Lands on the Frontiers. But they deny that they were ſo for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, the which the *Bulls* did not affirm.

I ſay nothing of the Extract taken from *the Life of St. John of Beverly*, ſince there is reaſon to doubt whether *Edward* ſeriouſly intended to draw a Proof from a Miracle ſo ill-atteſted, or rather ſo ridiculous, and from an Hiſtory whoſe Author is unknown.

Theſe Anſwers are not Arguments which I ſupply the *Scots* with. The greateſt Part are the ſame that *Boniface* VIII made uſe of in his Letter to *Edward*, to diſſwade him from attempting any Thing againſt *Scotland*, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. But let us return now to the Deciſion of the Affair of the Succeſſion, from whence I have made this Digreſſion.

1292. *Sequel of the Affair of the Succeſſion.* The Day appointed by *Edward* being come, all the Claimants with the Fourſcore *Examiners*, repaired to *Berwick*, where *Edward* was preſent. At the firſt Meeting Ambaſſadours from the King of *Norway* appeared, and demanded the Crown for the King their Maſter, Father of the late Queen. Their *Petition* being received after they had acknowledged the King of *England* for direct Lord of *Scotland*, thoſe of the other Claimants were read, each in its Turn, and the Commiſſioners began to examine them. But *Edward*, ſays the *Journal*, conſidering that this Examination would be a long while about, which might be prejudicial to *Scotland*, took another Courſe. He propoſed and got it approved, that they ſhould begin with examining the Titles of *John Baliol* and *Robert Bruce*, without Prejudice to the others, which ſhould be diſcuſſed afterwards.

Queſtion propoſed by Edward, *and left undecided.* The firſt Queſtion which was put, was by what Laws and Cuſtoms they were to proceed in giving Judgement, about which *Edward* would in the firſt Place have the Advice of the *Examining* Commiſſioners. It was not poſſible for them to agree in deciding this Point. After long

long Debates, they told the King that they could not give him their Advice, without further Deliberation, and desired him to join with them four and twenty *English*, as it had been agreed upon. This Expedient did not forward the Decision. The *English* Commissioners reported to the King, that the *Scotch* were so divided in their Opinions concerning their own Laws, that it was very difficult to settle so disputable a Point. They added, that they durst not themselves, for that Reason, give him any Advice in so nice a Question. These Difficulties determined *Edward* to afford a longer Time, and to appoint the 14th of *October* following for the Day of the first Assembly. 1292.

He proposes three Questions.

The Commissioners being met at the Time appointed, *Edward* proposed to them these three Questions. 1. By what Laws and Customs Judgement was to be given? 2. How was he to proceed in Case the Customs of *England* and *Scotland* should be uncertain, or opposite to one another? 3. Whether Judgement was to be given with respect to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, otherwise than with regard to *Earldoms*, *Barontes*, and other *Fiefs* of the Crown of *England*? The Time *Edward* had granted the *Examiners* had afforded new Light which they had not before. They who could not agree about the first Question in the Month of *August*, were in *October* unanimous in their Opinions. To the First they made Answer; That in Case there were found any certain Laws or Customs in the King's Dominions, by them he ought to proceed. To the Second, That if in his Territories there was no certain Law, he might establish a new one. To the Third, That the Kingdom of *Scotland* was to be judged in the same manner as other indivisible *Fiefs*. It is no hard Matter to see that these Preliminary Questions tended only, as is plain from the Answers, to establish *Edward*'s Right of Sovereignty, a Right which he constantly supposed, without allowing it to be contradicted.

Answers.

Reasons alledged by Robert Bruce.

Edward upon these Decisions ordered *Bruce* and *Baliol* to be called, and demanded whether they had any thing to say, to strengthen the Reasons alledged in their *Petitions*.

They

1292. They replied, that they desired to add some thing further by Word of Mouth, and *Bruce* began to speak first. His Reasons were confined to these Four. 1. That the Succession of a Crown ought to be settled by the natural Right by which Kings Reign, and not by the Laws which Subjects are judged by, and that, according to natural Right, the next of Kin ought to succeed. 2. That for the same Reason, although private Inheritances were divisible, and the Eldest had some Privilege by the Laws observed among Subjects, it was not so with regard to a Kingdom, to which the next Heir ought to succeed without any Division. 3. He maintained that it had frequenly happened in *Scotland*, that the Crown had been awarded to the *collateral* Branch, preferably to the *Direct*, and that the Succession, in the Family of the Eldest, was not so established, as that it should bring him any Prejudice, since in that very Kingdom Brothers had several Times been preferred to Sons. 4. He took it for granted, that although he was in the same Degree as *Deverguld*, he ought however to succeed, because he was the next Male-Heir.

Reasons and Replies of John Baliol.

John Baliol taking up the Discourse, founded his Right on the *Genealogy* of the Royal Family, and showed that he was descended from the eldest of the Daughters of *David* Earl of *Huntington*, whereas *Bruce* came from the Second. He replied to the Reasons of his Competitor, and maintained That the Custom of *England* as well as of *Scotland* was, that the Descendant of the eldest Daughter, though farther removed, was preferable to the next of Kin descended from the Younger. As to what *Bruce* had alledged about natural Right, and the Right of Kings, he answered, that it was the Business of the King of *England* to decide that, as Sovereign, who, Time out of Mind, held *Scotland* in Dependance on his Crown. As for the Instances produced by *Robert*, of Brothers preferred to Sons, he affirmed that it had never been done in *Scotland*, but by way of Usurpation and Violence. That, when such a Thing had happened, the Kings of *England*, as Sovereigns, had set things to Rights, by placing the

Sons

Sons on the Throne. To prove what he advanced he alledged the Example of *Edgar*, whom *William Rufus* put in Poſſeſſion of the Crown uſurped by *Donald*. Laſtly, He maintained, that ſuppoſing what *Robert* had advanced was beyond Diſpute, he could receive no Benefit from it. Indeed, it appeared from thence that ſometimes the next of Kin was excluded to make Room for a more diſtant Relation, it being undeniable that a Brother is farther removed than a Son. I ſhould be too tedious if I recited all the Arguments, Anſwers, and Replies of both Sides. This is ſufficient I hope to ſhow the Grounds of their Pretenſions.

Queſtion propoſed to the Examiners. Decided in favour of Baliol.

This Affair being thus cleared up, and the Reaſons of the two Claimants having been examined, the King put the Queſtion in this Manner: *Whether the more diſtant Iſſue of the eldeſt Daughter, was to be preferred to the nearer, deſcended from the younger?* The Commiſſioners were of one Opinion in this Matter. Their Deciſion was, That according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of both Kingdoms the Deſcendants of the eldeſt Daughter were to be preferred. One might juſtly demand to what Purpoſe was the Diſcuſſion of the Preliminary Queſtions, ſince the Laws of both Kingdoms were ſo expreſs in Favour of the principal Queſtion, if it had not been already remarked, that they were ſubſervient to the private Intereſts of *Edward*. Notwithſtanding the formal Deciſion of the Commiſſioners, the King, willing to let it be ſeen that he acted without Paſſion and Partiality, cauſed the ſame Queſtion to be debated again a long time in his Preſence, and appointed the 6th of *November* following, to pronounce the deciſive Sentence.

Edward *gives Sentence againſt* Bruce;

On that Day, *Edward* ſolemnly declared, that *Robert Bruce*'s Pretenſions were ill-grounded, and that the Laws allowed him no manner of Right to the Crown of *Scotland*. But as the Excluſion of *Bruce* did not neceſſarily import the Admiſſion of *Baliol*, ſince there were other Claimants, the King ordered the *Examiners* to hear the reſt of the Parties. *Robert Bruce* finding himſelf excluded by this Sentence, declared that he had another Right

who offers a Petition.

which

1292. which he would take the Advantage of, and justify in another Form, the Pretensions he had to Part of the Kingdom. Upon which, he presented his *Petition*, which was admitted.

Demand of John Hastings.

The Affair between *Baliol* and *Bruce* being decided, *John Hastings* stood up and maintained that *Scotland* being a *Fief* dependent on *England*, had no more Priviledges than other *Fiefs* which were all *Divisible*. He inferred from thence, that the Kingdom of *Scotland* ought to be divided among the Descendants of the Daughters of *David* Earl of *Huntington*, the youngest of whom was his Mother. He was immediately backed by *Robert Bruce*, who stood up also and said, that he confined his Claim to the third Part of the Kingdom, as Heir to *David*'s second Daughter. Whereupon *Edward* put these two Questions. 1. Whether the Kingdom of *Scotland* was a *Divisible Fief*? 2. Or whether, not being so, the Acquisitions made by the Kings of *Scotland* were to follow the Law of common Inheritances? The unanimous Advice of the King's Council, and of the Commissioners, was, that the Kingdom of *Scotland* was an *Indivisible Fief*, and that the Acquisitions made by the Kings in the Kingdom, ceased to be *divisible* the Moment they came into their Hands. After this Decision, *Edward* appointed the 17th of *November*, to pass Sentence.

All the other Claimants drop their Pretensions.

The Commissioners being met on the Day appointed, the King ordered all the Claimants to be demanded what they had to say in Defence of their Rights. The *Ambassadors of Norway*, *Florence of Holland*, *William de Vesci*, *Patrick Dunbar*, *William de Ross*, *Robert de Pynkeny*, *Nicholas de Soules*, and *Patrick Galythly*, declared that they did not intend to prosecute any farther their Claims, and withdrew their *Petitions*. Upon this Declaration the King pronounced that they had no Pretensions to the Crown of *Scotland*. *John Comin*, and *Roger de Mandeville*, not appearing to maintain their Claims, they were likewise rejected. After which the King pronounced that *John Hastings* and *Robert Bruce* had no

Right

Right to the third Part which each of them demanded, 1292.
becauſe the Kingdom of *Scotland* could not be divided.

None remained but *Baliol*, who being without a Rival, ſince the others were rejected, was acknowledged as the only Perſon that had a Right to pretend to the Crown. Accordingly *Edward* pronounced that he ſhould be put in Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, ſaving however to himſelf and his Succeſſors, the Right of proſecuting their Pretenſions to the ſaid Kingdom, when they ſhould think proper. Then he addreſſed himſelf to the new King and told him, That he ought to take care to govern his People with Equity, in ſuch a manner, that for Default of Juſtice, or any other Reaſon whatever, he ſhould not oblige his Sovereign to make uſe of his Right to redreſs Grievances. Then he appointed *Tueſday* following for him to ſwear *Fealty*, and *Chriſtmas-Day* next to do Homage at *Newcaſtle*.

Edward *declares* Baliol *King of* Scotland.

The Trial being thus determined, *Edward* diſpatched all neceſſary Orders to put *Baliol* in Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom; and the new King ſwore *Fealty* to him on the 20th of *November*. In the Oath, he acknowledged the Sovereignty of the King of *England* over *Scotland* in very expreſs and ſubmiſſive Terms, and cauſed an authentick *Act* of it to be drawn up. His Inſtallation was performed at *Scone* with the uſual Formalities, and all the *Scotch* Lords took their Oath to him, except *Robert Bruce*, who was abſent. Which done, he came to *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine*, where he did Homage to the King, in ſuch Expreſſions as it was not poſſible to add any thing to them to denote more fully his Dependance.

Baliol *ſwears Fealty to* Edward; *and does Homage.*

After having ſeen the Manner wherein the *Journal*, made by Order of *Edward*, relates what paſſed in deciding this famous Trial, it is but reaſonable to hear the *Scots* in their Turn, and to lay before the Reader's Eyes what they ſay in this Matter. They pretend that *Edward* acted very unjuſtly in the whole Courſe of this Affair, and that his Conduct throughout was a continued Series of Artifices, Corruption and Violence: That indeed he had before ſome Pretenſion to the Sovereignty of

Complaints of the Scots *againſt* Edward.

1292. *Scotland*, but it was so ill-grounded that it would never have come into his Head to insist upon it, if the State of the Kingdom had not furnished him with an Opportunity: That having been chosen Judge, or rather Umpire of the Difference between the two Claimants, he abused that Trust in order to serve his own Interests at the Expence of the Liberty of the *Scots*. They agree within a Trifle to what is related in the *Journal*; but affirm, that in private, by Promises and Threats, he ingaged the Commissioners blindly to follow his Directions. They add, That his chief Aim being to make the Person who should be declared King of *Scotland*, Vassal of the Crown of *England*, he gave the two Claimants to understand, that they had nothing to hope for, unless they would own him before-hand for Sovereign of the Kingdom. To ingage them, *say they*, to this Acknowledgement, he himself had raised up all the other Competitors, who entirely depended upon him, on purpose to start Difficulties which might make *Bruce* and *Baliol* sensible how much they stood in need of his Favour. It is not to be thought strange that the Claimants should be ready to do whatever he would have them. The two principal ones were afraid that their Opposition might deprive them of the Crown, and the Rest put in their Claims only in Obedience to his Orders, or to do him a Kindness. 'Tis further affirmed, that before the Pretensions of the Parties came to be examined, *Edward* had resolved to set the Crown on the Head of *Baliol*, who was of an inferior *Genius* to *Robert Bruce*, and of less Credit in the Kingdom. *Buchanan* says upon this Occasion, that *Edward* offered the Crown first to *Bruce*, on Condition he would oblige himself to do him Homage; and upon his refusing it on that Condition, *Edward* turned to *Baliol*, who immediately accepted his Offer. To the invincible Argument, which the *English* pretend to infer from *Robert*'s Consent and Signature to the *Acts* and Declarations which the Claimants made before they presented their *Petitions*, the *Scotch* reply, That it was not impossible but *Robert* might at first refuse the Crown on the Terms they would have imposed

impoſed upon him, and afterwards perceiving how detrimental his Refuſal might be to him, he was induced to comply. It is true he did not much better his Cauſe by that Means, ſince his Refuſal made a deeper Impreſſion on *Edward*'s Mind, than his Compliance could do afterwards. They add, That it is impoſſible to help ſeeing, in the *Journal* it ſelf made by *Edward*'s Order, that, notwithſtanding the great Shew of Impartiality throughout, that Prince favoured the Cauſe of *Baliol*. In the firſt Place, the Arguments of *Robert Bruce* are very much abridged, and one may ſay, ſet forth to the worſt Advantage. In the next Place, immediately after *Robert* was excluded, all the reſt of the Claimants, except *Baliol*, dropped their Pretenſions, even to the Ambaſſadors of *Norway*, who in all appearance had private Orders to act as *Edward* directed them. Indeed, one cannot ſee why the Excluſion of *Bruce* ſhould affect the other Claimants in ſuch a Manner as to oblige them to withdraw their *Petitions*. This plainly diſcovers the Reaſon why *Edward* would have the *Examiners* begin with inquiring into the Rights of *Bruce* and *Baliol*, becauſe when that Buſineſs ſhould be decided, he had no longer any need of the others. The affected Abſence of *Baliol* is likewiſe taken Notice of the Day that the other Claimants acknowledged the Sovereignty of the King of *England*, that he might not one Day be reproached, when he ſhould be on the Throne, for having been the firſt to introduce that Innovation, his Aim being to make believe that he had done no more than followed thoſe that went before him. 'Tis affirmed that *Edward* was more apprehenſive of *Robert* than of *Baliol*, and that in the whole Courſe of this Procedure, he had ever in view his own Intereſts. The ſole End of all his Proceedings, *continue they*, was to eſtabliſh a Right which he could never have been able to ſupport at any other Juncture, and which belonged not to him. If this Right had been inconteſtable, to what Purpoſe did he take ſo many Precautions to eſtabliſh it? To what End ſo many Acknowledgements and Oaths extorted from ſome private Perſons at a Time 1292.

1292. when the *States* of *Scotland* alledged not the least Objection to his Pretensions, if we may believe the *Journal*? Why so many Proofs heaped up, the greatest Part whereof are so weak, in order to get a Sovereignty acknowledged, which, according to him, was not called in Question? If the *States* of *Scotland* made no Reply to *Edward*'s first Proposition, it is easy to see that it could not be but from a Motive of Fear. Besides, it could not be inferred from their Silence, that they acknowledged this Sovereignty, seeing they had never before made the like Acknowledgement. If by their Silence they had intended to give their Approbation to *Edward*'s Pretensions, whence is it that he required not from them an authentick Declaration, as well as from the Claimants? Was it their Business to decide so important a Question, or rather, did it not belong to the *States* actually assembled? In fine, it appeared plainly enough afterwards that the Sentiments of the People of *Scotland* were not conformable to the Declaration of the Claimants, seeing they embraced the first Opportunity which offered to shake off the Yoke imposed upon them. I shall add here, in favour of the *Scots*, that *the Collection of Publick Acts* affords a pretty strong Proof, that the Kings of *Scotland* had never done Homage for the whole Kingdom, if we except that which *William* paid to *Henry* II. We find in *the Collection*, that the High-Chamberlain of *Edward* having demanded of *Baliol* the Fees due from the *Vassals* when they did Homage, there was no *Precedent* to go by. Whereupon *Edward* was forced to fix them himself at Twenty Pounds Sterling, which was double the Sum paid by an Earl on the like Occasion. What Likelihood is there that the Fees should not be settled before, in case this Homage had been done so often as *Edward* pretended?

Act Pub. II. 600.

I have hitherto related the Manner wherein the *English* and *Scotch* talk of what passed at this famous Trial, as well with regard to the Crown it self, as to the Sovereignty claimed by *Edward*. But for the entire clearing up of this Matter, it will not be needless to make these further Observations. In the first Place, it appears by the whole

Conduct

Conduct of *Edward*, that from the beginning, his Intent was not to become Maſter of *Scotland*, as *Buchanan* charges him, but only to render that Kingdom a *Fief* of the Crown of *England*. In this he did but follow the Steps of moſt of his Predeceſſors. Not to mention the *Saxon* and firſt *Norman* Kings, *Henry* II had no ſooner King *William* in his Power, but he took Advantage of that Prince's Misfortune, to oblige him to do Homage for his Kingdom. *Henry* III, Father of *Edward*, would fain have extorted the ſame Thing from *Alexander* III, but he could not bring it about. It cannot therefore be inferred from *Edward*'s firſt Steps, that he had formed the Project of making himſelf Maſter of *Scotland*, ſince he demanded only the *direct* Sovereignty, without inſiſting on the Poſſeſſion, concerning which he was ſatisfied with making a bare Declaration. If he had deſigned any ſuch Thing, he might eaſily have found plauſible Pretences to place *Engliſh* Garriſons and Governours that were his Creatures, in the Places which were put into his Hands. He might have alledged, that all the *Scots* having eſpouſed the Party of ſome one of the Claimants, the Cuſtody of the Caſtle could not be truſted to People of their Nation, without expoſing the Kingdom to the Hazard of a Civil War. But inſtead of ſecuring by that Means the Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, he confirmed all the Governours, and contented himſelf with receiving their Oath, a Precaution which a Prince of his Abilities would doubtleſs have thought inſufficient, if he had formed any ill Deſigns. To this may be added, that if he had entertained any ſuch Thoughts as they charge him with, he would have found a fair Opportunity to put them in Practice, by dividing the Kingdom between the Deſcendants of *David*'s three Daughters. By that Diviſion he would have weakened the Forces of the *Scots*, whereas he kept them united, in warding the Crown to a ſingle Perſon. 1292.

But on the other Hand, it can hardly be denied, that he had a Mind to take Advantage of this favourable Juncture, to eſtabliſh his Sovereignty over *Scotland*, and ſo to accompliſh the Project which his Anceſtors had formed, but

1292. but could never fully bring to pass. It is hard to judge, whether he himself believed he had a lawful Right, or whether, considering the State *Scotland* was then in, he was willing to lay hold of the Opportunity to establish a new one. The last seems the most likely, though it falls out but too often, that Men suffer themselves to be prepossessed in Favour of what is for their Interest. And indeed to fetch Proofs from Histories compiled by *Englishmen*, in order to show that *Scotland* was a *Fief* of the Crown of *England*, was as good as owning he had no better to produce. Certainly a Homage like this ought to have been made good by more authentick Proofs. One can hardly be perswaded, that if the Kingdom of *Scotland* had been a *Fief* of *England* Time out of Mind, and without any Interruption, as he pretended to prove, there could not be found among the King's *Records* but one single *Homage* in Form, done by the Kings of *Scotland*. It is therefore apparent that without being over-perswaded of his Right, he had a Mind in order to establish it fully, to take the Advantage which the present Circumstances of *Scotland* afforded him, well knowing there was no Body in a Condition to oppose him, since the two Heads of the Parties had so much Reason to keep fair with him. But I question whether the Acquiescence of the *Scots* could give him a Title to acquire a new Right. I leave this to be determined by those that are versed in these Matters. However, methinks one cannot well justify this Prince, who by an ill-grounded Ambition, kindled between the two Nations of *Great Britain* a War which caused Torrents of Blood to be spilt on both Sides. And if the Event may be reckoned as any Thing in Affairs of this Nature, the Sequel of this History will show, that although in the Beginning God favoured *Edward*'s Designs, he permitted that the Projects of the *English* in the End should vanish into Smoak. Perhaps I shall draw upon me the Censure of some People whose Heads are full of this antient Sovereignty of *England* over *Scotland*, or of the Perfections of *Edward* I. They will fancy no doubt that what I have been saying is injurious to the Glory of

that Prince, or the Grandeur of *England*; but I am in hopes that they who are leſs prejudiced, will do me more Juſtice. It is Time now to return to the Hiſtory, and ſhow the fatal Effects of *Edward*'s Ambition, to both the Kingdoms. 1292.

If the Deſire of Reigning had cauſed *Baliol* to act contrary to the Intereſt of *Scotland*, *Edward*'s Eagerneſs to eſtabliſh his Sovereignty over that Kingdom, made him take a Courſe oppoſite to his own as well as to the Intereſt of *England*. On much the ſame Occaſion Pope *Innocent* III was very careful not to let the *Engliſh* feel too ſoon the Weight of the Sovereignty which he had acquired over them by King *John*'s Reſignation. He inured them to his Yoke by Degrees and inſenſibly, for fear of alarming them too much. But *Edward* proceeded in a very different manner with the *Scots*. Hardly was he in Poſſeſſion of the Sovereignty he had ſo much wiſhed for, but he made his *Vaſſals* feel the whole Weight of it; and this Rigour produced not the Effect he expected. Far from contributing to keep that Nation in Subjection, it ſerved only to put them upon ſeeking Means to free themſelves from it. 1293. Edward's *haughty Behaviour towards the new King of* Scotland.

Before *Edward* left *Newcaſtle*, an Opportunity offered to exert his new Right, which he failed not to take hold of. A Townſman of *Berwick* having complained to him of an Injury which he pretended was done him by ſome *Engliſh* Commiſſioners who had been ſent into *Scotland*, *Edward* ſent the Affair into *England* to be tried there by his Judges. The Council of *Scotland*, looking upon this Proceeding as a Breach of the King of *England*'s Promiſes, ſent ſome of their Members to repreſent to him that he had obliged himſelf not to draw out of the Kingdom the Affairs of the *Scots*. *Edward* thought this Remonſtrance very ill-grounded. He replied, That the Affair was of ſuch a Nature, that he could not permit it to be tried any where but in his own *Courts*, ſince it belonged not to *Vaſſals* to puniſh the Miſdemeanours of thoſe that repreſented the Perſon of the Sovereign. If he had ſtopped there, the *Scots* might have flattered themſelves that

this

1293. Act. Pub. II. 597. Edward *revokes what he had granted the* Scots.

this particular Case would not be made a *Precedent*. But the King's Intention was otherwise. To prevent the like Complaints for the future, he sent to the Council of *Scotland* the following Declaration: *That although during the Vacancy of the Throne, he had made the* Scots *some Promises proper for that Time, which he had punctually observed, he intended no longer to be bound by the said Promises, since there was a King in* Scotland, *or to give up his Right of trying all Affairs relating to that Kingdom, where and when he pleased.* He repeated this Declaration some Days after in his own Chamber before *Baliol* and a great Number of Lords of both Nations. After which he added, That he claimed a Right to summon the King of *Scotland* himself to appear in *England*, whenever he thought convenient. The Warmth with which he spoke stopped the Mouth of *Baliol*, who, being in his Power, believed it not proper to make him any Answer. But he did not come off so. Two Days after he saw himself constrained to draw up *Letters Patent*, whereby he renounced for himself and Successours, all the Promises, Concessions, and Ratifications made by the King of *England*, during the Vacancy of the Throne of *Scotland*, and approved of whatever *Edward* had done during that Time. In return for this Renunciation, *Edward* gave him a Writing, whereby he acknowledged that he had no other Right to the Kingdom of *Scotland* but that of *Homage*. Moreover he promised, for himself and Successours, not to Claim the Guardianship of young *Nobles*, or the Privilege of marrying them as he pleased.

Baliol *yields it up.* ibid. *p.* 599.

This first Step of *Edward*'s was enough to convince the *Scots* that he was resolved to stretch his Prerogative to the utmost. But it was not long before he gave them more substantial Proofs. A Merchant of *Gascony* put up a Petition to him, wherein he set forth that *Alexander* III. late King of *Scotland*, was indebted to him in a certain Sum, which was still due to him, notwithstanding all his Sollicitations to the new King for Payment: That therefore he applied to him, as Sovereign of the King of *Scotland*, for Justice. *Edward* eagerly embra-

cing

cing this Opportunity of exerting his Right, ſummoned the King of *Scotland* to appear at *Weſtminſter* the Morrow after *Aſcenſion-Day*, to anſwer in Perſon to the Complaints brought againſt him by the Merchant. This firſt Citation bears date the 8th of *March*, about two Months after *Edward*'s Departure from *Newcaſtle*. 1293. 1. *Summons.* Act. Pub. II. 605.

Eight Days after he ſent a ſecond *Summons* to *Baliol*, upon the following Occaſion. Whilſt he was ſtill at *Berwick*, he had given Orders to the Regents of *Scotland* to put *Macduff* Earl of *Fife* in Poſſeſſion of certain Lands to which the Earl laid Claim. Theſe Orders had been executed before the Coronation of *Baliol*, whilſt *Edward* was ſtill Maſter of *Scotland*. In the firſt Parliament which the new King held at *Scone*, the Earl of *Fife* was accuſed of unjuſtly taking Poſſeſſion of theſe Lands, the Cuſtody whereof belonged to the King. This was properly to accuſe him of an affected Over-haſtineſs in applying to the King of *England*, and of not having ſtayed till there was a King on the Throne of *Scotland*. Upon this Charge the Parliament ordered him to be impriſoned. Some time after, the Earl being ſet at Liberty, carried his Complaints to *Edward*; whereupon the King of *Scotland* was again ſummoned to appear before *Edward*, whereſoever he ſhould be, the Day after *Trinty-Sunday*. 2 *Summons. p.* 606.

The 15th of *June* following, the King took a freſh Occaſion to ſummon *Baliol* upon another Account. Whilſt he was at *Newcaſtle* he had ordered *Walter de Huntercomb*, Governour of the *Iſle of Man*, to put *Baliol* in Poſſeſſion of the Iſle, the which was accordingly done. Shortly after a Lady named *Auſtrica*, who laid Claim to that Iſle, demanded it of the King of *Scotland*, and her Demand being rejected ſhe complained to *Edward*. Upon her Complaint *Baliol* was again cited to appear in Perſon fifteen Days after *Michaelmas*, in what Place-ſoever the King ſhould then be. Moreover *Edward* ordered the Sheriffs of *Northumberland* to notify this *Summons* to the King of *Scotland* himſelf before Witneſs. 3. *Summons. p.* 608. 4. *Summons. p.* 608.

A few Months after *Baliol* received another *Summons*, the Occaſion whereof was this: *David* King of *Scotland*, had 5. *Summons. p.* 615.

1293. had formerly granted to the Monastery of *Reading*, in *England*, a certain *Priory*, held at the Bishoprick of St. *Andrews*. Afterwards this *Priory* had been alienated by the Abbot of *Reading* to the Bishop of St. *Andrews*. The Successour of the Abbot willing to recover the *Priory*, pretended that the Alienation had been made against the Consent of the Majority of the Monks, and thereupon put up a *Petition* to the King. The Bishop being informed of it, appealed to the Pope, and his *Appeal* was admitted by the Court of *Scotland*. Upon the Complaints made to *Edward* by the Abbot of *Reading*, about the admitting of the *Appeal*, *Baliol* was again summoned to appear in Person fifteen Days after the Feast of St. *Martin*.

6. Summons, in 1294. A Year after, *Edward* took Occasion to treat this Prince in the same haughty manner, by commanding him to appear before him in order to answer for himself, for having refused to do Justice to the Bishop of *Durham*, in an Affair relating to his *Diocese*.

Baliol *appears before the Parliament of* England. So many different *Summons*, upon such slight Occasions, and upon the bear Complaints of some private Persons, made the new King of *Scotland* perceive that he was become rather the *Slave* than *Vassal* of the King of *England*. However, as he had taken no Measures to throw off his Yoke, he durst not but appear before him, to answer to the several Accusations. *Buchanan* pretends, that it was by Accident that *Baliol* happened to be present in the Parliament of *England*, when the Earl of *Fife* brought his Complaints against him: But others assure us, it was in Obedience to the *Summons*. Be this at it will, he was accused before the Parliament, of having refused to do Justice to the Earl of *Fife*, and of having caused him to be imprisoned. He would have answered by *Proxy*: But they would not let him, and he saw himself obliged to stand at the *Bar* like a private Person. This was a great Mortification for a crowned Head; but *Edward* was bent upon humbling him, and to make the *Scots* feel the whole Weight of their *Vassalage*. *Baliol* being thus constrained to answer in Person, alledged that the Suit entered against him, being about a Prerogative of his Crown, he could not

not plead to it, without firſt adviſing with his Subjects. His Excuſe not being admitted as good and lawful, the Parliament ordered that three of his beſt Caſtles ſhould be put into the King's Hands, till he ſhould give full Satisfaction. The *Engliſh* Authors affirm, that before this *Sentence* was pronounced, *Baliol* put up a *Petition*, wherein, acknowledgeing the Sovereignty of the King of *England* over *Scotland*, he humbly begged *Edward* to allow him Time to conſult his Parliament. As ſoon as he had ſtooped ſo low as to *Petition*, his Demand was granted, and a certain Day was aſſigned him to appear. He withdrew incenſed to the laſt Degree at the Affront he had received, and bent upon trying all Sorts of Means to free himſelf from a Yoke which was become intolerable. 1294.

The War which broke out at the ſame Time between *France* and *England*, put *Baliol* in hopes that a favourable Juncture would offer to throw off the Subjection he was under. And indeed it was likely that he would have Leiſure enough to take all neceſſary Meaſures to compaſs his Ends, whilſt *Edward* ſhould be employed in that War. A private Quarrel between ſome *Engliſh* and *French* Mariners, was the occaſion of this Rupture. At the ſame Time it gave the King of *France* a Handle to ſummon *Edward* before the Court of *Peers*, and an Opportunity to take from him *Guienne* by a Stratagem, the Particulars whereof we ſhall ſee hereafter. Before they came to an open War, *Edward* endeavoured by way of Negotiation, to recover that Dutchy from the King of *France*. But *Philip*, who was not ignorant of the King of *Scotland*'s Deſigns, prolonged Matters till that Prince ſhould have declared his Intentions. During the Negotiation, *Baliol* ſent Ambaſſadors to *France*, on pretence of renewing the antient Alliance between the two Nations: But his real Deſign was to enter into a ſtrict Union with *Philip*, by the Marriage of *Edward* his Son with a Daughter of the Earl of *Valois* Brother to that Monarch. How privately ſoever this Negotiation was carried on, *Edward* had Intelligence that ſome Plot was contriving againſt him at *Paris*. Accordingly to prevent the Deſigns of the King 1295. Baliol *makes an Alliance with* France.

1295. King of *Scotland*, he demanded of him the Castles of *Berwick*, *Jedburgh*, and *Roxborough*, promising to restore them as soon as Matters were made up with *France*. But without rejecting entirely this Demand, *Baliol* found Means to gain Time, whilst he continued to take Measures to throw off the Yoke of the *English*. As soon as his Ambassadors had concluded with *France* the League he had proposed, he thought it time to declare his Mind. He was earnestly sollicited to it by *Philip*, who knowing that *Edward* was preparing for War, was desirous to raise him Troubles at Home which might hinder him from thinking on Means to recover *Guienne*. *Baliol* had been a long while in suspence on the Score of the Oath he had taken to the King of *England*. But to remove this Scruple, *Philip* had procured for him of the Pope, a Dispensation from his Oath. Whereupon finding himself secure from the *Church's* Censures, which were much to be dreaded in those Days, and having no further Uneasiness on account of his Oath, he thought there was nothing more that ought to retard him. *Edward*, surprised at this Resolution which quickly came to his Knowledge, formed the Design of relinquishing his Affairs in *France*, and employing his Preparations against *Scotland*. He considered that *Baliol's* Revolt gave him a plausible Pretence to make himself Master of that Kingdom, the Conquest whereof would be to him of much greater Importance than the Recovery of *Guienne*. Instead therefore of embarking his Army for *France*, as he had intended, he marched directly for *Scotland*. In the mean time *Baliol*, who depended upon the Assistance the King of *France* had promised him, sent to the King of *England* the *Superiour* of the *Cordeliers* of *Roxborough*, to deliver a Letter into his own Hand. In the Letter he complained of the frequent Injuries he had received from him, of the many *Summons* issued upon very slight Occasions, and the bare *Petitions* of private Persons; and lastly, declared to him, that he would be no longer his *Vassal*. This Letter served only to exasperate *Edward* the more, who continuing his March towards *Scotland*, and seeing his Affairs in *France* in a very

The Pope dispenses with Baliol's *Oath;*

who declares against Edward.

very ill Situation, reſolved to make a Conqueſt of that Kingdom, as the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians confeſs on this Occaſion. Here we may fix the Beginning of the long War which bred in the Hearts of the *Engliſh* and *Scots* a mutual Animoſity, which Time has ſcarce been able wholly to extinguiſh. 1295.

Edward had advanced as far as *Newcaſtle*, with Deſign to go and beſiege *Berwick*, which was at it were the *Key* of the two Kingdoms, and which for that Reaſon had been liable to the Sieges and Surprizes of both Nations. With this View he had ſent a Fleet to Sea, with Orders to prevent above all Things any Approaches to the City which he intended to beſiege. But the Fleet was ſurprized by the *Scots*, who burnt and ſunk eighteen Ships. At the ſame Time, they gained an Advantage over ſome *Engliſh* Troops, who being advanced to ſeize a certain Poſt, were cut in Pieces, with the loſs of above a Thouſand Men. This Succeſs, which elevated the King of *Scotland*, ſerved only to ſtir up *Edward* to Revenge, and put him upon exerting his utmoſt to ſubdue a People who appeared ſo reſolute to ſhake off his Yoke. We have obſerved before, that there were in *Scotland* two *Factions*, whereof one was for *Baliol*, and the other for *Bruce*. *Edward*, well knowing that the laſt had not acquieſced but by Force in the *Judgment* pronounced in Favour of the firſt, believed it would be of great Service to him, could he perſwade *Robert Bruce* to ſide with him. With this View he made him an Offer of the Crown, provided he would declare againſt *Baliol*. *Robert* accepted the Offer with Joy, and ſtrengthened *Edward*'s Party with a great Number of Friends, who had not ſwore to *Baliol* but upon a Motive of Fear. 1296. Edward *attacks* Scotland. *He gains* Bruce *to his Side.*

After *Edward* had taken theſe Meaſures, he entered *Scotland*, and went and laid Siege to *Berwick*. As this Place was very ſtrong and well-garriſoned, he was apprehenſive of meeting a Reſiſtance which would give *Baliol* Time to be in a Readineſs, and to the *Scots* in general, an Opportunity of uniting together, in order to free themſelves from a Danger which equally threatned them All. So that *He beſieges* Berwick,

1296. nothing could be more for his Advantage, than ſuddenly to become Maſter of *Berwick*, that he might advance into the Heart of the Kingdom, and by that Means break the Meaſures of the *Scots*. This put him upon uſing a Stratagem in order to compaſs his Deſign in leſs Time. To that Purpoſe, after he had aſſaulted the Town ſeveral Days, he raiſed the Siege on a ſudden. At the ſame time, by Means of ſome Soldiers who pretending to deſert, threw themſelves into the Town, he cauſed a Rumour to be ſpread, that the Approach of the King of *Scotland*, who was haſtening with Succours, obliged him to retire. This Rumour was quickly followed by the falſe News of *Baliol*'s being but a League off ready to enter the Town. Upon theſe forged Advices, the Soldiers and Burghers ſallied out in Crowds to meet him, imagining that *Edward* was already at a good Diſtance. The Multitude without a Leader, being fallen into an Ambuſh, and endeavouring to retreat with Precipitation, were ſo briskly purſued, that the *Engliſh* entered pell-mell into the Town and made a great Slaughter. 'Tis affirmed that above ſeven Thouſand *Scots* periſhed in this Action.

and takes it by Stratagem

Baliol vanquiſhed.

Edward being thus Maſter of *Berwick*, marched towards *Dunbar* with deſign to beſiege it. He was but juſt arrived before the Town, when he received Intelligence that *Baliol* was approaching at the Head of a numerous Army. Though he had not expected that the *Scots* could be ready ſo ſoon, he gladly received the News, in hopes of obtaining a Victory which would render him Maſter of the whole Kingdom. *Baliol* advanced on his Part with equal Ardor, reſolutely bent upon deciding by one Battle whether he ſhould be a free Man or a Slave. The two Armies coming to an Engagement, fought a good while with great Bravery, though not with the ſame Fortune. The *Scots* found themſelves at length conſtrained to give Ground, after having loſt the beſt Part of their Troops. Their Loſs in this Action is ſaid to amount to above twenty Thouſand Men; a Loſs ſo great and diſheartening, that they were not able for a long while to oppoſe the Progreſs of the Conquerors. After this great Victory

Edward's *great Progreſs.*

Edward

Edward immediately marched back to *Dunbar*, whose Gates were opened to him. After which, without giving his Enemies Time to recover Breath, he went to *Roxborough*, of which he became Master with the same Ease. Presently after he approached *Edenborough*, the Castle whereof was surrendered in eight Days. From thence he went and seized *Sterling*, *Perth*, and all the considerable Places in general. In a word, before the End of the Campaign he was so much Master of all *Scotland*, that *Baliol* and the whole Nation had no other Remedy but to submit to his Mercy. Upon this Condition he granted them Peace. The King of *Scotland* came to him at *Kincardin*, and appearing before him with a white Rod in his Hand, he resigned his Kingdom to him, to be disposed of according to his Pleasure. This Resignation was drawn up in Form, and signed by *Baliol*, and the greatest Part of the Barons of *Scotland*, and sealed with the *Great Seal* of the Kingdom. 1296. Baliol *resigns his Kingdom.* Act. Pub. II. 718.

To confirm this new Acquisition, *Edward* ordered the *States* of *Scotland* to assemble at *Berwick*, where all the *Nobility* and those that had any Posts in the Kingdom, swore *Fealty* to him, and delivered up all the Castles and Places they were still in Possession of. Among the *Scotch* Nobles, the Earl of *Dowglas* was the only Person that could never resolve to swear to a Prince who had no Right to *Scotland* but what Force gave him. His Refusal drew on him the Indignation of *Edward*, who having commanded him to be conducted to *England*, kept him in close Confinement, where he ended his Days, without his Misfortunes being ever able to bring him to acknowledge *Edward* for his Sovereign. *Baliol* was likewise sent into *England* and shut up at first in the *Tower* of *London*: But afterwards he was removed to *Oxford*, where he founded the *College* which bears his Name *. Other *Scotch* *The* Scots *swear to* Edward. Dowglas *alone refuses.* Major. Baliol *is sent into* England.

* This is a Mistake, for *Baliol* College was founded in the Reign of *Henry* III. by *John Baliol* of *Bernard*-Castle, Father of *John Baliol* the King. He only laid the Design of it, and settled yearly *Exhibitions* upon some *Scholars*, and at his Death in 1269 he recom-

1296. Lords, whom *Edward* judged neceſſary to ſecure, were ſhut up in ſeveral Priſons in *England*, and if he left ſome their Liberty, it was on Condition that they ſhould keep in the Southern Parts, without paſſing the *Trent* on Pain of Death. He might eaſily have been crowned King of *Scotland*: but his Intention was not that the two Kingdoms ſhould continue any longer divided. He had a Mind to unite *Scotland* to *England*, as he had done *Wales*, and to make but one Kingdom of the whole Iſland of *Britain*. This is what evidently appeared from his removing into *England* the Crown and Scepter of *Scotland*, with all the reſt of the *Regalia*, and every Thing which might ſhow the leaſt Signs of the Liberty the *Scots* had hitherto enjoyed. But it was not ſo eaſy a Matter to blot out of their Minds the Remembrance of that dear Liberty. He did not forget to cauſe the famous Stone, on which the Inauguration of their Kings was performed, to be conveyed from *Scone*. The People of *Scotland* had all along placed in that Stone a kind of Fatality. They fancied that whilſt it ſhould remain in their Country, their *State* would be unſhaken, but the Moment it ſhould be removed from thence, great Revolutions would enſue. For this Reaſon *Edward* had taken it away, that he might make the *Scots* believe the Time of the Diſſolution of their Monarchy was come, and put them out of hopes of recovering their Liberty *. But how much ſoever they were attached to this

Edward *takes away the Crown and Scepter of* Scotland, *and the famous Stone of* Scone.

recommended his pious Project to *Deverguld* his Wife. She ſettled the *Exhibitioners* in a Tenement which ſhe hired in *Horimangers-Street* now *Canditch*, in 1282. Afterwards in 1284 ſhe purchaſed *Mary's-Hall* near the ſame Place, and ſettled the Society there by Her *Charter*, confirmed by her Son *John Baliol* the King, and by *Oliver* Biſhop of *Lincoln*.

* *Keneth* King of the *Scots* having made a general Slaughter of the *Picts*, near the Monaſtery of *Scone*, placed a Stone there incloſed in a wooden Chair, for the Inauguration of the Kings. It had been brought out of *Ireland* into *Argile*, and King *Edward* cauſed it to be conveyed to *Weſtminſter*. On it was engraven this *Diſtitch*.

Ni fallat Fatum, Scoti quocunque locatum
Inveniunt Lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem. Camb.

this famous Stone, they had a greater Loſs on this Occaſion. The burning their *Records*, which was done by *Edward*'s Orders, was to them and their Poſterity a Loſs which Time could not repair. Beſides theſe Precautions, *Edward* took care to ſecure his Conqueſt, by placing *Engliſh* Garriſons and Governours in all the Caſtles; and having left *William* * *Warren* Earl of *Suſſex*, to command in *Scotland*, he returned in Triumph to *England*. 1296. *He burns the Records of* Scotland.

After having ſeen the firſt War with *Scotland*, put an End to by the Conqueſt of that Kingdom, it is time to conſider what was doing in *France*, where *Edward*'s Affairs were upon a very different Foot. But firſt it will be neceſſary to relate the Occaſion of the Rupture between the Crowns of *France* and *England*. Ever ſince the Treaty concluded between St. *Lewis* and *Henry* III. the two Nations had lived in pretty good Intelligence, when a Quarrel between two Perſons of little Conſideration, proved the Occaſion of the two Monarchs taking Arms. A *Norman* Pilot, and an *Engliſh* Mariner, having fallen out in a Port of *Guienne*, where they had landed, it happened that the Pilot was killed. Whether the Magiſtrates of the Port had neglected to bring the Murderer to Juſtice, or whether he was not in their Power, the *Normans* finding that the Murder of their Countryman was left unpuniſhed, reſolved to be revenged. To that End, having ſurprized an *Engliſh* Veſſel, they hung up the Pilot at the Yard-Arm. Theſe Repriſals drew on others on both Sides, ſo that the *Engliſh* and *Normans* made fierce War upon one another, whenever they met, even to the plundering one another's Ships when it was in their Power. For a good while it was only a private War, in which the two Kings were not concerned. But it happened that ſome *Engliſh* Ships having met a *Norman* Fleet laden with Wine, they carried them to *England*. The Proprietors having complained to the King of *France*, he demanded Edward's *Affairs with* France.

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* Not *William* but *John de Warren* Earl of *Surrey* and *Suſſex*, the ſame Time *Hugh de Creſſingham* was made *Treaſurer*, and *William de Ormeſby* Juſtitiary of *Scotland*.

1296. ed the Reſtitution of the Fleet, and immediate Satisfaction for the Outrage. *Edward* not being in haſte to return an Anſwer, *Philip the Fair*, who was naturally of a haughty Temper, ſummoned him to appear in Perſon before the Court of *Peers*, to anſwer to the Complaints made againſt him. This Summons was iſſued in 1294, much about the time *Edward* cited the King of *Scotland* for very trifling Matters, as we have ſeen. The *French* Hiſtorians ſay that *Edward* not appearing, but ſending to *Paris* *Edmund* his Brother in his ſtead, *Philip*, who was not ſatisfied with that, diſpatched the Conſtable *de Neſle* into *Guienne*, where he ſeized upon *Bourdeaux*, with all the reſt of the Province. Certainly, one cannot but be ſurprized that ſuch a Conqueſt ſhould coſt *France* ſo little. Was it poſſible for that General to become Maſter of *Guienne*, without forming one Siege, or fighting one Battle, as if it had been an open Country deſtitute of Caſtles and Troops for its Defence? This makes me believe either that the *French* Hiſtorians were ignorant of what paſſed on this Occaſion, or that they thought not fit to mention it. But what is not to be found in their Hiſtories, is fully cleared up in *the Collection of Publick Acts* lately printed in *England*, and which I have ſo often quoted. So that I hope the Reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee the Particulars of this Matter.

Philip *acts fraudulently with* Edward. Act. Pub. II. 620.

Edward having been ſummoned before the *Peers*, as was ſaid, did not think proper to appear in Perſon. He ſent Prince *Edmund* his Brother to *Paris* to anſwer for him, with Orders to avoid, as much as poſſible, the engaging in a War with *France*. Accordingly the Prince was fully impowered to give the King of *France* all the Satisfaction he could reaſonably deſire. *Edmund* found the *French* Monarch extreamly incenſed, and running very high in Threats. After ſeveral Inſtances to enter into Treaty, his Negotiation ſeeming to him entirely fruitleſs, he reſolved to return Home. Juſt as he was ready to ſet out, the two Queens, namely *Mary* of *Brabant* Widow of *Philip the Hardy*, and *Joanna* of *Navarre* Wife to the preſent King, intreated him to renew the Negotiati-

with them. The great Deſire they expreſſed of procuring a firm Peace between the two Kings, and the Orders *Edmund* had received from the King his Brother, eaſily induced him to conſent to their Propoſal. The two Queens repreſented to him, that *Philip* was extreamly exaſperated at the Affronts he had received from *Edward*'s Subjects, and particularly from certain Perſons of *Guienne*, againſt whom he was incenſed to the laſt Degree: That therefore it was impoſſible to come to a good Agreement, unleſs a reaſonable Satisfaction was made him. They added, as the King's Honour was concerned in the Affair, there was no other way to appeaſe him, but by *Edward*'s making him a publick Reparation, which ſhould let all the World ſee, that he diſclaimed what had been done by his Subjects. To that End they propoſed that *Xaintes*, *Talmond*, *Puymirol*, *Penne*, and *Monflauguin*, together with the Perſons complained of, ſhould be delivered up to *Philip*. But as this Reparation ſeemed unreaſonable, they gave *Edmund* to underſtand that it was only for Form ſake, and that *Philip* would oblige himſelf to reſtore back the Towns and Perſons, upon their intreating him ſo to do. Moreover they promiſed that as ſoon as the King's Honour ſhould be ſecure by this Satisfaction, he ſhould revoke the Summons, and give *Edward* a Safe-conduct to come to him at *Amiens*, where he would receive his Homage. *Edmund* conſented to all theſe Propoſals, provided the two Queens would ſign a *Writing* which ſhould be drawn up, and promiſe with an Oath that the Particulars agreed upon ſhould be punctually performed. This Treaty, which was ſigned by the two Queens, and which for the Sake of the King of *France*'s Honour was to be kept Secret, was ſent to *Edward*, who appeared very well ſatisfied with it. He was chiefly intent upon what related to *Scotland*; and in all likelihood his many Summons to *Baliol* on trifling Occaſions were intended only to cauſe him to rebel in order to have an Opportunity of puniſhing him for it. Beſides, whilſt this Affair was negotiating at *Paris*, he made himſelf Maſter of *Scotland*. So that as a War with *France* could not but embarraſs him 1296.

at

1296. at such a Juncture, he was very glad to give *Philip* a seeming Reparation, which at the Bottom was no Prejudice to him. Finding therefore that the *French* King was willing to take up with an outward show of Satisfaction, he resolved to give it him more fully than he himself had desired, that he might the better secure a Peace with *France*, which was so necessary for him. With this View he gave *Edmund* Power to deliver up to the King of *France* all *Guienne* with its Metropolis, and sent positive Orders to the *Seneschal* to obey whatever the Prince should command him, without any Exception. *Edmund* having acquainted the King of *France* with the Orders he had received, let him know that he was ready to put them in Execution; but on Condition that in the Presence of creditable Witnesses, the King would promise with his own Mouth, to perform the Articles of Agreement signed by the two Queens. *Philip* was very willing to give him that Satisfaction, and going into a certain Room attended by the Duke of *Burgundy*, he gave his Royal Word, before the said Duke, the two Queens, *Blanch* of *Navarre* Wife of *Edmund*, and the *English* Ambassadors, to perform that Treaty. At the same Time, he revoked with his own Mouth *Edward*'s Summons, and ordered the Revocation to be published before the whole Company by the Bishop of *Orleans*. *Edmund* thinking he had made all sure on that Side, gave Orders to the Seneschal of *Guienne* to deliver up the Dukedom to the Person that should be impowered by the King of *France*. *Ralph de Nesle*, Constable of *France*, was commissioned to go and take Possession of *Guienne* in *Philip*'s Name. The Seneschal would have proceeded with Caution, and not delivered up the Province but upon the Terms of the Treaty, which *Edmund* had informed him of. But the Constable refused to be tied to any Conditions, alledging he knew nothing of the Treaties which might be made between the two Kings, and had Orders only to take Possession of *Guienne* in his Master's Name. After which, he demanded that the

Persons

Perſons agreed upon ſhould be put into his Hands, and ordered them to be carried to *Paris*. 1296.

All the Articles being over and above performed on the Part of *England*, *Edmund* demanded the Reſtitution of *Guienne* and of the Perſons ſtipulated in the ſecret Treaty. To which it was anſwered, that his Demand ſhould be examined in the King's Council. At the ſame time *Philip* ſent him word that he ſhould not be ſurprized, if he gave him a ſomewhat rough Anſwer before the Council, on account of ſome Members who were not in the Secret, but as ſoon as they ſhould go out, he would give him entire Satisfaction. *Edmund* depending upon his word, appeared before the Council, where *Philip* was preſent, and demanded the Reſtitution of *Guienne*; to which that Monarch roughly replied, he would not reſtore it. This Anſwer not having ſurprized the Prince who expected it, he withdrew into the next Room, waiting for the Performance of the King's Promiſe, and they let him ſtay there ſome time, without giving him any other Anſwer. At length the Biſhops of *Orleans* and *Tournay* came to him and told him, that it was in vain to wait any longer, for the King would not be ſollicited any more about that Affair. Some Days after, *Philip* came to the Parliament, without having acquainted *Edmund* with it, and ordered the King of *England* to be publickly cited to appear and anſwer to the Articles exhibited in the *Summons*. *Edmund* not being then in the Palace, *Hugh de Vere*, and *John* * *de Lacy*, *Edward*'s Ambaſſadors, came and ſaid, that they could not have imagined that this Affair would be decided by way of *Juſtice*, but according to the Treaty which had been made, eſpecially conſidering that the *Summons* had been recalled. This Excuſe not being admitted, they were diſmiſſed; and although they demanded only till the next Day, that they might conſult with the King's Brother, they could not obtain that Favour. So the Court decreed the Confiſcation of *Guienne* to the King of *France*.

Philip refuſes to execute the Treaty.

This is the Subſtance of a *Memorial* in *the Collection of Publick Acts*, wherein Prince *Edmund* himſelf gives an

* *Henry* Earl of *Lincoln*.

Account of this Affair, and the manner how it was transacted, from the Beginning of the Negotiation. It may indeed be objected that it is one of the Parties which speaks, and consequently one is not obliged to give Credit to his Testimony. But, besides the plain and natural Manner wherein the *Memorial* is penned, the Conquest of *Guienne*, without Sieges and Battles, makes the Relation very likely. Moreover, we find, in *the Collection* above-mentioned, several of *Edward*'s Letters, complaining of having been tricked by the King of *France*. There is one, amongst the rest, directed to the Bishops and Barons of *Guienne*, wherein he desires to be excused for having made a Treaty with *France*, without their Advice, and tells them, he has been as much or more than themselves imposed upon. This is further evident, from the Renunciation of the Homage which he had done to *Philip*, the which runs thus:

Our Ambassadors shall say to the King of France, *these Words:*

Recantation of the Homage done by Edward *to* Philip.

Sir, Our Lord the King of England, *Lord of* Ireland, *and Duke of* Aquitain, *did you Homage conditionally, namely according to the Form of the Peace made between your Ancestors and His, the which you have not kept. Moreover that all Differences between your Subjects and His might be ended, a secret Treaty was made between you and my Lord* Edmund *his Brother, as you may remember, wherein were contained certain Articles which you have not performed though He has done more than was promised on his Part. He has requested you twice by his said Brother, and a third time by the Peers of* France, *and other Great Men of your Kingdom, to restore him his Land of* Guienne, *and to deliver up those of his Subjects whom you detain in Prison, the which you have refused. And therefore it seems good to him that you no longer count him for your Vassal; accordingly he refuses to be so for the future (a).*

How

(a) As I said above, that the *French Historians* explain not the Manner how *Philip the Fair* made himself Master of *Guienne*, because I had not then seen Father *Daniel*'s History which relates some Pa

How great ſoever *Edward*'s Vexation might be to ſee himſelf thus tricked by *Philip*, he choſe rather to leave *Guienne* in the Hands of that Prince, than relinquiſh the War with *Scotland*, which to him ſeemed of greater Moment. Beſides he was very ſenſible that before he inaged in a War with *France*, it would be neceſſary to prevent the Diverſion, which the *Scots* might make on the Frontiers of the *North*. For this Reaſon he was conented with ſending *Edmund* his Brother into *Guienne*, with few Troops, his ſole Aim being to keep *Philip* employed n thoſe Parts, for fear he ſhould ſend Succours to the *Scots*. *Edward*'s Intention not being to puſh vigorouſly he War in *Guienne*, where he had kept nothing but *Baonne* and ſome Places about it, it may well be thought hat what paſſed in thoſe Parts cannot be very conſiderable. And yet, the *French* boaſt of having gained two Battles, one under the Earl of *Valois*, and the other under the Earl of *Artois*. But theſe Actions cannot have been of any Importance, conſidering the ſmall Number of Forces *Edward* had there. The Truth is, *France* was obliged to keep there a conſiderable Army, becauſe ſhe had to oppoſe not only the *Engliſh* but the Revolts of the Natives, who were extreamly diſpleaſed at having a new Maſter. The Superiority of the Earl of *Valois*'s Forces, conſtrained *Edmund* to ſhut himſelf up in *Bayonne*, where he died in 1296 *. The Earl of *Lincoln* *', who took upon him the Command of the *Engliſh* Troops, having a mind to beſiege *Daes*, was forced to make a haſty Retreat upon the Approach of the Earl of *Artois*, who was advancing to raiſe the Siege. Perhaps he received on this Occaſion ſome little Loſs, which the *French* have called a Battle. However, I do not think it neceſſary to enter any

1296. *War of* Guienne *of little Importance.*

part of what is contained in Prince *Edmund*'s *Memorial*, though in a very abridged Manner, with remarkable Differences, and without exactly obſerving the Order of Time, in quoting *Walſingham in Edwardo*.

* He lies buried in *Weſtminſter-Abbey*.

*' *Henry de Lacy*.

1296. farther into the Particulars of the War of *Guienne*, since it produced no remarkable Event (*b*).

Edward *gains the Earl of* Flanders *to his Side.*

It was not in *Gascony* that *Edward* intended to exert his utmost against *France*. He was very sensible, that it would be a difficult Matter to recover a Province so remote from *England*, and where he had no Place but *Bayonne* left. His Design was to attack *Philip* from the Side of *Flanders*, where the Situation of Affairs seemed to promise him better Success. The Earl of *Flanders* was then in a State which obliged him to look out for Protection against *France*, and he could find none either so near or so ready as that of the King of *England*, who burned with desire to be revenged. The Occasion of the Difference the Earl had then with *Philip* was this.

Affairs of Flanders.

Ever since the Year 1284 *Guy*, so the Earl was call'd, had fallen out with the People of *Ghent*, on account of the Government of their City, which they pretended he had nothing to do with. In the Reign of *Philip the Hardy*, this Affair was brought before the Parliament of *Paris*, who passed Sentence in favour of the Earl, and fined the Magistrates. *Guy* took this opportunity to be as vexatious as possible to the Inhabitants of that large City, which they highly resented. As soon as *Philip the Fair* had ascended the Throne, Things had another Face. *Philip* perceiving that the Quarrel between the Earl of *Flanders* and Citizens of *Ghent* afforded him a good Opportunity to take Advantage of their Discord, was unwilling to let it slip. With this View he privately sent Word to the Magistrates of *Ghent*, that if they would renew their Suit against the Earl, he was ready to do them the Justice which they merited. This was enough to ingage the City of *Ghent* to begin their Quarrel afresh. The Affair being once more brought before the Parliament of *Paris*, the Authority of the thirty nine Magistrates or Governours which

*Father *Daniel* will have it that this was a very sharp War, and that the *English* were very strong in *Guienne*. The *English* Historians speak of it in a very different Manner, and with greater Probability, for the Reasons above-mentioned.

which had been aboliſhed by the former Decree, was re- 1296.
eſtabliſhed in *Ghent*. The Earl was extremely incenſed that *Philip* ſhould have made it his Buſineſs to vex him by reſtoring to the City a Power which to him was ſo hateful. He durſt not however ſhow his Reſentment; but reſolved to take Meaſures to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt him, looking upon him as an Enemy whoſe Deſigns he ought to endeavour to prevent. Some Time after, he ſet *Robert de Bethun* his Son at work, who by ſecret Inſinuations, got the Cities of *Flanders* to fortify certain Places contrary to the Tenour of the Treaties made with *France*, by giving them to underſtand that they would meet with no Oppoſition from the Earl his Father. *Guy*'s Aim was to ſet the Cities at Variance with *France*, leaſt *Philip* ſhould ſtir them up againſt him. *Philip* was informed what Hand the Earl had in this Affair: but as he was then otherwiſe employed, he did not think proper to let his Reſentment break out either againſt the Cities which had violated the Treaties, or againſt their Adviſer. In the mean while, his Silence made the Earl ſenſible that he muſt expect to be attacked ſome other Time. Things continued thus for ſome Years. *Philip* diſſembled his Anger, and *Guy* continually thought on Means to prevent its Effects.

Whilſt Matters ſtood thus, the Rupture between *France* and *England* happened to break out. Athough *Edward* uſed all poſſible Means to try to avoid a War by the Negotiation entered upon at *Paris*, he believed that whatever fell out, he ought to make ſure of the Aſſiſtance of the Earl of *Flanders*, whoſe Diſguſt was no ſecret to him. With this View, he demanded his eldeſt Daughter in Marriage for Prince *Edward* his Son, judging that this would be an infallible Means to bind him ſtrongly to his Intereſts. This Negotiation, though ſecret, came to *Philip*'s Knowledge, and gave him great Uneaſineſs. But he took no notice of this Matter, leaſt by ſo doing he ſhould deprive himſelf of the Means to prevent an Alliance ſo prejudicial to *France*. To compaſs his Ends, he made as if he knew nothing of what was doing; and having upon ſome Pretence drawn *Guy* and his Counteſs to *Paris*, he kept them Priſoners.

1296. Priſoners. It was a ſort of Favour that he would give them their Liberty, on Condition they ſhould deliver up their Daughter in Hoſtage, and oblige themſelves to break their Alliance with *Edward* on Pain of *Excommunication*. *Guy* was no ſooner in his Dominions but he practiſed all ſorts of Ways to get his Daughter out of *Philip*'s Hand. But it was not poſſible for him to ſucceed. *Philip* was too apprehenſive of the Earl's Union with *England*, voluntarily to let go the Pledge he had in his Power.

1296. Edward *forms a League againſt* France. Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting, the Affairs of *Scotland*, which wholly engroſſed *Edward*, afforded him neither Leiſure nor Opportunity to think of the War he had projected againſt *Philip*. But as ſoon as Matters were as he wiſhed them, he turned all his Thoughts to Revenge. *Philip*'s fraudulent Proceeding being an Affront which could not eaſily be forgotten, he had put a great Reſtraint upon himſelf in delaying thus long to find Means to make him repent of it. However as he was about to deal with a potent Adverſary, it was neceſſary that he ſhould have on Foot a powerful Army, which *England* alone was not able to provide him with. With this View it was, that he ſought Means to form beyond Sea a formidable League againſt *France*, and although it ſeemed a difficult Matter, he failed not however to bring it about. Beſides the Earl of *Flanders* whom he gained without much Trouble, *Adolphus* of *Naſſau*, lately elected Emperor, *Albert* Duke of *Auſtria*, the Archbiſhop of *Cologn*, and ſeveral other Princes of *Germany*, the Duke of *Brabant*, the Earls of *Holland*, *Juliers*, and *Luxemburgh* were engaged in the League, by the great Sums *Edward* was to furniſh them with. All theſe Princes, proud of their Numbers and Strength, ſent a Defiance to *Philip* at *Cartels*, of whom he was offended with none ſo much as with the Earl of *Flanders*, who being his *Vaſſal*, plainly told him, he would no longer acknowledge him for *Sovereign*.

Mezerai Chr. Belg.

1297. Edward *checks the Pride of the* Clergy. Whilſt *Philip* was preparing to repulſe this Attack, *Edward* for his Part did all that lay in his Power to procure the Money he ſtood in need of, by Reaſon of his Engagements with the Confederate Princes. To this End

he

he aſſembled the Parliament as St. *Edmundsbury*, and obtained a *Subſidy* of the eighth Part of the *Moveables* of the Citizens of *London*, and a twelfth of the reſt of his *Lay* Subjects. Their Example could not influence the *Clergy*. They pretended they were exempted from giving any *Aids* to the King, by Virtue of a *Bull* which *Boniface* VIII. had ſent the Year before, to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and that the Archbiſhop had kept it by him without making it publick. By this *Bull* all *Eccleſiaſticks* were expreſſly forbidden to pay any Taxes to *ſecular* Princes without the Conſent of the *Holy See*. The *Clergy*'s Refuſal extremely offended the King. Nevertheleſs before he came to violent Methods, he cauſed it to be repreſented to the principal Members, that ſince they were in Poſſeſſion of *Fiefs* in the Kingdom, and enjoyed the Protection of the Laws, as well as the reſt of his Subject, it was but reaſonable they ſhould contribute to the publick Expences. But theſe Remonſtrances where to no Effect. When he found he could prevail nothing with them, he commanded all the *Lay-Fees* poſſeſſed by the *Clergy* to be ſeized, and their whole Body to be thrown out of the Protection of the Laws, expreſſly forbidding his Judges to do them Juſtice, in any Caſe whatever. So bold a Step aſtoniſhed the *Clergy*, who ſince the Beginning of the Monarchy had never experienced the like Reſolution, in any King of *England*. If *Edward* had been like his Father or Grandfather, perhaps that powerful Body would have been able to find, in the Peoples Diſcontents, Means to make the King repent of his Boldneſs. But as they were very ſenſible that it would be a hard Matter for them to ſtir up the People, they did not think fit to exert their Endeavours, which in all likelihood would be to no Purpoſe. So that ſome having forthwith compounded with the King for the Fifth Part of their Goods, their Example drew in the reſt. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was treated more ſeverely, as he was not only the firſt Adviſer of the *Clergy*'s Refuſal, but perſiſted in it more obſtinately than the Others. The King ordered all his Eſtate to be ſeized, with the Revenues of the Monaſteries of his *Dioceſe*, and put the Management

1297. Act Pub. II. *p.* 706.

1297. nagement of them in the Hands of Officers, who left the Monks no more than what was just necessary for their Subsistence. In all appearance, this was done to punish them for having too warmly espoused the Part of their Archbishop. The King's Resolution at length made that Prelate stoop, who to recover the good Graces of his Sovereign, gave him a Fourth Part of his Goods. Thus it is that the *Clergy* when they met with vigorous Princes, know how to stoop, as well as they do how to soar when they have to deal with weak and over-scrupulous Princes.

Edward is opposed by the Barons.

On much the same Occasion, which offered quickly after, the *Lay*-Lords showed a more steddy Resolution than the Bishops, though against the same Prince. To bring about the Grand Design he was projecting, he had assembled the Nobility at *Salisbury*, on purpose to see exactly what Troops each Baron could furnish him with. His Intention was to make a powerful Diversion in *Guienne*, whilst he should press the Enemy on this side of *Flanders*. But he had much ado to find Lords who would serve in any Place but where he commanded in Person. Every one desired to be excused serving in *Guienne*, though they were willing to furnish the Quota of Troops to which their *Fiefs* obliged them. *Edward* not satisfied with their Excuses, threatned to give their *Lands* to such as would be more obedient. These Menaces raised great Commotions among the *Nobles*. They were far from thinking that their *Lands* were at the King's Disposal. *Humphery Bohun* High-Constable, and *Hugh Bigod* Earl of *Norfolk* and Grand-Marshal, more hardy than the rest, roundly told the King, that they were ready to follow him where he should command in Person, and no where else. The Grand Marshal added, he was willing to lead the Van-Guard under the King as his Office obliged him; but he would not serve under the Command of any other, to which no Man had a Right to compel him. The King answered in a great Passion, that he would make him to do it. To which the other replied, he should not. *By the eternal God*, said the King then, in great Rage, *You shall march or be hanged. By the eternal God*, replied the Earl, *I will neither*

Boldness of two Earls.

neither march nor be hanged, and immediately withdrew without returning any more to Court. 1297.

Edward had ſeen, in the Reign of the King his Father, frequent and fatal Inſtances of the Inſolence of the Barons. He knew too well how cloſely they united when the Buſineſs was to defend their Privileges, to be willing to hazard his Reputation and Quiet, in a War againſt them. A Quarrel of that Nature could not but be very prejudicial to him as well as to the whole Kingdom. The leaſt Inconvenience which might befal him, was the loſing the Opportunity of being revenged of the King of *France*. In the Diſpoſition the Barons were in, it was ſcarce to be doubted, but they would have joined to a Man againſt him, in caſe he ſhould have undertaken openly to chaſtiſe the Inſolence of thoſe that had dared to withſtand him to his Face. He had ſtill greater Reaſon to be confirmed in this Opinion, when he heard that, dreading his Reſentment, they began to raiſe Troops in their Defence, in caſe he had deſigned to attack them. Without much Penetration, it was eaſy to ſee they were ſupported. Theſe Conſiderations induced the King to hide his Reſentment till a proper Time offered to ſhow it. Beſides he would by no Means loſe the Opportunity of going into *Flanders*, where the Wants of the Earl his Ally inceſſantly called him. However it was not long before he found a favourable Juncture to correct the Boldneſs of the two Earls, by turning them out of their Poſts, becauſe they refuſed to do ſomething relating to their Offices, for fear of falling into his Power. He was very near repenting what he had done. Juſt as he was going to embark he received from the *Biſhops*, *Earls*, *Barons*, and *Commons* of the Realm, a long Remonſtrance, containing a Liſt of the *Grievances* of the Nation, and the ſeveral Violations of *the Great Charter*. This Proceeding made him ſenſible that he muſt act with Deliberation, for fear of provoking a Nation which ſeemed ready to take Fire upon the firſt Occaſion that might offer. He returned therefore a very gracious Anſwer to the *Remonſtrance*, and promiſed upon his Honour to redreſs when he came back all the Abuſes

The King durſt not chaſtiſe them.

He turns them out of their Offices.

The People complain to the King.

1297. *He appeases them by a Proclamation.* complained of. He intreated the *Nobles* to sit down in Quiet during his Absence, assuring them that he would give them entire Satisfaction. As it was no less necessary to appease the People, whom the secret Practices of the two Earls had exasperated, he published a *Proclamation* to justify his Conduct, and shew the Reasons which had induced him to turn out these two great Officers. Amongst other Things, he said in his *Proclamation* that he had been informed his People were made to believe that he had refused to receive *Remonstrances* tending to the Good of *the Publick*, the which he affirmed to be false. He expressed likewise great Sorrow for having put his Subjects to vast Expences for the Maintenance of the Wars he had been engaged in. He desires his People to excuse what Necessity had constrained him to do, and promised to see *the Great Charter* punctually observed for the Time to come. He was as good as his Word shortly after. The Prince his Son, whom he had left Regent, having assembled the Parliament which granted him a large *Subsidy*, confirmed the two *Charters* of King *John*, by an authentick *Act*, which was signed in *Flanders* by the King himself, and sealed with the *Great Seal* which he had carried along with him. We may observe in the History of *England* several of the like Instances. I mean that the Kings, who have kept fair with their Subjects, and answered with Moderation to their Complaints, have seldom failed to appease them, provided they have not, like *Henry* III, affected continually to deceive them and break their Word. On the contrary, such as have acted too haughtily, have generally brought themselves into great Trouble, of which we have seen very remarkable Instances in some of the former Reigns.

Act. Pub. II. 783.

Philip *prepares for his Defence.* Whilst *Edward* was employed at Home in making Preparations to support the League he had formed against *France*, *Philip* was no less busied in seeking Means to repulse the Blow preparing against him. He had strengthened himself by Alliances with the Kings of *Castile* and *Arragon*, and had raised a powerful Army, whilst *Joanna* Queen of *Navarre* his Wife, was drawing together her

own

own Forces to assist him. *Champagne*, which belonged to this Princess, was attacked the first, by the Earl of *Bar* one of *Edward*'s Allies, who ravaged that Province from one End to the other. But the Sequel of that Undertaking was as fatal to the Earl as the Beginning had been prosperous. Upon the Queen's Approach, who was advancing to defend her Country, the Earl seized with Fear, not knowing how to fight, or how to retreat, was forced to surrender to that Princess, who sent him Prisoner to *Paris*. 1297.

He corrupts Edward's *Allies,*

Mean while, the confederate Princes hastened not the sending their Troops into *Flanders*. *Adolphus* of *Nassau*, detained by Troubles which *Philip* had raised him in *Germany*, or as some affirm, by Presents, could not, or would not perform what he had promised. The Duke of *Austria* was bribed by the same Means, and the Dukes of *Brabant* and *Luxemburgh*, the Earls of *Guelders* and *Beaumont*, followed their Example. *Philip*, laying hold of this Advantage, entered *Flanders* at the Head of threescore Thousand Men, and immediately sat down before *Lisle*. *Guy*, who impatiently waited for the Succours from *England*, was not able to stand against the King of *France*, not having half the Forces he was made to expect. All he could do was to try to break *Philip*'s Measures by a Diversion, under the Conduct of the Duke of *Juliers*. As soon as the King of *France* heard that this General had taken the Field, he detached the Earl of *Artois*, who having met him near *Furnes*, gave him Battle, and put his Army to Rout. The Duke of *Juliers* was slain in the Fight, and the Earl of *Artois* lost his eldest Son. This Defeat was the Cause that *Guy* durst not go from *Ghent* and *Bruges*, where he expected *Edward*. Besides he was in great Perplexity by Reason of the Divisions which prevailed in his Country. There were two Parties in *Flanders*, whereof one, called *Porte-lys*, was in the Interests of *France*, and the other for the Earl.

and besieges Lisle.

The Duke of Juliers *defeated by the* French.

Edward *arrives in* Flanders.

Edward arrived at last, after he had been long expected, but with Forces little proportioned to the great Undertaking, because he had depended upon the Allies, who were

1297. *Factions there prejudicial to his Interests.*

not so good as their Word. At his coming to *Bruges* he found the whole City in Confusion, by reason of the Animosity of the two Factions above-mentioned. 'Twas with much adoe that he at length appeased the Commotions of the City, by granting the Inhabitants certain Priveleges with regard to the Trade they carried on with *England*. After this, he came to *Ghent*, where he found the same Divisions. So that, as on his Part he brought not with him all the Succours he had promised, he himself saw with Vexation how little able the Earl of *Flanders* was to furnish the Troops he had put him in hopes of. The *Flemings* were divided on account of the War. Some approved it, whilst others maintained that it was by no means for the Good of the Country, and that their Prince had undertaken it purely on the Score of his own private Interests, or those of the King of *England*.

Lisle *taken by* Philip.

Whilst *Edward* was employed in composing these Differences, which were very prejudicial to his Affairs, *Philip* made himself Master of *Lisle*, after a three Months Siege. As soon as he was in Possession of this Place, he easily reduced *Douay*, *Courtray*, and some other Towns in the Neighbourhood. After which he marched towards *Bruges*, which surrendered without Resistance. He had formed the Project of burning the *English* Fleet which lay at Anchor at *Dam*. But the Earl of *Valois*, who had taken this Expedition upon him, not having been able to carry on Matters privately enough, found that the *English* Ships were sailed.

A Truce between the two Kings.

All *Edward*'s Measures were broken, by the Treachery of his chief Allies, who deserted him after having taken his Money. The Succours he could expect from the Earl of *Flanders*, were uncertain and inconsiderable, by reason of the *Portelys* Faction, which opposed all Resolves which might any way prove detrimental to *France*. His own Troops were too few to enable him to withstand the Forces of the Enemy. Besides, fresh Commotions in *Scotland* rendered his Presence necessary in his Kingdom, where, he was not without Fear that his Absence might cause some Troubles. All these Considerations together,

put him upon finding out ſome way to clear his Hands of the Affair, without being obliged to abandon the Earl of *Flanders*, whom he had ingaged in his Quarrel. He could think of no better than the demanding a Truce, which was granted him purely upon the Account of the King of *Sicily* and the Earl of *Savoy*, who uſed their Intereſt for him. By this Truce, which was to laſt but till the *Feaſt of the Kings* for *Guienne*, and till St. *Andrew*'s Day only for *Flanders*, *Philip* continued in Poſſeſſion of the Places he had taken. In all appearance this Condition ſerved to prolong the Truce for two Years, *Philip* being very well ſatisfied peaceably to enjoy his Conqueſts. How haſty ſoever *Edward* might be to go and ſettle Matters in *Scotland*, he ſpent however the reſt of the Winter at *Ghent*, in order to try to unite the Inhabitants of that powerful City. He hoped by that means to have a conſiderable Aſſiſtance from thence, when the Truce ſhould be expired. During his ſtay there, he ran the Risk of his Life, by a Sedition of the Citizens, who had reſolved to murder all the *Engliſh*. 'Tis ſaid that he owed his Life to the Generoſity of a *Flemiſh* Knight, of the *Porte-lys* Faction, who by his Pains and Intreaties ſtopped the Fury of the tumultuous Populace. The Danger he had been in making him dread ſome freſh Inſult, he dropped his Undertaking and returned to his Dominions.

1297.

Edward *ſtays in* Ghent, *and is like to be killed.*

Such was the Succeſs of *Edward*'s Expedition into *Flanders*. The powerful League which ſeemed ready to ſwallow up *France* ſerved only to drain the Treaſure of the Projector, and to make him ſenſible, how hard it would be to recover by Force the Country he had loſt by his Imprudence. To have Things fall out ſo contrary to the Projects he had formed, would have been a ſmall Matter. This is what the greateſt Men do ſometimes experience. But more than that, he could not extricate himſelf out of the Difficulties he had plunged himſelf into, without making a great Breach in his Honour. Notwithſtanding he had promiſed to protect the Earl of *Flanders* to the End, he left him in the Lurch, as will be ſeen hereafter.

1297. hereafter. Let us return now to *Scotland*, which is to afford us the chief Materials for the reſt of this Reign.

Affairs of Scotland. Although *Edward* had conquered *Scotland*, he had not ſubdued the Hearts of the *Scots*, who bore with Impatience the Yoke which Force had impoſed upon them. As ſoon as they perceived *Edward* was employed in *Flanders*, they took that Opportunity to riſe up in Arms under the Conduct of *William Wallace*, a Man of no great Family, and of a ſtill meaner Fortune, but of a very elevated *Genius*. This generous *Scot*, though of little Authority among his Countrymen, took upon him to raiſe his Country out of the Abyſs of Miſery wherein it was plunged, whilſt the Perſons of the higheſt Rank divided by Factions, or ſiding with the Conqueror, were ſtriving who ſhould moſt contribute to perpetuate its Slavery. The *Scotch* Writers give this illuſtrious Man a Character which equals him to the greateſt Heroes, and are at a loſs for Words to expreſs his Merit. *Wallace* then, though ſcarce known in *Scotland*, having taken the Reſolution to retrieve the Liberty of his Country, drew together with that Deſign a ſmall number of Troops. How inconſiderable ſoever this Body might be, whereof he had the Command, he made ſo wonderful a Progreſs that one does not know which to admire at moſt, either the Boldneſs of his Enterprize, or the Succeſs it was at firſt attended with. All thoſe that longed for Liberty, finding there was one hardy enough to head them, ran in Crowds under his Banner, and quickly formed a conſiderable Army. With this Reinforcement *Wallace* attacked the Places in Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, and whoſe Garriſons were weak by reaſon *Edward* had been obliged to draw off his Troops for *Flanders*. By his Severity to thoſe that fell into his Hands, he ſtruck ſuch Terrour into the reſt, that ſcarce was there a Place which held out to Extremity, for fear of being liable to the ſame Treatment. By this means he recovered in a very ſhort Space, all the Towns the *Engliſh* had taken, and left them only the ſingle Town of *Berwick*. Theſe proſperous Succeſſes filled his Army with ſo great Admiration of his Bravery, that without ſtaying for the uſual Formalities,

William Wallace *ſtirs up the* Scots *to a Revolt.*

He drives the Engliſh *out of* Scotland.

He is declared Regent.

malities, he was declared Regent of the Kingdom. *Edward*, who was then in *Flanders*, having heard of *Wallace*'s Progreſs, haſtened the Concluſion of the Treaty above-mentioned, and returned into *England*, fully bent upon ſeverely puniſhing the Revolt of the *Scots*. 1297.

Before he undertook this Expedition, it was abſolutely neceſſary to ſettle two Affairs of equal Importance. The firſt was to find ſome way to make Peace with *France*, leaſt *Philip* ſhould aſſiſt the *Scots*. The ſecond, to give ſome Satisfaction to the People, as he had promiſed to do after his Return. He found no better Method to accompliſh the firſt than by getting *Philip* to agree to refer their Difference to *Boniface* VIII, who was not then at variance with that Prince as he was afterwards. *Philip* having cloſed with this Propoſal, the two Monarchs left their Conteſts to the Pope's Arbitration, not as *Head of the Church*, but as a *Private Perſon* under the Name of *Benedict Cajetan*. Philip *and* Edward *chooſe the Pope for Umpire.*

This Buſineſs being in a fair way, he applied himſelf to the other. In order to gain the Affections of his Subjects, *Edward* called a Parliament, wherein he confirmed *the Great Charter* of his own Accord. It is true he inſiſted very much upon having this *Clauſe* inſerted in his Confirmation, *Saving the Prerogatives of the Crown*. But finding the Parliament oppoſed it with great Warmth, he gave it up, the which had a very good Effect upon the People. Edward *confirms the Great Charter.*

Edward having thus freed himſelf from the Uneaſineſs theſe two Affairs gave him, put himſelf at the Head of a powerful Army, and having advanced into the Middle of *Scotland*, met the Enemy at *Falkirk*. The two Armies were encamped ſo near together, that the *Engliſh* having heard a great Shout in the Enemy's Camp, ran to Arms in the utmoſt Hurry, believing they were going to be attacked. The King alſo would mount his Horſe. But juſt as he was putting his Foot in the Stirrup, the Horſe, frighted by the Noiſe that was made, threw him on the Ground, and with a Kick broke two of his Ribs. This ugly Accident hindered him not from being in the 1298. *He marches into* Scotland.

Battle

1298. *and defeats the* Scots *at* Falkirk.

Battle which quickly after began, and commanding with the same Temper as if he had not been hurt. The Battle proved bloody, and withal very fatal to the *Scots*, who, according to some Writers, lost threescore thousand Men. But this is not very likely. Others who bring down the Number to ten thousand, are perhaps as wide of the Truth. Be that as it will, the Loss of the *Scots* was so great, that for a long while they were not able to hold up their Heads. *Wallace* with the Remains of his Army retired behind the *Northern* Fens, where it was not possible to follow him. Mean time *Edward* improving his Victory, retook all the Places of Strength with the same ease he had lost them. Thus it may be said that on this Occasion he conquered *Scotland* a second time. After he had given necessary Orders for the Preservation of the Kingdom, he marched back to *England*, where Affairs of Moment called him.

The Scotch *Lords are jealous of* Wallace.

Wallace was not then in a condition to take advantage of *Edward*'s Absence. He had not only lost his Army, but had also plainly perceived that the Jealousy of the *Scotch* Lords was one of the principal Causes of his Defeat. So far were his noble Virtues from spurring them on to imitate him, that they made them apprehensive of his aspiring to the Crown. In this Belief, they chose rather that their Country should groan under perpetual Slavery, than see themselves reduced to do Homage to one so much below them in Birth. These Suspicions must needs have been spread among the Nobility, since *Robert Bruce* Earl of *Carrick*, Son of him who had laid Claim to the Crown, upbraided *Wallace* upon that Score. This Earl, who served in *Edward*'s Army, being on the Day of the Battle of *Falkirk* in pursuit of *Wallace* who was retreating, and having been stopped by a little River which the *Scots* had just passed, sent to desire him to come and speak with him on the opposite Bank. *Wallace* having agreed to it, *Robert* represented to him that he was ruining himself by his Ambition. That there was no likelihood of his withstanding the Forces of the King of *England*, and though he might flatter himself with those Hopes, the Great Men of the Kingdom would never be brought to own him for King

His Conference with Bruce.

Wallace

Wallace replied, That in taking up Arms he was not in the leaſt ſwayed by Ambition: That he acknowledged himſelf too unworthy of the Throne, to dare to look ſo high: But that his only Aim was to free his Country, which the Great Men of the Realm ſuffered to periſh by their Cowardice. 'Tis ſaid that this Reply made ſuch an Impreſſion on *Bruce*'s Mind, that he burſt out into Tears. It is further added, that he took the Reſolution from that very Moment of exerting his utmoſt to deliver *Scotland* from the Slavery ſhe groaned under. 1297.

Mean Time, *Wallace*, knowing how much the Jealouſy the Great Men had entertained of him was prejudicial to the Intereſts of the Kingdom, reſigned the Regency, and acted as a private Perſon. He ceaſed not however to the utmoſt of his Power, and upon all Occaſions, to endeavour to ſet his Country free. Some time after *Edward* had left *Scotland*, they who had any Remains of Affection for their Country, choſe *Comin* for Regent. But this Regency was of little Conſequence, which gave him Authority only over a ſmall Part of the Kingdom, and a few ſhattered Troops, the Relicts of the late Battle. Wallace *lays down the Regency.* Comin *choſen in his Place.*

Upon *Edward*'s Return into *England* he uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to bring to a good Iſſue the Negotiation, which was in the Hands of the Pope, for the Reſtitution of *Guienne*. Ever ſince he had deſpaired of regaining that Province by Arms, the Alliance of the Earl of *Flanders* was a Charge to him, the Protection which he had promiſed him being a perpetual Obſtacle to the Concluſion of the Peace. He reſolved therefore to abandon his Ally, and from thence forward all Difficulties began to vaniſh. The unfortunate Earl, deſerted by the King of *England*, and on the other Side, preſſed by the Earl of *Valois* who commanded the *French* Army in *Flanders*, knew not which way to turn himſelf. In this wretched Situation, he was perſwaded at length to deliver himſelf up to that Prince, who gave him his Word that he would conduct him to *Paris*, that he might treat himſelf with the King, and in caſe he could not in a Year's time obtain a Peace, he ſhould Edward *puſhes the Negotiation of Peace with* France.

1298. be at Liberty to return into his Dominions. But *Philip* not looking upon himself bound by his Brother's Word, kept the Earl Prisoner.

1299. *The Truce prolonged.* The two Years Truce between *France* and *England* being upon the Point of expiring, the Ambassadors of the two Kings met at *Montreuil* upon the Sea, where the Pope sent them his Sentence of Arbitration, the Substance whereof was as follows: That *Edward* should be put again in Possession of *Guienne*; and that, in order to establish Union between the two Kings, *Edward* * should marry *Margaret* Sister of *Philip*, and that *Isabella* Sister *[1] of the same *Philip*, should be given in Marriage to the Prince of *Wales* Son of *Edward*. It was said also in the Sentence, that *John Baliol*, formerly King of *Scotland*, should be delivered into the Hands of the Pope's *Nuntio* to be kept where he should think proper. The Plenipotentiaries of the two Crowns signed this Sentence; But as there were several things to be adjusted in order to put it in Execution, they agreed upon a Truce, which afterwards was frequently prolonged before the Treaty of Peace was signed. Mean while *Baliol* was delivered to the Bishop of *Vincentia* the Pope's *Nuncio*, who entrusted some *French* Bishops with the Custody of him.

The Pope's Sentence.

Truce granted to Scotland. As soon as the new Regent of *Scotland* had heard that a Treaty was on Foot at *Montreuil* between *France* and *England*, he had dispatched Deputies to *Philip* to intreat him to get *Scotland* included. The Juncture appeared favourable. *Edward* earnestly wished to recover *Guienne* by Treaty, not thinking himself in a Condition to get it any other way. It was probable therefore, that he would upon that Consideration grant *Scotland* tolerable Terms, in Case the King of *France* would in good earnest use his Interest to obtain them. And indeed, *Philip* made

* *Eleanor* Wife of *Edward* died in 1291. In memory of her the King erected a Cross wherever her Corps rested in the way from *Lincolnshire* to *Westminster*. As at *Waltham*. St. *Albans*, *Dunstable*, &c. and particularly *Charing-Cross*.

*[1] *Daughter of* Philip, Act. Pub. II. *p.* 840.

made at first some Step in order to induce *Edward* to leave *Scotland* in quiet. But the Moment he had proposed it, he found it was impossible to procure any thing more than some little Advantages which they would be obliged to purchase by a formal Acknowledgement of the Power which kept them in Slavery. *Edward* was in Possession of *Scotland*, where he met with scarce any Opposition. So that, to propose his granting a Peace to that Kingdom, was in effect to desire him to give up his Conquests. On the other Hand, he could not grant a separate Peace to the Regent and his Adherents, without leaving in *Scotland* a Power independent of his own. All therefore that *Philip* could obtain was a Truce of seven Months, for such as could not think of bearing his Yoke. If we may believe the *Scotch* Historians, this Truce was ill kept by *England*. But it may be this is only to justify the Resolution *Comin* took to break it. Be that as it will, the Regent assembled the Lords whom he knew to be well affected to their Country, and represented to them the sad Condition she was reduced to. He told them, that if they gave *Edward* time to secure his Conquest, he would take such Measures as would render ineffectual all Endeavours hereafter for the Recovery of their Liberty. That he only stayed till he had subdued the few Remains of the *Scots* which stood on their Defence, in order to compleat the Reduction of the miserable Kingdom to a perfect State of Servitude. That this Design would have been already executed if the Truces, which *France* had from time to time procured them, had not put it off. That there was therefore no time to lose, but a speedy Resolution must be taken to make a generous Effort for the recovery of their Liberty, or to leave their Country in perpetual Slavery. Then he let them see with what Ease they might shake off their Yoke whilst *Edward* depended on their Weakness, and the Winter Season afforded them Advantages which they could not hope for when it should be over. These Remonstrances produced the Effect he expected. The Lords, fond of Liberty and impatient of their Servitude, resolved with one Consent to

1299.

Comin *exhorts the* Scots *to break it.*

1299. *All* Scotland *rises and drive the* English *out of the Kingdom.*

take up Arms, and each went and laboured to inspire the People with the same Resolution. This was no hard Task. The meaner sort of People were still more exasperated against the *English* than the Nobles, because they had been worse treated. In a short Time the whole Kingdom rise, without its being possible for the *English* Garrisons to put a Stop to so general a Revolt. All the Inhabitants of the Cities as well as of the Country having taken Arms the same Day and Hour, the Garrisons found themselves attacked all at once, both within and without, with such Rage and Fury, that there was no possibility of resisting. In a Word, they were reduced to the necessity of desiring leave to depart the Kingdom, otherwise they could not avoid being cut in Pieces.

1300. Edward's *third Expedition into* Scotland.

Edward inraged that there was no End of these Things, raised an Army with all the Speed possible, and as soon as the Season would permit, he entered a third Time, Sword in Hand, that unfortunate Kingdom. The *Scotch* Army which consisted only of ill-armed and undisciplined Militia, perceiving they were not able to stand against *Edward*, would have retired upon his Approach. But he followed them so briskly, that being at length overtaken and obliged to engage, they were entirely routed. Historians affirm, that the Fate of *Scotland* would have been determined that Day, if the *English* could have pursued their Enemies through the Fens which were well known to the Natives, but which the Conquerors durst not pass over.

He defeats the Scots.

He rejects their Submission.

This Defeat having made the *Scots* despair of standing their Ground any longer, they had Recourse to Intreaties and Submissions. They humbly desired the King to give them the Liberty to redeem their Lands with Money, and to restore their King, on what Conditions he should think fit to impose upon them. But he refused both their Requests. This hard Denial put them upon finding Means to ease their Misery by sheltering themselves under the Pope's Protection, to whom they sent Ambassadors to make him an Offer of the Sovereignty of their Country. *Boniface* VIII, whose Ambition is well known, immediately accepted the Offer. He had been used to act with a great deal

They apply to the Pope, who accepts their Offer of Sovereignty.

deal of Haughtineſs with *Chriſtian* Princes, imagining they were blindly to ſubmit to his Will, and that his Authority reached to *Temporals* as well as *Spirituals*. With this Belief, he fancied that a bare Letter from him was ſufficient to cauſe *Edward* to quit all his Pretenſions to *Scotland*. In the Beginning of his *Bull*, which was as follows, the Pope took for granted a Thing which had never been heard of. 1300.

The Pope's Bull to Edward. Act. Pub. II. 844.

BONIFACE, Servant of Servants, &c. *To our dearly beloved Son* Edward, *illuſtrious King of* England, *Greeting and Apoſtolical Benediction.*

We know, Dear Son, and Experience has often convinced us, how Great the devout Affection is which you have for the Church of Rome, *who upholds you in the Bowels of Love. We know I ſay, how ardent the Zeal and Reverence you bear her, and how ready you are to obey her Orders. This is what gives us a firm Hope and entire Confidence that your Royal Highneſs will take our Words in good Part, diligently liſten to them, and effectually put them in Execution. Your Royal Highneſs may have heard, and we doubt not but you keep in Mind, that from old Time the Kingdom of* Scotland *has all along appertained, and does now appertain to the Church of* Rome, *as all the World knows, and that as we have been informed it never was held either of your Predeceſſors, or of your ſelf*, &c.

The reſt of the *Bull*, which is too long to be inſerted here at length, contains the greateſt Part of the Objections before-mentioned, againſt the Pretenſions of the Kings of *England* to the Sovereignty of *Scotland*. As in all appearance the Pope had been inſtructed by the *Scotch* Ambaſſadors, it is to be preſumed that if during the Congreſs at *Norham*, the *States* of *Scotland* returned no Anſwer to what *Edward* alledged, it was not for want of Proofs, but from quite another Motive. The Pope likewiſe upbraided *Edward* with all his Acts of Violence committed in the *Scotch* War, and particularly his impriſoning ſeveral Biſhops. In fine, he ſet himſelf up for Judge of the Controverſy between the *Engliſh* and *Scots*, and ordered

the

1300. the King to send Ambassadors to *Rome* with all necessary Instructions, within six Months at fartheſt, after which he would pronounce a decisive Sentence.

Edward *threatens to destroy* Scotland

This haughty manner of proceeding was by no Means proper to cause *Edward* to lay down his Arms. He was so offended at it, that, far from having any regard to the Pope's Pretensions, he swore, if he heard any more of them, he would destroy *Scotland* from Sea to Sea. The Deputies of the *Scots* who were present could not hear these Threats without Emotion. They told him, that he had still a great deal to do before Matters could be brought to that Pass; that there was not a *Scotchman* but what would spill the last Drop of his Blood in the Defence of his Country. But how resolved soever he might be not to leave *Scotland* before he had entirely reduced it, he durst not refuse the King of *France* a Truce which he demanded in behalf of the *Scots*.

Grants a Truce.

Edward *creates his Son Prince of* Wales.

It was during this Truce that *Edward* invested his eldest Son, aged Seventeen Years, with the Principality of *Wales*, and Earldom of *Chester*. The *Welsh* rejoyced at it, and looked upon it as a Mark of the King's Favour, because the young Prince was born in their Country.

1301. *Answer to the Pope's* Bull.

In the Beginning of the next Year, the King called a Parliament at *Lincoln*, in Order to consult about the Pope's Pretensions to *Scotland*, and what Answer should be returned to his *Bull*. The Parliament being no less exasperated at the Pope's Pretensions and Haughtiness than the King himself, it was resolved that a Letter should be sent the Pope signed by all the Barons of the Realm. In this Letter they plainly tell him the direct contrary to what he asserted in his *Bull*, namely, that the Crown of *England* had all along enjoyed the Right of Sovereignty over *Scotland*, and that it was publickly notorious that *Scotland* as to *Temporals* never belonged to the *Church of Rome*. That therefore, the Parliament would never suffer the King's Prerogative to be called in Question, or that he should send Ambassadors to *Rome* upon that Score, though he himself should be willing to carry so far his Complaisance for *the Holy See*, Finally, they desired the Pope to leave

Act. Pub. H. 873.

leave the King and People of *England* in the Enjoyments of their Rights, without giving them any Diſturbance *. 1301.

This Letter was followed ſome Months after by another from the King himſelf, with which he ſent at the ſame Time a *Memorial*, like to that he had drawn up during the Congreſs at *Norham*, to juſtify that at all Times the Kingdom of *Scotland* had been held of the Crown of *England*. But whereas in the Firſt, he carries back his Claim no further than *Edward the Elder*, in this, he dates its Origin from the Reign of *Brutus* firſt fabulous King of *the Iſle of Albion*. Then he traces it through all the Reigns of the fictitious Kings mentioned in the Hiſtory or rather the *Romance* of *Geoffery of Monmouth*: The which he did not venture to do in the *Memorial* drawn up for the *Scots*. But he might ſay any Thing to the *Pope* and *Italians*, who were not verſed enough in the *Engliſh* Hiſtory to be able to diſcern Truth from Falſehood. Beſides the King's Letter was very reſpectful, and contained no Expreſſions which might give Offence to *his Holineſs*. This Moderation on ſuch an Occaſion, wherein he was highly provoked at the Pope's Pretenſions, cannot be aſcribed to any Thing but the Need he had of him in the Affair of the Reſtitution of *Guienne*.

The King ſends a Letter alſo. ibid. *p.* 883.

The Truce with *Scotland* was no ſooner expired but *Edward* returned thither where he ſpent the Winter. But at the Time he was preparing to renew the War, he was ſo ſtrongly ſollicited by the King of *France*, that he could not refuſe the *Scots* the prolonging of the Truce to the Month of *November*. One would wonder that he ſhould have ſo much Complaiſance for *Philip*, if it was true, as ſome affirm, that he had made Peace with *France* at *Montreuil* and taken Poſſeſſion of *Guienne*. But it is certain that the Peace between the two Crowns was not fully concluded till 1303, and that the Treaty of *Montreuil* was only

Edward *returns into* Scotland *and prolongs the Truce.*

* This *Remonſtrance* is ſubſcribed by a hundred Earls and Barons, who declare beſides that they had Authority to repreſent the whole *Community* of the Kingdom. Dr. *Howel* has given us the Names of them, and calls it *a Liſt of thoſe worthy Patriots who withſtood Papal Uſurpation.*

1301. only the Pope's Sentence of Arbitration containing several Articles, the Performance whereof might meet with great Difficulties, though in general, the two Kings were well enough satisfied with it. This makes *Edward*'s Deference for *Philip* not so strange, since by a Refusal he might have retarded the Conclusion of a Peace, by which *Guienne* was to be restored.

1302. *He sends* Segrave *into* Scotland. The Truce with *Scotland* being about to expire, *Edward* sent *Segrave* into that Kingdom to renew the War. This General marched thither, not so much with Design to fight the *Scots* as to destroy the Country. With this View he divided his Army into three Bodies, which marched at some Distance from one another, that they might spread the more Ground. The Notion he had that there was nothing to fear, causing him to march in a careless manner, and without vouchsafeing to get Intelligence of the Posture of the Enemy, he unexpectedly met the *Scots* near *Ross*, five Miles from *Edenburgh*. As he was too far advanced with the Body he commanded, to be able to receive any Assistance from the others, the *Scotch* Army commanded by *Comin* and *Frazer* attacked him without loss of Time, and immediately put him to rout. The nearest of the two other Bodies having notice that the General was attacked, hastened to his Relief. But not being able to come up time enough, they were defeated likewise. Though the *Scots* were victorious in these two Engagements, it was not without Difficulty and Loss. Their Wounded being many, and their Troops much harrassed, they were willing to take some Rest, when they saw the third Body of the *English* Army advancing to attack them. This Sight put them into such Disorder that they would forthwith have taken to their Heels, if the Exhortations of their Generals had not revived their Courage. This last Battle was the sharpest of the Three. The *English* animated with the Desire of revenging their Countrymen, and the *Scots* encouraged by the two Victories they had just obtained, fought a good while with equal Animosity: but the *Scots* got the better at last and routed their Enemies. The *English* Historians lightly pass over these three

Three Victories gained by the Scots *in one Day.* Buchan.

Battles,

Battles, and the *Scotch*, on the contrary, take care to cry up this threefold Victory *. It may be the one say too much, and the others too little of it. Be that as it will, it cannot be denied that this Shock appeared of great Consequence to *Edward*, since it made him resolve to enter *Scotland* once again, with a more numerous Army than he had ever yet done. However it was not in his Power to execute his Design till the next Year, because he could not help including the *Scots* in a Truce which he made with *France* till *June*. 1302.

Edward *is prevented entering* Scotland *by a Truce.*

Before the Truce was expired, the Peace betwixt the two Crowns was concluded at *Paris*, on the 20*th* of *May* 1303. *Philip* restored *Guienne* to *Edward*, who bound himself on his Part to do him full Homage and without Limitation, in the City of *Amiens*. As for the Allies of the two Kings, there was no mention of them in the Treaty. On the contrary, the two Monarchs obliged themselves by Oath not to assist one another's Enemies. Thus the *Scots* and the Earl of *Flanders* were left to shift for themselves. This is one of the many remarkable Instances how little Dependance petty Princes may place upon their Alliances with more powerful Sovereigns. Though the first Article always runs, that neither Peace nor Truce shall be made without the Consent of all Parties, it is usually this that is first violated. Indeed, *Philip* would have persuaded the *Scots* that he would procure them a separate Peace at an Interview he was to have with *Edward*: but nothing was farther from his Thoughts. The Truth is, he had left the *Scots* to the Mercy of the King of *England*, purely to get him to abandon the *Flemings*, who having taken up Arms against him, had already gained great Advantages. *Baliol*, from whom this Treaty had taken all Hopes of being ever restored, lived on his Estate in *Normandy*, and spent the residue of his Days as a private Person. 1303.

Treaty of Peace between France *and* England. Act. Pub. II. 923. ibid. p. 929.

* The *Scotch* Historians ascribe all the Glory to *Comin* and *Fraser*, without mentioning *Wallace*; Whereas the *English* attribute it to the brave *Wallace*.

1303. *The Peace was made without the Pope.*

The Conteſts which aroſe between Pope *Boniface* and *Philip the Fair*, had a long time delayed the Concluſion of this Peace. The Pope, who had projected the turning the Arms of the *Chriſtians* againſt the *Infidels*, pretended arbitrarily to command all the Princes of *Europe* to make up their Quarrels according to his Caprice, in Order to be in a Readineſs to ſend or lead in Perſon their Forces to *the Holy Land*. The Haughtineſs wherewith he would have treated the King of *France*, occaſioned ſuch Diſputes betwixt them, as at length came to an open Rupture. This was the Reaſon that *Philip*, looking upon the Pope as his Enemy, rejected his Arbitration, and concluded a Peace with *Edward* without the Intervention of him whom they had choſen Umpire.

Edward's fourth Expedition into Scotland.

Edward having nothing more to fear from *France*, carried his Arms a fourth Time into *Scotland* with ſo numerous an Army, that he met with no Reſiſtance. He penetrated even to the utmoſt Bounds of the Iſland, ravaging the Country on all Sides, the *Scots* being in no Condition to oppoſe ſo formidable an Enemy. *Wallace* alone kept cloſe to him with ſome Troops, in order to harraſs him and revenge the *Scots* upon ſuch of the *Engliſh* Soldiers as ventured to ſtir from the main Body of the Army. How great ſoever *Edward*'s Advantages might be, he was not ſo ſevere to thoſe that voluntarily ſubmitted as he had been in his former Expedition. He had found that by driving them to deſpair he himſelf had compelled them to revolt. For this Reaſon he treated favourably ſuch as ſurrendered and permitted them to redeem their Lands, which he had before refuſed them. This Indulgence produced ſo good an Effect, that almoſt all the great Men of the Kingdom finding there was no other Remedy, willingly laid hold of it. Before he quitted the Kingdom, *Edward* ordered *Sterling*-Caſtle to be aſſaulted, which held out the whole Winter. The vigorous Defence of the Beſieged obliged the King to be there in Perſon as ſoon as the Weather permitted; nevertheleſs it was *July* before he brought them to capitulate. *Buchanan* ſays, that contrary to the Articles

He grants ſome Favours to the Scots.

Sterling-*Caſtle beſieged.*

1304. *He takes it.*

of the Capitulation, he committed to Priſon the Gover- 1304.
nour and Officers of the Garriſon.

The taking of *Sterling* finiſhed *Edward*'s fourth Expedition and third Conqueſt of *Scotland*. But although it may juſtly be ſaid that *Scotland* was conquered upon this Occaſion, yet there were in the Country, out of the reach of the *Engliſh* Arms, certain impenetrable Places which afforded a Retreat and Sanctuary to thoſe that could not live in Slavery, and who were a great Help to the reſtoring the Kingdom to its antient Liberty. This is what *Edward* himſelf in the midſt of his Succeſſes could not forbear dreading. The Rigour wherewith he treated the brave *Wallace*, who was betrayed into his Hands by arrant Treachery, is a clear Evidence that he did not think the *Scots* ſubdued, though he was Maſter of *Scotland*. To deter them by the Puniſhment of this great Man, whom he looked upon as the ſole Author of their Revolt, he cauſed him to be tried, condemned, and executed as guilty of High-Treaſon, and ordered his four Quarters to be hung up in four of the principal Towns in the Kingdom. They were *Engliſh* Judges that pronounced this Sentence, though *Wallace* was a *Scotchman*, and of the number of thoſe that had never owned the Juriſdiction of *Edward*. To excuſe, in ſome Meaſure, ſo extraordinary a Severity, there are Hiſtorians who endeavour to defame *Wallace* and charge him with having committed exceſſive Cruelties. But neither theſe Accuſations nor the Manner of his Death have been able to hinder Poſterity from doing him the Juſtice he deſerved, and unprejudiced People from looking upon him ſtill as a Heroe worthy of a better Fate.

Tragical End of Wallace.

Edward having nothing more to do in *Scotland*, returned into *England*, where he ſet about making his Authority to be regarded, to which ſome among the Barons ſhowed but little Deference. *Segrave* was attacked the firſt upon this Score, to ſerve for an Example to the reſt. This Lord having been accuſed of ſome Miſdemeanour, had challenged his Accuſer to ſingle Combat, in order to vindicate

1305. Edward's *Severity towards* Segrave.

1305. his Innocence, according to the Custom of those Days *. But the King not having thought fit to consent to it, *Segrave* had passed the Sea, in order to go and fight out of the Kingdom. Though his Disobedience might in some Measure be extenuated by the regard he had shown for the King in forbearing to fight the Duel in his Territories, *Edward* considered it as of too great Consequence to be left unpunished. As soon as *Segrave* came back, he was taken into Custody and put to his Trial. The Judges were somewhat at a Loss how to pass Sentence in this Affair, concerning which there was apparently no Law to direct them. However after a three Days Consultation they declared him worthy of Death, adding in their Sentence, that it should be in the King's Power to pardon him. *Edward* was very angry at the Boldness of the Judges, who seemed to set Bounds to his Prerogative, as if he could not exercise his Clemency without their Permission, and gave them a severe Reprimand. Nevertheless he pardoned *Segrave* upon the Intercession of certain Lords who offered to become Sureties for his good Behaviour.

Commission of Trail-Bâton. Act Pub. II. 960.

But this was not the only Instance of Severity *Edward* gave after his Return. He had been informed that Justice was administered throughout the whole Kingdom with a great deal of Negligence and Partiality; that the Magistrates suffered themselves to be bribed with Presents, and that the Rich were screened from the Rigour of the Laws, whilst the Poor were exposed to the Oppression and Tyranny of the Great. So great Disorders calling for a speedy and effectual Redress, he gave an extraordinary Commission to some Judges whom he nominated himself, to go into all the Counties and make Inquisition upon all Malefactors of what Rank soever they might be, and impowered them to put their Sentence in Execution upon the Spot. This Commission was called *Trail-Bâton*, a Word whose Derivation is unknown, concerning which there are several Conjectures

* He was charged with Treason by Sir *John de Crombwell*. *M. West.* Anno 1305.

jectures, too long to be inſerted. It is ſufficient to ſay, in order to give a Notion of this extraordinary Court, that it was much the ſame with what is ſtiled in *France*, *Grands Jours*. This ſevere Proceeding was a Check to thoſe that thought to ſcreen themſelves from Juſtice by their Credit and Riches; and ſerved at the ſame time to fill the King's Coffers with the Mulcts and Fines of the Guilty *. 1307.

Prince of Wales publickly impriſoned.

To theſe two Inſtances of Severity he joined a third, very proper to ſhow his Intention that the Laws ſhould be obſerved without any regard to Birth or Dignity. Prince *Edward* his Son having been perſwaded by *Piers Gaveſton* one of his Favorites, to commit ſome Outrage againſt the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, he ordered him to be publickly impriſoned, not ſuffering his Rank to exempt him from Juſtice.

Clement V. abſolves the King from his Oath to the Charters. Act. Pub. II. 978.

This Proceeding would no doubt have been more pleaſing to the *Engliſh*, if what he did quickly after had ſhown the ſame Moderation and the ſame Regard for the People. *Clement* V, Native of *Bourdeaux*, having ſucceeded *Boniface* VIII, *Edward* thought he ſhould uſe his Intereſt with the new Pope to obtain a Diſpenſation from the Oath he had taken with regard to the two *Charters* of Liberties. The Pope made no Scruple to grant him that Favour. He ſuppoſed, as it appears by his *Bull*, that the King had been forced to take that Oath, and that Suppoſition, falſe as it was, ſeemed to him a ſufficient Reaſon to abſolve him from it. 'Tis affirmed, *Edward* purchaſed this Diſpenſation by making the Pope a Preſent of Gold Plate. The Alarm which this Step ſpread in the Kingdom was not groundleſs, ſeeing it began quickly to be perceived that the King aſſumed more Power than the Laws and Cuſtoms

* Theſe *Juſtices* were in a manner the ſame with the *Juſtices in Eyre*. Their Office was to make Inquiſition through the Realm, by the Verdict of ſubſtantial *Juries*, upon *Mayors*, *Sheriffs*, *Bayliffs*, *Eſcheators*, and others, concerning Extortion, Bribery, and ſuch Grievances, as Intruſions into other Men's Lands, *Barretors*, and Breakers of the Peace, *&c.* For the Etymology of the Word *Trail-baſton*, ſee *Spelman*'s Gloſſary.

1305. Customs of the Realm gave him. He even affected to discover his Intention, upon an Occasion wherein one could not be mistaken. *Clement* V, had made him a Grant of the *Tenths* for three Years, reserving the one half to himself for the Occasions of *the Holy See*. The Parliament could not bear these shameful Doings, which tended to the impoverishing of the *Clergy* without any Necessity, and to the draining the Kingdom of its Money, and therefore strenuously opposed them, and forbad the Collectors to levy the *Tenths*. *Edward* without any Regard to the Parliament, took off the Prohibition by his own Authority, and gave the Collectors leave to go on. This arbitrary Act coming immediately after the above-mentioned Dispensation, made the *English* apprehensive that the King had some Design against their *Liberties*, and their Apprehensions appeared but too well-grounded. But if *Edward* had any such Intent, the Troubles which suddenly broke out afresh in *Scotland*, hindered him from putting it in Practice, and rendered the Pope's Favour of no Effect.

Edward acts arbitrarily.

1306. The *Scots*, although so often subdued, and so many times constrained to swear Allegiance to *Edward*, could not inure themselves to the Yoke he had imposed upon them. *Robert Bruce*, Earl of *Carrick*, was one of those that thought they had most reason to complain. *Robert* his Father had not only been excluded from the Crown, but moreover *Edward* had already broke his Word with him. He had promised to place him on the Throne in the Room of *Baliol*; but had not made the least Step towards the Performance of his Promise. Nevertheless *Robert* had all along serv'd him faithfully both before and after the Death of his Father, flattering himself perhaps that he would one Day accomplish his Promise. But the Discourse he had held with *Wallace* the Day of the Battle of *Falkirk*, and the King's whole Behaviour, having made him sensible that *Edward* minded only his own Ends, he had entertained the generous Design of exerting his Endeavours to free his Country from the servile State she was in. At the same Time, he had Thoughts of procu-

Affairs of Scotland. Major. Buchan.

Bruce *and* Comyn *contrive to free their Country.*

ring

ring the Crown of *Scotland*, to which he pretended to have a lawful Title, notwithſtanding the Sentence given againſt the Earl his Father. *John Comyn* ſirnamed *the Red*, another *Scotch* Lord of great Diſtinction in *Scotland*, but however of leſs Credit than *Bruce*, was, or ſeemed to be, in the ſame Sentiments, and to have the Intereſt of his Country at Heart. This Conformity cauſed theſe two Lords to communicate their Thoughts to one another, after they had a long while ſounded one another without daring to ſpeak their Minds. At length both of them growing bolder, they had ſeveral Conferences together, wherein they agreed upon the Means which were neceſſarily to be uſed to compaſs their Ends. Theſe Conferences ended in an Agreement which contained theſe two Articles. I. That they ſhould act in Concert in order to get *Robert Bruce* crowned King of *Scotland*. II. That in Conſideration of the Services *Comyn* ſhould do *Robert*, this laſt ſhould give him up all the *Demeſnes* he held in *Scotland*, and ſhould make him his Lieutenant General. Theſe Meaſures being taken, *Robert* came to *Edward*'s Court, where it was neceſſary to gain certain *Scotch* Lords who were in the Intereſts of the King of *England*. 1306.

Comyn *betrays* Bruce.

In the mean time, whether *Comyn* repented of what he had done, or whether, as ſome affirm, he had contrived this Plot on purpoſe to enſnare *Robert*, he diſcovered the whole Matter to the King. 'Tis ſaid that he even ſent him the original Articles of Agreement ſigned and ſealed by both. The King immediately reſolved to apprehend *Robert*. But fearing by ſo doing he ſhould miſs of his Accomplices, he was contented with narrowly watching him. He hoped to make ſome freſh Diſcoveries by means of *Comyn*, to whom *Robert* communicated by Letters all he did at Court. The King's Deſign could not be ſo ſecret but that it was dived into by the Earl of *Gomer*, an old Friend to the Family of *Bruce*, who was then at *London*. This Earl knowing that *Robert* was narrowly watched, and not daring to ſpeak to him himſelf, in order to diſcover ſo important a Secret, ſent him a Pair of Spurs with ſome Pieces of Gold, as if he had borrowed them

1306. Bruce *escapes to* Scotland, *and kills* Comyn.

them of him. *Robert*, who was endowed with great Penetration, presently found there was some Mystery in this pretended Restitution of his Friend, and concluded that he meant by it to advise him to speedy Flight. In this belief, he resolved upon it immediately, and contrived Matters with so much Address and Expedition, that it was impossible to prevent him, and much more to overtake him. As he had communicated his Thoughts to none but *Comyn*, he did not doubt but he had been betrayed by that treacherous Friend. Accordingly, as soon as he was come into *Scotland*, he repaired to *Dumfries*, where *Comyn* then was, and having found him in the Church of the *Cordeliers*, little expecting his coming, he stabbed him with his own Hand. This bold Stroke, added to the Plot he had laid, exposing him to the King's Resentment, he saw himself under the necessity of openly declaring his Intentions, well knowing there was no Safety for him but in the Success of his Designs. As soon as he had declared himself, such Numbers flocked to him, that he quickly was in a Condition to go well attended to *Scone*, where he was solemnly crowned. After which, all the People in general sided with him.

He is crowned King of Scotland.

Edward *sends an Army into* Scotland.

'Twas with extream Vexation that *Edward* perceived he was mistaken in imagining he had nothing more to do in *Scotland*. He would not however give over his first Design. But that he might secure for the future the Possession of that Kingdom, he resolved to reduce it to such a State that there should be no more Revolts to be feared. Pursuant to this Resolution, he sent *Audemar of Valence*, Earl of *Pembroke*, before with an Army to prepare the Way, whilst he drew all his Forces together at *Carlisle*. To render his Expedition the more signal, he knighted three hundred young Gentlemen who attended the Prince his Son, whom he was willing, on this Occasion, to initiate in the Art of War.

Bruce *is defeated and forced to abscond.*

Mean time *Robert* had made great Progress in *Scotland*, and taken several Places. He would have carried his Conquests farther, if the Earl of *Pembroke* had not stopped his Carreer. The Earl having entered *Scotland*, marched directly

directly to *Robert*, who, not having thought fit to draw back, on this first Occasion, went to meet him. The two Armies coming to an Engagement, *Robert*'s was put to rout. But as his Loss was not very great, he was willing to hazard a second Battle, wherein he had no better Success. These two Defeats upon the Neck of one another, having forced him to quit the Country, he withdrew to one of the *Hebrides*, where he lay concealed at a Relation's House, till a more favourable Juncture should offer. Shortly after, *Edward* having entered the Kingdom with a numerous Army, found the *Scots* in Consternation, and their Troops dispersed: So that having no Enemy to encounter, he sent out Detatchments on all Sides to seize the Adherents of *Bruce*. Great Numbers were taken, who all felt that Prince's Severity. Three Brothers of the new King lost their Heads on a Scaffold. His Wife herself having been sent into *England* was shut up in close Confinement. *Edward*'s Age and his Vexation to see himself so often obliged to begin afresh, made him inexorable to such a Degree that he hardly pardoned any one Person. The Bishops of *Glasco* and St. *Andrews*, who had been taken with their Coats of Mail over their Habits, would have fallen a Sacrifice to his Vengeance, had not the Fear of disobliging the Pope, held his Hand. They were however sent into *England* and thrown into Prison. The Earl of *Athol*, allied to *Edward* and the Royal Family of *Scotland*, was not distinguished from the rest, but by the Heighth of the Gallows on which he was hanged. The Countess of *Buquhan*, who had assisted at *Robert*'s Coronation *, was put into a wooden Cage, and placed as a ridiculous Sight to the People on the Walls of *Berwick*-Castle. *Mary* her Sister underwent the same Fate at *Roxborough*.

1306.

Edward *arrives in* Scotland, *and severely punishes the Revolters.*

Act. Pub. II. 1022.

* This Countess was Sister to the Earl of *Fife* (then absent in *England*) whose Office it was to crown the King's of *Scotland*. For which Reason she being of a brave and manlike Spirit, stole from her Husband with all his *Horse*, and came and set the Diadem upon *Bruce*'s Head at the Abbey of *Scone*.

1307. Edward *would unite* Scotland *to* England. *Parliament at* Carliſle.

After *Edward* had thus taken Vengeance on the Friends of *Robert*, who had been ſo unfortunate as to fall into his Hands, he ſpent the Winter at *Carliſle*, where he ſummoned the laſt Parliament of his Reign. The firſt Buſineſs of this Aſſembly was about the Means of ſecuring the Poſſeſſion of *Scotland* by uniting that Kingdom to *England*. *Edward* had reſolved to ſpare nothing in order to keep the *Scots* in Awe, and to make uſe to that End of the moſt rigorous Methods. But the Face of Affairs was much altered in that Country before any fixed Reſolution was taken in that Matter.

Statutes againſt the Court of Rome.

This Parliament applied themſelves alſo with great Diligence to prevent the Exactions of the Court of *Rome*, which were ſtill continued with the ſame Exceſs as before, in ſpite of the Meaſures which had been taken to put a Stop to them. Some *Statutes* were made which might have redreſſed this *Grievance* in ſome Meaſure, had they been well executed.

Piers Gaveſton *baniſhed the Kingdom.* Act. Pub. II. 1043.

At this very Time it was that the Biſhop of *Lichfield*, High Treaſurer, having cauſed the King to obſerve the Aſcendant *Piers Gaveſton*, a young Man of a very debauched Life, had over the Mind of the Prince his Son, and repreſented to him the pernicious Conſequences that might ſpring from ſo great a Familiarity, *Edward* reſolved to prevent them on the Spot. To that Purpoſe, with the Advice of the Parliament which was ſtill aſſembled, *Gaveſton* was baniſhed the Realm, as a Corrupter of the young Prince. Moreover the King would have his Son promiſe with an Oath never to recal him, and that *Gaveſton* ſhould ſwear likewiſe never to ſet Foot again in *England*. Upon that Condition he allowed him a Penſion of a hundred Marks, to be paid out of the Revenues of *Guienne*.

Bruce's *great Succeſs.*

Notwithſtanding *Edward*'s Reſolution to put it out of the Power of *Scotland* to lift up its Head again, the Time of that Kingdom's Deliverance was at Hand. God, who had been pleaſed to chaſtiſe the *Scots*, had not decreed to deſtroy entirely that Nation, which was reduced to the laſt Extremity. *Edward* having left *Scotland*, *Robert Bruce*

came

came out of his Retreat, and made good uſe of the King's Abſence and the Sharpneſs of the Winter, which hindered the *Engliſh* Troops from acting. He drew together the broken Remnants of his Army, and reinforced them with freſh Recruits, which the *Scotch* Lords exaſperated at *Edward*'s Severity brought him from all Quarters. With theſe Troops he attacked the Earl of *Pembroke* who commanded in *Scotland*, and obtained over him a ſignal Victory, wherein the *Engliſh* General was made Priſoner. Then he marched againſt the Earl of *Gloceſter* who was at the Head of another Body, and obliged him to retreat to the Caſtle of *Aire*, which he beſieged, but without Succeſs. As he was Maſter of the Field, and had none to oppoſe him, he took without any Trouble ſeveral Places and cauſed them to be diſmantled, as well not to be obliged to garriſon them, as to prevent the *Engliſh* from making uſe of them hereafter. 1307. *He defeats* Pembroke, *and takes ſeveral Places.*

Edward, ſurprized at this unexpected Turn, and exaſperated againſt the *Scots* to a Degree never more to be appeaſed, reſolved to be revenged of that Nation in a ſignal manner. To that End he ſummoned all the *Vaſſals* of the Crown, without Exception, to meet him at *Carliſle* about the middle of the Summer, under the Penalty of forfeiting their *Fiefs*. His Intention was to march into the Heart of *Scotland* and deſtroy that Kingdom from Sea to Sea as he had often threatned. But God permitted him not to execute ſo barbarous a Purpoſe. He was hardly come to *Carliſle*, where he had drawn together the fineſt Army *England* had ever ſeen, but he was ſeized by a Diſtemper which put an End to his Days and to all his Projects. As ſoon as he found himſelf ill, he knew he ſhould die, and whilſt his Mind was ſound, he ſent for Prince *Edward* his eldeſt Son, and earneſtly recommended to him three Things. The firſt was, vigorouſly to proſecute the War with *Scotland*, till he had entirely ſubdued the *Scots*. To that Purpoſe, he adviſed him to carry along with him his *Bones* at the Head of the Army, not at all queſtioning but that Object would daunt the Courage of the Enemies whom he had ſo often vanquiſhed. The ſe- Edward *reſolves utterly to deſtroy* Scotland. *Is taken ill at* Carliſle. *His laſt Words to his Son.*

1307. cond Thing he recommended, was to ſend his *Heart* to the *Holy Land* with thirty two Thouſand Pounds *Sterling*, which he had provided for the Support of the *Holy Sepulchre*. The third was, never to recal *Gaveſton*. After he had given his laſt Orders to his Son, he cauſed himſelf to be carried by eaſy Journies into *Scotland*, being deſirous of dying in a Country which he had thrice conquered. In this Manner he advanced as far as the little Town of *Burgh* *, where his Sickneſs being increaſed by a *Dyſentery* which came upon him, he reſigned his laſt Breath, on the 7th of *July* 1307, aged threeſcore and eight Years, whereof he had reigned Thirty four, ſeven Months and twenty Days. His Corps was carried to *Waltham*, and from thence to *Weſtminſter-Abbey*, where it was done over with Wax and laid by *Henry* his Father.

Dies at Burgh.

His Encomium and Character. Thus lived and died *Edward*, the Firſt of that Name ſince the *Norman Conqueſt*, and the Fourth ſince *Egbert*. This Prince had without doubt very noble Qualities, and particularly a great deal of Valour and Prudence. He knew how to maſter his Paſſions, and return to the right way when he had wandered from it, a Quality never to be commended enough in a Sovereign. When we compare him with his Father, his Grandfather, and his own Son who ſucceeded him, we find he far excelled them all. This Compariſon, which one can hardly help making, was ſo much to his Advantage, that the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians have made uſe of the ſtrongeſt Expreſſions in his Encomium, and would have him paſs for the greateſt Prince of his Age. A famous Writer has not ſcrupled to ſay, *that God had pitched his Tent in the Breaſt of that Monarch.* But his

Cambden *in* Cumber.

* *Upon the Sands* in *Cumberland*, to diſtinguiſh it from *Burgh upon Stanemore* in *Weſtmoreland*. The Memory of *Edward*'s Death had been preſerved by ſome great Stones rolled upon the Place; but in 1685 was erected a ſquare Pillar nine Yards and a half High. On the Weſt Side is this Inſcription:

Memoria

his whole Behaviour in the Affair of *Scotland* does not give ſo advantagious an Idea of him. However, without examining too cloſely the Expreſſions made uſe of by the Hiſtorians on his Account, and the Praiſes they give him, it may be ſaid that he was a great King, and that *England* has been a very great Gainer by his Adminiſtration. The Kingdom, weakened by the ill Management of the two preceeding Kings, was reſtored to its former Splendour by the Abilities of this Prince, who knew how to make himſelf beloved and reſpected by his Subjects, as well as dreaded by his Neighbours. The Conqueſt of *Wales* which had been in vain attempted by his Predeceſſors, added a great Luſtre to his Reign, and was very beneficial to his Kingdom. That of *Scotland* would no doubt have gained him more Honour, if it had been entirely finiſhed, ſince the *Scotch* Hiſtorians would have ſpoken of him in better Terms than they have done, if at the Time of their Writing they had been *Engliſh*. 1307.

He was very handſome in his Perſon, Taller than the generality of Men by the whole Head. His Hair was black and curled naturally, and his Eyes, of the ſame Colour, ſparkled with uncommon Vivacity. He would have been perfectly well ſhaped, if his Legs, which were a little too long, had been in Proportion to the reſt of his Body. Hence he had the Sirname of *Long-ſhanks*. He joined to his bodily Perfections a ſolid Judgement, agreat Penetration, and a prudent Conduct, which very rarely ſuffered him to make a falſe Step. Beſides this he had Principles of Juſtice, Honour, and Honeſty, which reſtrained him from countenancing Vice, not only in his moſt intimate Courtiers, but even in his own Son. Moreover he was of an exemplary Chaſtity, a Virtue ſeldom found in Sovereign Princes. All theſe fine Qualities begot for him in the

Memoriæ æternæ Edwardi I. *Regis Angliæ longe clariſſimi, qui in Belli apparatu contra Scotos occupatus, hic in caſtro obüt 7 Julii*, A. D. 1307.

It was ſet up by *John Aglionby* I. C. and made by *Thomas Langſtone*. Camb.

1307. the Hearts of his Subjects, a Love and Esteem which did not a little contribute to the rendering his Reign peaceable at Home, whilst his Arms were employed Abroad. As for the Business of *Scotland*, it may be said that it procured more Honour than real Advantages to *England*, since after shedding of Torrents of Blood in that Quarrel, the *English* were constrained in the End to drop their Project.

Edward's issue by his first Wife.

Edward had by *Eleanor of Castile* his first Wife four Sons and nine Daughters. *Edward* II. his Successor was the only one of his Sons that survived him. *Eleanor* his eldest Daughter had been contracted to *Alphonsus* King of *Arragon*: but that Prince dying before the Marriage was consummated, she was given to *Henry* Duke of *Bar*. *Joanna* sirnamed *of Acres*, the Place of her Nativity, was betrothed to *Hartman* Son of the Emperor *Rodolphus* I. but the Death of the young Prince having prevented their coming together, she espoused *Gilbert Clare* Earl of *Gloceſter*, and after his Death, *Ralph de Monthermer*. *Margaret* was Wife of *John* Duke of *Brabant*: *Elizabeth* of *John* Earl of *Holland*, and afterwards of *Humphry Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*. *Berenguella*, *Alice*, *Blanch*, and *Beatrix* died young or unmarried.

By his second Wife.

Edward had two Sons and one Daughter by *Margaret* of *France* his second Wife, whom he married in the Sixtieth Year of his Age, though she was but eighteen Years old. *Thomas* [*de Brotherton*] the eldest was Earl of *Norfolk* and Grand *Marshal* of *England*. *Edmund* bore the Title of Earl of *Kent*. *Eleanor* the Daughter was to marry *Otho* Earl of *Burgundy*, but she died in her Childhood.

Series of Parliaments since his Reign.

We have an uninterrupted Series of all the Parliaments held in *England* since the 22d Year of his Reign. The Constitution of these Assemblies, such as it is at this Day, was so well settled in this Reign, that there was an *Additional* Law made to the *Great Charter*, whereby it was enacted, that no Tax should be levied upon the People without the Consent of the *Commons*.

The Title of Baron *limited.*

It may be further observed that in this Reign the Title of *Baron*, which was common to all that held their Lands of

of the Crown, was confined to thoſe whom the King called to vote in Parliament *. 1307.

* In this Reign the Standard of our Coin is ſuppoſed to have been fixed. It was ordered that in a Pound of Money there ſhould be eleven Ounces two-pence Farthing pure Silver, and only ſeventeen-pence Half-penny Farthing Allay; and this Pound was to weigh twenty Shillings and three-pence in Account, each Ounce twenty-pence, and every Penny twenty four Grains and a half. At the ſame time diverſe Kinds of foreign Money were cried down by Proclamation, as *Pollards*, *Crocards*, *Staldings*, *Eagles*, *Leonines*, and *Steepings*, two of them, ſays the *Record*, were only of the value of one *Sterling*, being a Compoſition of Silver, Copper and Sulphur.

The End of the Reign of EDWARD I.

THE

THE

HISTORY of *ENGLAND.*

SECT. II.

10. EDWARD II. *Sirnamed of* CAERNARVON.

1307. *State of* England.



THE Reign of *Edward* I. had been a Glorious and Triumphant Reign for *England*. The Principality of *Wales* had been united to the Crown. *Scotland* thrice ſubdued was upon the Point of being conquered a fourth Time, the *Engliſh* Army having already entered the Frontiers. There were no longer any Factions in the Kingdom. Diſcord was baniſhed, and a good Harmony was happily eſtabliſhed between the Sovereign and the People. All this ſeemed to make amply amends for the Loſſes the Crown had ſuſtained beyond Sea in the Reigns of *John* and *Henry* III. not ſomuch by the Weakneſs of the *Engliſh* as by the Puſillanimity of thoſe two Princes. The Age of *Edward of Caernarvon*, who at

The Engliſh *prepoſſeſſed in Favour of* Edward II.

facing p. 124. Vol. 4th.



K. EDWARD II.

Vertue sc.

at his mounting the Throne was going into his twenty third Year, his noble Stature, good Mien, majeſtick Preſence, joined to the Advantage of being born of ſo univerſally eſteemed a Father, gave the *Engliſh* freſh Hopes. As never did Prince come to the Crown in more favourable Circumſtances, ſo never was Prince received with a more general Joy and greater Applauſe. It even ſeemed as if the extraordinary Satisfaction the People ſhowed on this Occaſion was ſomewhat injurious to the Glory of the deceaſed King. 1307.

Edward recals Gaveſton, and loads him with Favours. Act. Pub. III. 1.

The firſt Step this Prince made a few Days after the Death of his Father, blaſted all theſe agreeable Hopes, and turned the Nation's Joy into Mourning. He had not yet done the laſt Offices to the Great Prince to whom he owed his Birth, when forgetting the Oath he had taken concerning *Gaveſton*, he recalled his Favourite. He did not ſo much as ſtay for his Return, to make him in an Inſtant the richeſt Lord in the Kingdom. The firſt Days of his Reign he created him Earl of *Cornwal*, and gave him the Lands which were fallen to the Crown by the Death of the late Earl, Son of *Richard* King of the *Romans*. His Impatience to load with Favours a Man who had been juſt driven from him, as the Debaucher of his Youth, plainly diſcovered to what a Degree his Paſſions were grown, and how much the Conſequences of it were to be feared. But this was not all the Effect it produced. The *Engliſh* began to have a diſadvantagious Idea of their new King, and at the ſame Time to think of Means to curb the impetuous Carreer of a Prince who gave ſo juſt Occaſion of Fear. Not content with having begun his Reign with the Breach of his Oath to the King his Father, in recalling a Favourite deſpiſed by all the World, he had loaded him with Benefits, and immediately after his Return had preſented him with *the Iſle of Man*. But this was not the only or the chief Cauſe of the Diſcontent of the *Engliſh* Lords. They could not ſee, without extreme Regret, ſuch a one as *Gaveſton* diſpoſe at Pleaſure of all the Offices of the Kingdom, and become abſolute Maſter of the Adminiſtration of Affairs, which the King wholly left to his

1307. Management. It seemed as if *Edward* desired not to be King but purely to have it in his Power to shower down his Favours on his Favourite. Wholly intent upon pleasing him as a Lover does his Mistress, he concerned himself with nothing but how to find every Day new Ways to procure him Satisfaction. In fine, giving himself up entirely to his Guidance, he let him act as King whilst he himself gloried in being his Subject or Slave. A more extravagant Passion had never been seen. Accordingly People scrupled not to say publickly, the King was bewitched.

Description and Character of Gaveston.

If a Woman had been thus enamoured of *Gaveston*, it would have been no Wonder, since he wanted no Qualification to recommend him to the Favour of the Fair Sex. He had a beautiful Face without any one Fault. His Shape fine and easy, his Air noble and grand, and in all the Exercises of the Body he was distinguished for his extraordinary Address. One could not help admiring his Wit, and those sharp and quick Repartees, peculiar to the *Gascons*, among whom he was born. To all this some add an uncommon Valour. If he had been less beloved by the King he would have made a more lasting, though not so considerable a Fortune: But the Affection of his Prince inspired him with a Pride which proved his Downfall. He would govern the State with an absolute Sway, without sharing his Power with any Person whatever, hardly vouchsafeing so much as to make use of the King's Name. His external Accomplishments, which shone with great Lustre, rendered him so proud and insolent, that he thought himself above all the Great Men, though by his Vices and Debaucheries he degraded himself below the very Meanest. The chief Means he used to gain *Edward*'s Affection, was to humour him in all he had a mind to, without examining whether the Thing was right or wrong. When once he came to have an absolute Influence over him, his only Care was to indulge him in Pleasures, to which that Prince was too much addicted by Nature. What then could be expected from the strict Union of two such Persons, but a scandalous Licentiousness at Court, and an entire Decay of publick Affairs. An unexperienced

and

and narrow-ſpirited *Miniſter*, who minded nothing but Trifles, Diverſions, Balls, Banquets, and ſome leſs Innocent Pleaſures, was little capable of governing ſo large a Kingdom. It was not long before the Nation experienced the fatal Effects of ſo ill a Choice. 1307.

Gaveſton's Return was immediately followed by the Diſgrace of *Langton* Biſhop of *Lichfield* * and High-Treaſurer. *Edward* hated that Prelate mortally for having been the principal Promoter of *Gaveſton*'s Baniſhment. As ſoon as he came to the Crown he confined him in *Wallingford-Caſtle*, and would not ſuffer any Perſon to ſpeak in his behalf. 'Twas not but upon the preſſing Inſtances of the Pope, or rather his Threats, that he ſet him at Liberty again after a long Confinement. To this Act of Violence he added the turning out of all the old Officers and Domeſticks of the King his Father, without vouchſafeing to ſay a Word of it to his Council. *The Biſhop of Lichfield imprisoned.*

The Beginnings of this Reign affording no promiſing Proſpect, the chief Lords thought betimes of Means to ſtop the Impetuoſity of their Prince and curb his capricious Temper. But theſe Thoughts were interrupted by the celebration of his Nuptials. The King his Father had contracted him to *Iſabella* of *France*, Daughter of *Philip the Fair*, and had ſtrongly charged him when he lay a dying, to conſummate the Marriage as ſoon as poſſible. This was the only Thing wherein he made haſt to obey him. Neglecting therefore the War with *Scotland*, which was no leſs neceſſary, he repaired to *Bulloin* where the King of *France* ſtayed for him to deliver his Daughter into his Hands. Never was Wedding more magnificent. There were Preſent Four Kings and Four Queens, beſides a great Number of Princes and Princeſſes, Lords and Ladies, who made the moſt numerous Aſſembly of *Nobles* that had been ſeen of a long Time *1. 1308. *The King's Marriage.*

* Of *Cheſter*. Walſingh.

*1 There were preſent the Kings of *France*, *Navarre*, *Almain*, and *Sicily*, with the Queens *Mary* of *France*, *Margaret* Dowager of *England*, and the Queen of *Nararre*.

1308. Though *Edward*'s Voyage was very short, it failed not however to produce ill Effects. Upon leaving *England*, he was so weak as to appoint his Favourite *Guardian of the Realm*, with Power to dispose of all vacant Places and *Benefices*, Wardships of young Nobles; in a word, to act in all Things with an unlimited Authority *. So many Favours joined to the great Presents he had made him before his Departure in the Dutchy of *Guienne* his Country, rouzed the Jealousy of the Barons. They carried their Resentment so far that they entered into a League together to hinder the King's Coronation, the Day whereof was already fixed. *Edward* not being in a Condition to break so powerful a League, wherein almost all the Lords of the Realm were concerned, chose to prevent the Consequences of it by fair Means. He gave his Word to the Barons, that in the next Parliament he would grant whatever they could reasonably desire. This Promise satisfied them. But they could not behold without extreme Regret, *Gaveston* pitched upon to carry the Crown of St. *Edward*, with which the King was to be crowned, an Honour which, by antient Custom, belonged to the Princes of the Royal Family. This Preference provoked the Lords to the last Degree against the Favourite, and at the same Time filled them with Indignation against the King, who seemed to glory in his Weakness, for a Man detested by the whole Nation. The Coronation however was solemnized without Opposition, the Bishop of *Wincheſter* performing this Ceremony by Order of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was out of the Kingdom. The Form of the *Coronation-Oath* was as follows:

Gaveston made Guardian in the King's Absence.

Barons League against the King.

Edward *promises to satisfy them.*

* Act Pub. III. 47. This *Act* shows the Error of most Historians, particularly, Father *Orleans*, *Speed*, the Annotator upon *Daniel*'s History, Dr. *Howel*, &c. who all say *Gaveston* was with the King at the Celebration of his Nuptials. Whereas he was then in *England*, as appears from several Orders in the *Fœdera*, signed by him in the King's Absence, with the Subscription, *Teste Gaveston*. Multitudes of such Mistakes are rectified in *Rapin* by Means of the *Fœdera*.

Bishop

Biſhop of Wincheſter. *Sir, Will you keep and confirm by your Oath to the People of* England, *the Laws eſtabliſhed by the pious Kings your Predeceſſors, and particularly, the Laws, Cuſtoms, Liberties, granted to the Clergy and People by the Glorious St.* Edward *your Predeceſſor?* 1308. *The Coronation Oath.*

King. *I will and promiſe it.*

Biſhop. *Sir, Will you preſerve to God, to Holy Church, to the Clergy and People, the Peace of God, fully and to the utmoſt of your Power?*

King. *I will.*

Biſhop. *Sir, Will you cauſe to be obſerved in all your Judgements, Right and Juſtice with Diſcretion, in Mercy and in Truth, as far as you are able?*

King. *I will.*

Biſhop. *Sir, Will you Promiſe to keep and cauſe to be kept the Laws and Statutes that the Community of your Kingdom ſhall judge fit to enact, and will you defend and protect them to the utmoſt of your Power?*

King. *I do promiſe it.*

As this is the firſt perfect Copy of a Coronation Oath to be met with in the *Engliſh* Hiſtory, it will not be beſides the Purpoſe to take notice of the Advantage which the People had gained upon the Royal Perogatives ſince the Eſtabliſhment of *Magna Charta*. It manifeſtly appears by this Oath, that, far from ſuppoſing that the *Great Charter* was the *Original Title* of the Privileges granted by King *John* to the People of *England*, it was conſidered only as a Confirmation of the *antient Liberties* of the People. Upon this Suppoſition it was that *Edward* II was made to ſwear that he would obſerve the Laws of St. *Edward*, which were no others than thoſe of the *Anglo-Saxons*, leaſt by cauſing him to ſwear to keep *the Great Charter*, there might be room to imagine, that the *Privileges* of the People were founded on the Conceſſions of the Kings. I don't know whether *Edward* I took the ſame Oath, or whether it was firſt introduced at the Coronation of *Edward* II.

The Solemnity was no ſooner over but *Edward* forgot what he had promiſed the Lords. He continued daily to heap *The King forgets his Promiſe.*

1308. heap Favours on *Gaveſton*, and left him as before abſolute Maſter of his own and the Kingdom's Affairs. *Gaveſton* for his Part, far from endeavouring to allay the Storm which hung over his Head, affected to govern with an arbitrary Power, without vouchſafeing to ask any one's Advice. He made uſe of the Influence he had over his Maſter, to divert him from the Thoughts of continuing the War with *Scotland*, which the King his Father had ſo earneſtly enjoyned him, and of which his Subjects impatiently waited the Iſſue, that they might be eaſed of the Expences it put them to. Inſtead of inſpiring him with the Love of Glory and Virtue, he filled the Court with Libertines, Buffoons, and Paraſites, and the like pernicious Inſtruments, proper to corrupt his Inclinations, though they had been naturally as good as they were bad. To this he added the ridiculous Vanity of affecting to wear the King's Jewels, and the Crown it ſelf, the which *Edward* freely gave him leave to do. The King's Weakneſs grew to that Height, that he was heard to ſay, if his Power was equal to his Affection, he would ſet the Crown on *Gaveſton*'s Head. Not being able to do that, he would however raiſe him as near the Throne as poſſible, by giving him his Niece, Siſter of the Earl of *Gloceſter* in Marriage.

Gaveſton's imprudent Conduct.

Hatred of the Lords againſt Gaveſton.

Every freſh Favour the King beſtowed on *Gaveſton* increaſed the Hatred the Lords had entertained againſt him; hardly would an *Engliſhman* raiſed to ſo high a Station been born with. Much leſs a private *Gaſcon* Gentleman, in whom they diſcovered no other Merit, but a handſome Face, an eaſy Shape, and a quick Wit, agreeable enough in Converſation, but little proper to govern a State. They plainly ſaw it was in vain to preſs the King to part with his Favourite, and that he would never conſent to their Requeſt unleſs he were forced to it. In this belief, inſtead of loſing time in perſwading *Edward* by Reaſons which would have no Effect, they laboured to bring into their League, the Members of the Parliament which was to meet, and accordingly did meet in *May*, 1308. By the Management of the Lords, *Gaveſton*'s Baniſhment became

The Parliament Petition Gaveſton's *Baniſhment.*

the

the chief or rather the only Buſineſs of the *Seſſion*. The two *Houſes* being united in the ſame Deſign, demanded of the King in ſo ſtrong and poſitive a manner that *Gaveſton* ſhould be baniſhed the Kingdom, that he durſt not oppoſe it. He was afraid his Refuſal would deprive him of the *Aids* he expected for the Continuation of the War with *Scotland*, and perhaps he dreaded ſomething worſe. So that without ſtanding to debate the Matter to no purpoſe, he ordered *Letters Patents* to be drawn up, whereby he obliged himſelf to cauſe *Gaveſton* to depart the Realm before St. *John Baptiſt*'s Day next enſuing. In the mean Time, inſtead of acting ſo as might give room to believe he deſigned to perform his Promiſe, he every Day heaped new Favours on his Favourite. Fifteen Days after his Engagement he made him a Grant of three thouſand Marks a Year in Land *. This Proceeding being a clear Evidence, that he was by no Means reſolved to part with him, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* who had entered into the Barons League, though he lay under great Obligations to the King, excommunicated *Gaveſton*, provided he did not leave the Realm by the Time preſcribed him. *Edward* giving himſelf little Trouble about this *Cenſure*, only intreated the Pope to annull it. At the ſame Time he writ to the King of *France* his Brother-in-law, to deſire him to try to accommodate Matters between him and the Barons, and to manage it ſo that he might keep his Favourite.

1308.

The King promiſes it. Act. Pub. III. 80.

He defers his Promiſe. ibid. *p.* 91.

Theſe Meaſures were neither juſt nor timely enough. The Lords finding the appointed time for *Gaveſton*'s Departure drew nigh, were ſo urgent with the King to oblige him to keep his Word, that he durſt not but do it. But in performing his Promiſe he found Means to ſhow his Favourite a freſh Mark of his Affection, by making him Governour of *Ireland*, with a very extenſive Authority. This Removal, how honourable ſoever it was, failed not to give ſome Satisfaction to the Lords who hoped

Gaveſton *made Governour of* Ireland. *p.* 93.

* The Grant is dated at *Langlye*, Act. Pub. III. 87.

1308. hoped to take Advantage of his Abſence to ruin him. But he himſelf was not at all ſatisfied. Beſides that this Change of *England* for *Ireland* appeared to him very diſadvantagious, he was ſenſible his Abſence from Court could

1309. not but prove fatal to him. As he was abſolute Maſter of the King's Affection, hardly was he arrived in *Ireland* before he got himſelf recalled under Pretence of being Preſent at a Tournament to be held at *Wallingford*. The Magnificence wherewith he appeared on this Occaſion, and the great Number of Foreigners which attended him, and ſerved him for ſo many Guards, ſenſibly increaſed the Jealouſy of the Lords who ſaw themſelves thus braved. To this kind of Inſult he added the Indiſcretion of paſſing ſome bitter Jeſts on the Earls of *Lancaſter*, *Warwick*, *Warren*, and *Hereford*, which would have induced them to be revenged on him, ſuppoſing they had no other reaſon to complain of him. He called the Earl of *Lancaſter*, *Stage-Player*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, [*Joſeph*] *the Jew*, the Earl of *Warwick*, *the wild Boar of Ardennes*, and in like manner he gave every one of his private Enemies *Nick-names* to make them ridiculous, or to denote their

1310. Faults. The Lords ſeeing themſelves inſulted by the Favourite and deceived by the King, met together to concert Means how to oblige *Edward* to keep his Word with them. Quickly after they preſented a *Petition* to him, wherein they ſet forth, that the State and his own Houſehold were ſo ill managed, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to find means to prevent the Conſequences of theſe Diſorders. They added, that the only Method which to them ſeemed proper, was for the King to leave to certain Lords appointed by the Parliament, the Care of making a Regulation for the well-governing the Kingdom and his own domeſtick Affairs. *Edward* had already ſhown great Signs of Weakneſs in his Regard for their former Demands. From whence he had made them ſenſible, that if for the future they expreſſed any Reſolution, he would not have the Courage to gainſay them. They were not miſtaken in their Conjectures. This Prince, as timorous on certain Occaſions as he was proud and haughty

He is recalled, and inſults the Lords.

Addreſs of the Lords.

They propoſe hard Terms.

haughty on others, was uncapable of distinguishing when he should give way, and when it was necessary to stand his Ground. Accordingly, he ever took the contrary to what he should have done. Instead of complying with the Barons, when they first petitioned for *Gaveston*'s Removal, he would obstinately persist in retaining him contrary to all the Rules of *Politicks*. Afterwards, far from opposing to the utmost of his Power the Proposal of placing the Government in other Hands than his own, and instead of running all Hazards rather than give his Consent to it, he thought fit to yield to their Importunity. Without considering the Consequence of a Condescension so pernicious to his Authority and Quiet, he permitted the Parliament to choose seven Bishops, eight Earls, and six Barons to make the Regulations proposed. 1310. *The consents* Act. Pub. II. 204. 220.

The new Regulation of the Government.

Pursuant to the King's Consent, the Lords having finished the Regulation, presented the Plan of it to the King, who approved of it, and gave them Power to cause it to be observed for one Year. It contained but six Articles, whereof the two principal ones are these: *That the King should not have it in his Power to dispose of any Part of his Revenues, which should for the future be expended in paying his Debts, and maintaining his Household, that he might live on his own Income without taking any thing from others. That the Great Charter should be punctually kept: And in case any Article should be obscure or doubtful, it should belong to the Lords elected (who were stiled* Ordainers) *to explain it.* There was nothing inserted about *Gaveston*'s Banishment. In all appearance the Barons were of opinion, that they had nothing to fear from that Favourite so long as the Government should be in their own Hands. Nevertheless, when they saw that the King continued to heap his Favours on him, and that, without asking their Advice, he had made him Governour of *Nottingham*, and *Warden* of the *Forests* on this Side the *Trent*, they drew up one and forty new Articles, which the King was forced to assent to. One whereof expressly sentenced *Gaveston* to perpetual Banishment.

The King continues his Favours to Gaveston. 1311.

1311. Gaveston *is banished.*

Edward having thus suffered himself to be bound with Fetters which he could not shake off, came to a Resolution, though with extreme Regret, to part with *Gaveston*. However, to save him the shame of being banished, he gave him an imaginary Commission to go and levy Troops in *Guienne*, in order to assist the Earl of *Foix*, who had been embroiled in a Quarrel with the Court of *France*, which was no longer of any Consequence.

1312. *The King recalls him.* Act. Pub. III. 298.

Gaveston's Banishment was of no long Continuance, *Edward*, who could not live without him, making no Account of the Articles he had lately signed, recalled him without acquainting the *Ordainers* with it. Shortly after he sent circular Letters to all the *Sheriffs* of the Kingdom, to give them notice of it, and to justify what he had done. He told them that being bound by the Oath he took at his Coronation, to see the Laws of the Realm executed, there was no Authority which could absolve him from it: That *Gaveston* having been banished by a notorious Act of Violence, and without a legal Sentence, he could not deprive him of the Benefit of the Law, which all his Subjects were intitled to: That therefore, he had caused him to return into the Kingdom, not with design to screen him from Justice, but to the End he might be tried according to the usual Form: That in the mean time, he looked upon him as a good and faithful Subject, and ordered them to publish this Declaration in their respective Jurisdictions.

The Barons stir up the People against the King.

The Lords were not much displeased at the Step the King had made, as it furnished them with a Handle to complete the downfall of a Favourite who could not be torn from him without violent Means. In order to open a Way which might lead them to their End, they endeavoured to gain the People to their Side by crying down the Conduct of the King. They said publickly there was no depending upon what was enacted by the Parliament since the King had no regard to it. That it was easy to see that the King was aiming at arbitrary Power, and that it was the whole Nation's Concern to oppose the Beginnings of a despotick Power which tended to render the Subjects so many

ny Slaves. These Discourses being supported by the Emissaries which they had among the People, began to create an universal Discontent, of which the King had but too much Reason to dread the Consequences. He imagined he should be able to prevent them by publishing a Proclamation, wherein he protested that his Intention was to observe the one and forty Articles. But as he had broke a principal one in recalling his Favourite, his Protestation had no Effect. 1312.

Insolent Behaviour of Gaveston, *particularly to the Queen.*

In the mean time *Gaveston*, still more indiscreet than his Master, instead of appeasing his Enemies by his modest Behaviour, became every Day more proud and insolent. He acted as if he had nothing to fear, or as if he were ignorant of the Barons Designs. He had even the Face to speak insolently to the Queen; who not having been able to get any Satisfaction, complained bitterly of it to the King her Father. She told him that *Gaveston* was the sole Cause of her Misfortunes, and that the King her Husband's Fondness for that unworthy Favourite, alienated his Affections from her, and made him an entire Stranger to her Bed. This Complaint of the Queen's has made some suspect that the Familiarity between the King and *Gaveston* was of a very criminal Nature. But it may be their Suspicions are carried too far.

The Earl of Lincoln's *Advice to the Earl of* Lancaster. Walsing. An. 1312.

Mean while the Barons kept their first Design always in view. There were among them Persons of great Abilities who knew how dangerous it is, on these Occasions, to do things by halfs, and that if such sort of Enterprizes were not thoroughly compleated, they seldom failed to ruin the Contrivers. The Earl of *Lincoln* * was one of the most considerable of the Party, as well on account of his Birth and high Offices, as of his Age and Experience. As he was confined to his Bed by a Fit of Sickness which in all appearance would lay him in his Grave, he was apprehensive that after his Death the *Confederates* would grow cool, and was willing to endeavour to prevent that Accident

* *Henry de Lacy*, descended from *Walter de Lacy*, who came in with the Conqueror.

1312. which would have caused their Ruin. To that End having sent for the Earl of *Lancaster* his Son-in-law, Grandson to *Henry* III, he conjured him in the strongest and most moving Terms, not to abandon the *Church* and *People of England* to the Mercy of the *Popes* and *Kings*. He told him that his Birth obliged him to exert his utmost in freeing the Kingdom from the Oppressions which it unfortunately laboured under. He charged him to have always a great regard for the King. But at the same time, he added, that his Regard ought not to hinder him from doing all that lay in his Power to remove from the King's Person *Foreign* Ministers and Favourites. That Honour, Conscience, the Good of the Publick, called upon him to procure the Observance of the *Great Charter*, which was the only Basis of the Welfare and Peace of the Kingdom.

Confederacy of the Lords.

He advised him to join heartily with the Earl of *Warwick**, who among all the Confederate Lords was best able to carry on the important Undertaking. It was not long before the Effects of his Advice were seen. The Earl of *Lancaster* having entered into a strict Confederacy with the Earls of *Warwick*, *Pembroke*, *Arundel*, *Hereford*, *Warren*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and several other Bishops and Barons, they unanimously resolved to take Arms, under the usual Pretence of defending the Rights of the *Church* and *State*.

They chuse the Earl of Lancaster *General.*

The Earl of *Lancaster* was chosen General of the Army, which they had resolved to set on foot, an Honour which could not be refused to his Merit, supposing no Regard had been had to his Quality **. Immediately after this Resolution was taken, all the Confederate Barons dispersing themselves into the several Counties of the Kingdom, publickly levied Troops. They used such Expedition,

* *Guy de Beauchamp.*

** He was Son to Prince *Edmund* Son of *Henry* III, and Earl of *Lancaster*, *Leicester*, and *Ferrers*, and in Right of his Wife, of *Lincoln* and *Salisbury*. Besides he had a great Estate in *Yorkshire*, *Cumberland*, and *Wales* and was Earl of *Artois* in *Picardy*, and consequently the greatest Subject in the Kingdom.

pedition, that in a ſhort time their Forces were drawn together at the Place appointed for the Rendezvous. It was impoſſible *Edward* ſhould be ignorant of theſe Preparations. And yet, as if he was unconcerned in the Matter, he took no Notice of them. Inſtead of thinking of Means to content the incenſed Barons, or to defend himſelf againſt their Inſults, he minded nothing but his Diverſions at *York*, where he was then with *Gaveſton*. His only Care was to heap new Favours upon his Favourite, remaining in a ſurprizing Indolence, whilſt he ſaw the whole Kingdom ready to riſe againſt him. He ſeemed as if he affected continually to act directly contrary to his real Intereſts, and to neglect to take ſuch Meaſures as a Perſon of an ordinary Underſtanding might have pointed out to him. At the very Inſtant that he ſaw the Barons in Arms to compel him to obſerve the one and forty Articles, he took it in his Head to violate one of the chiefeſt, in making the Biſhop of *Litchfield* High-Treaſurer without the Conſent of the *Ordainers*. But this was not the only Fault he committed on this Occaſion. As if he had been in a Condition to give Laws to the Barons, he would at the ſame time reform the Regulation on Pretence that he had reſerved to himſelf the Power of correcting and amending, with the Advice of the *Ordainers*, ſome Articles prejudicial to his Prerogative. It was eaſy to ſee that this was no proper Seaſon for that Work. Nevertheleſs he nominated on his Part Commiſſioners to ſet about the Alterations.

1312.

Indolence of the King. Act. Pub. III. 304.

He has a mind to reform the Regulation. ibid. p. 310.

The Barons had then other things to mind. After they had drawn all their Forces together, they marched directly for *York*, believing they ſhould ſurprize the King, whoſe Supineneſs gave them Room to hope every thing. But upon the firſt Notice of their Approach, he had retired to *Newcaſtle*, whither they followed him without loſs of time. That Town not ſeeming to him ſtrong enough, he left it and went and ſhut himſelf up in *Scarborough* Caſtle, which he looked upon as the beſt Fortreſs he had in the *North*. He began then to ſee his Folly in deferring ſo long to prepare for his Defence: But it was too late to think

The Barons riſe, and the King retires to Scarborough *with* Gaveſton.

of

1312. of that. However, in spite of the little likelihood there was of succeeding, he resolved to go into *Warwickshire*, where he expected he should be able to raise an Army, upon the vain hopes that the People would flock in Crouds to list under his Banner. But as he was in greater Concern for *Gaveston* than for himself, he left him behind at *Scarborough*, recommending him to the Care of the Governour as a precious Depositum, and a sure Pledge of the great Trust he put in him.

The Barons seize the King's and Gaveston's *Equipage at* Newcastle.

Whilst *Edward* was taking his too late Measures, the Barons who had entered *Newcastle* the same Day he went from thence, had seized all that the King and his Favourite had left there, the Hurry wherein they went off not having given them leave to take any thing with them. In *Gaveston*'s Baggage were found a great many Jewels, which for the most Part belonged to the Crown, and of which an exact Inventory was taken, that an account might be given of them hereafter. As soon as the Earl of *Lancaster* was informed that the King was gone from *Scarborough*, and had left *Gaveston* there, he sent the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Warren* to besiege that Castle. At the same time, he marched himself with the rest of the Army towards the Center of the Kingdom, that he might have it more in his Power to oppose the Designs of the King. The two detached Earls having advanced towards *Scarborough* without any Opposition, formed the Siege, and carried it on with great Vigour. Though the Place was one of the strongest in the Kingdom, it was so ill-provided with all things necessary for its Defence, that in a few Days *Gaveston* saw himself under the necessity of delivering himself into the Hands of his Enemies. He obtained however a sort of Capitulation, whereby it was promised him that he should speak with the King, and be tried by his *Peers* according to the usual Forms.

They besiege Scarborough. Act. Pub. III. 329, 333, 334.

Gaveston *surrenders.*

The Earl of Pembroke *takes upon him to carry* Gaveston *to the King.*

As soon as *Edward* had notice of his Favourite's being taken, he earnestly sollicited for his Liberty, or at least that they would let him see him and speak with him as had been promised. More especially he conjured the confederate Lords to spare the Prisoner's Life, assuring them, upon

on that Condition, he would give them entire Satisfaction as to their *Grievances*. The Majority of the Barons were not for carrying *Gaveſton* to the King, well knowing that his Requeſts tended only to get him out of their Hands. But they conſented to it at laſt, upon the Earl of *Pembroke*'s repreſenting, that having given his Word in the Name of all the *Confederates*, they were obliged to keep it: That if they would truſt him with the conducting him, he would take upon him the Charge of letting him ſpeak with the King, and of bringing him back to any Place they ſhould think fit to appoint. 1312.

Pembroke deſigned to conduct his Priſoner to *Wallingford-Caſtle*, where the King was to come and ſpeak with him. Accordingly having taken the Road towards *Oxfordſhire*, he came to *Dodington*, where he left *Gaveſton* under a Guard, whilſt he himſelf went and lodged in a neighbouring Caſtle. He did not think it neceſſary to uſe greater Precaution in a Place where the King had no Troops, and where conſequently he had nothing to fear from him: But he found he had taken his Meaſures very ill. The Earl of *Warwick*, who was violently againſt this Interview of the King and *Gaveſton*, having been informed how Matters ſtood, came that Night to the Houſe where *Gaveſton* lay under Guard, carried him off by Force, and brought him to *Warwick*. On the Morrow, this ſame Earl, with ſome Others of the moſt violent of the Party, having tried him in a haſty manner, ordered his Head to be cut off *. A mad Action, if ever there was any ſuch, which in violating a Capitulation, trampled upon the Laws of the Land, and the Reſpect which Subjects always owe to their Sovereign. What would theſe ſame Lords have ſaid if the King or *Gaveſton* had done the like?

The Earl of Warwick *carries off* Gaveſton *and beheads him.*

Though *Edward* was extremely incenſed at the Boldneſs of theſe Lords, it was not in his Power to be revenged, and the Barons made no Step towards giving him any Satisfaction for this Outrage. On the contrary, not content

The Barons march againſt the King.

* In the Preſence of the Earls of *Lancaſter*, *Warwick*, and *Hereford*, on *Blacklow-Hill*, near *Warwick*.

1312. tent with being thus rid of the Object of their Hatred, they demanded with greater Haughtineſs than ever, the Performance of the Forty Articles, and a ſpeedy Redreſs of the *State* Grievances. At the ſame Time, they marched towards *London*, whither the King was retired, bent upon obtaining by Force, what they plainly ſaw he would never grant them voluntarily. Mean while, the King not daring to truſt the Citizens of *London*, was gone to *Canterbury*, where he was hardly any ſafer. In this Extremity, he had recourſe to the Mediation of the Popes *Nuncio*, and of *Lewis* Earl of *Evreux* Uncle to the Queen, who was then in *England*, and of the Earl of *Gloceſter* * his Nephew, who as yet had ſtood Neuter. By the Means of theſe three Mediators, who laboured heartily in the Affair, certain Articles were agreed upon, which every one ſeemed well ſatisfied with. The Lords obliged themſelves to reſtore all the Plunder taken at *Newcaſtle*, publickly to ask the King's Pardon, and declare to him that without any Deſign againſt his Perſon, their ſole Aim had been to redreſs what was amiſs in the Government. The King promiſed on his Part to grant a general Pardon to them and their Adherents, and reſerved the Power of doing the ſame in favour of all that had been for *Gaveſton*'s Return.

Act. Pub. III. 366.

Matters are accommodated.

A General Pardon promiſed.

1313. The Barons punctually performed their Word in reſtoring whatever had been ſeized at *Newcaſtle*: But *Edward* did not act ſo fairly. He delayed publiſhing the General Pardon above a Year, and during that Space left no Stone unturned to get the Earl of *Lancaſter* to Court. But what *Safe-Conducts* ſoever he offered him, it was not poſſible to perſwade the Earl to put himſelf in his Power before the Pardon was proclaimed. At length, the Barons weary of all the Evaſions made uſe of by the King, began to take Arms again, when the King of *France* ſent the Earl of *Evreux* his Brother, accompanied with *Enguerrand de Marigny*, to try to accommodate Matters. The Queen likewiſe did all that lay in her Power towards it. It was very difficult to bring it about, becauſe the King ſtill ſhifting

The King delays to publiſh it. Act. Pub. III. 388.

* *Gilbert de Clare* Son of *Joanna de Acres* the King's Siſter.

ſhifting off the publiſhing the promiſed Pardon, the Barons believed they had Reaſon to fear he never deſigned it. During the Negotiation, the King went and confered with the King his Father-in-law, and left Orders that the Parliament ſhould meet in his Abſence. The Earl of *Lancaſter* and the Barons of his Party, made no ſcruple to be preſent, encouraged thereto by the King's being Abſent. But having heard that he was returned, and landed at *Sandwich*, they immediately withdrew, not caring to truſt to the *Safe-Conducts* he had ſent them from the Place of his Landing. Their going off obliged the Parliament to break up. Affairs being in ſuch a Poſture as a freſh Rupture was every Moment to be feared, the Mediators were ſo urgent with the King to give the Barons Satisfaction, that he could no longer defer it. He ordered therefore the two General Pardons to be drawn up, which were confirmed ſhortly after by the Parliament. But a General Pardon did not fully ſatisfy the Parties concerned, he muſt likewiſe give a particular Pardon to four hundred and ſixty eight Perſons whoſe Names are mentioned in *the Collection of Publick Acts*.

1313. ibid. p. 422.

The Pardon is publiſhed. Act. Pub. III. 442, 443, 448, 449.

Whilſt this Negotiation was in Hand, the Queen brought into the World in the beginning of *October* 1313, a Prince who was chriſtened *Edward*.

The Birth of Prince Edward.

The publiſhing the General Pardons as well for the *Confederate* Barons as for the Friends of *Gaveſton*, having at length reſtored Peace in the Kingdom, the Parliament granted the King a conſiderable *Subſidy* towards vigorouſly carrying on the War with *Scotland*. Before the Parliament broke up, the Barons publickly begged the King's Pardon in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, before all the People. This was done in a very ſolemn manner. The Barons in ſpeaking to the King made uſe of the moſt humble and ſubmiſſive Terms, as if the Pardon he had granted them had been the pure Effect of his Clemency. After this, they returned to their own Homes, well ſatisfied in Appearance, but however without dropping all Diſtruſt of the King. They had offended him too deeply, ever to hope he would forget the Injury done him. The Death of the Earl of *Warwick*, which happened

The Barons publickly beg the King's Pardon.

Walſing.

1313. pened soon after, increased their Mistrust, every one believing he was poisoned.

Affairs of Scotland

Whilst *England* endured violent Shocks by the Weakness and narrow Genius of him that was at the Helm, *Scotland* grew stronger every Day, by the prudent Conduct of a couragious and watchful King, who knew how to make the best of the Respite which the Death of *Edward* I. had procured him. *Robert Bruce*, who may justly be called the Restorer of the *Scotch* Monarchy, managed it so that he suppressed the Factions which divided his Subjects, and united them all in the Design of shaking off the Yoke of Servitude. By this happy Union, he was in a Condition not only to recover the best Part of his Country, but also to carry his Arms into *England*. I am going now to relate the Particulars of the *Scotch* War, which I could not intermix with the Relation of the Domestick Troubles in *England* without Confusion.

War with Scotland.

Edward I. had resolved utterly to destroy *Scotland*, and in all likelihood he would have reduced the Kingdom to a wretched Condition if Death had not snatched him out of the World very opportunely for the *Scots*. *Robert Bruce* was preparing to take Advantage of the Consternation the Loss of *Edward* had caused among the *English*: But a great Fit of Sickness which seized him at the same Time hindered him from entering upon Action. Mean while the *Scots*, who knew nothing yet of the Character of *Edward* II, were in great Perplexity, their King very dangerously ill, and their Forces much inferiour to those of their Enemies. The sudden Resolution *Edward* II took to return into *England*, after having advanced as far as *Dumfries* and struck Terrour into the whole Kingdom, gave them Room to hope better Things. The Impatience he was in to go and meet *Gaveston*, to marry the Princess designed for him, and to get himself crowned, drove out of his Head all Thoughts of War, to which he had naturally no Inclination. So that leaving his Army under the Conduct of *John Comin* a *Scotch* Lord, he set out for *England*. His Haste to be gone raised great Murmurings in the Army and Kingdom. People could not behold him without Astonishment

Aſtoniſhment relinquiſhing the Conqueſt of *Scotland* at a Time when the Number and Ardour of his Troops and King *Robert*'s Illneſs ſeemed to warrant him a glorious Campaign. His pitching upon *Comin* to command the Army was no leſs condemned. This General was a *Scotchman*, and though of the oppoſite Party to *Robert* and his private Enemy, the bare being a Foreigner was enough to raiſe the Diſguſt of the *Engliſh*, to whom this Preference was a Diſhonour. What happened quickly after, made appear their Complaints were but too well grounded. *Comin* willing to take Advantage of *Robert*'s Illneſs, whom he thought incapable of heading his Troops, advanced towards the *Scots* in order to attack them. Though *Robert* found himſelf extremely weak, he believed it would be his beſt way to give him Battle. At ſuch a Juncture, to decline Fighting, might have diſheartned his Subjects and been the Cauſe of loſing his whole Kingdom. With this Reſolution, having mounted on Horſeback, ſupported by two Eſquires, he drew up his Army in Battalia, and waited the Enemies coming, with a Steddineſs which had a wonderful Effect. The *Engliſh* had imagined that this little Army would never dare to ſtand before them. But when by the good Poſture of the *Scots* they found themſelves deceived, their Courage began to cool to ſuch a Degree that hardly could they be brought to begin the Fight. So weak an Onſet and ſo ill ſeconded, having inſpired the *Scots* with freſh Courage, they fell with great Fury upon their Enemies, and put them entirely to rout. This Defeat was ſo much the more ſhameful for the *Engliſh*, as, beſides that they were vaſtly ſuperiour in Number, they were the ſame Troops which had ſo frequently vanquiſhed the *Scots*, and which ſuffered themſelves now to be worſted by an Army levied in haſte, and made up of raw and undiſciplined Soldiers. *Comin* having retired into *England* after his Defeat, *Robert* entered the County of *Argyle*, which ſtill belonged to the *Engliſh*, and ravaged it all over. Shortly after *Edward Bruce* his Brother got the better of the *Engliſh*, in the County of *Galloway*. Theſe two Victories ſet up the

1312.

Battle gained by the Scots.

Another by Edward Bruce.

1313. *Scots* in such a manner, that thay began from thenceforward to despise the *English* and forget their past Losses.

Edward *marches against* Scotland, How little Inclination soever *Edward* had for War, he could not avoid endeavouring to put a Stop to the Progress of the King of *Scotland*. In 1308, that is, in the second Year of his Reign, he led in Person a powerful Army into that Kingdom. But as he had taken no Care for Provisions, depending upon what he should find in the Enemy's Country, he saw himself constrained to march back his Army into *England* for want of Subsistence. *Robert*, more provident than he, had carried off or destroyed beforehand whatever might serve to maintain the Enemies Troops. *Edward*'s Retreat gave the King of *Scotland* an Opportunity to become Master of several Places in Possession of the *English*, and to make that Year a very prosperous Campaign. The Troubles which afterwards happened in *England* about the Affair of *Gaveston*, put that Prince in a Condition to make a still greater Progress. In 1310 and 1311, he entered *England* twice, and carried off a great Booty. In 1312 he recovered *Perthe*, *Lanerick*, *Dumfries*, *Roxborough*, and lastly *Edenborough-Castle*, which was taken by Storm by the Earl of *Murray* his General. This Year the little *Isle of Man* voluntarily submitted to him.

and returns without doing any thing.

Robert *makes great Progress.* Buchan.

Whilst *Robert* continued his Conquests, *Edward*, wholly taken up in seeking Means to be revenged on the Barons for putting *Gaveston* to Death, was surprizingly negligent with regard to *Scotland*. Instead of hastening an Accommodation with the Lords in order to unite all his Forces, he spun out the Negotiation to a great Length, by a Policy very detrimental to the State. In the mean time *Robert* took the Advantage of the Negligence of the *English*. After he had made himself Master of all the Places *Edward* I had been possessed of in *Scotland*, except *Sterling*, he sent in 1313 *Edward* his Brother to besiege that Town, the strongest then in *Scotland*. The Siege was carried on very vigorously: But the besieged made as brave a Defence. However, *Mowbray*, the Governour of the Place, finding his Master made no Preparations to relieve him, thought

Robert *besieges* Sterling.

The Town capitulates.

thought he ſhould do him good Service in ſigning a Capitulation, whereby he bound himſelf to ſurrender the Town in a Year, if it were not relieved before that Time. 1313.

Edward having by that means all the Leiſure neceſſary to get ready, and being deſirous at any Rate to prevent the Loſs of ſo important a Place, ordered all his *Vaſſals* to be ſummoned to bring him Troops. The *Engliſh*, *Gaſcons*, and *Welſh* were ſo ready to obey him, that by *June* 1314, he ſaw himſelf at the Head of a hundred thouſand Men. The Soldiers already devoured in their Imagination whatever the preceeding Ravages of *Edward* I had left in *Scotland*. Only the Earls of *Lancaſter*, *Arundel*, *Hereford*, and the new Earl of *Warwick*, refuſed to ſerve the King on this Occaſion; the Miſtruſt they were in upon his Score, not permitting them to come and put themſelves in his Power. 1314. Edward *levies an Army of a hundred thouſand Men.*

This numerous Army having entered *Scotland*, advanced within view of *Sterling*. *Robert* waited his coming at the Head of thirty thouſand Men inured to the Fatigues of War, and who had frequently worſted the *Engliſh*. He had drawn up his Army on an advantagious Piece of Ground where he could not be ſurrounded. A Mountain full of inacceſſible Rocks covered one of his Flanks, and the other was ſafe by means of a deep Moraſs. How great ſoever the Unequality of the two Armies might be, the *Scots*, who were determined to conquer or dye, received their Enemies with that Vigour and Reſolution that they ſoon put them in Diſorder and Confuſion. The *Engliſh* Horſe having been preſſed at firſt with a Fury which they could not withſtand, were the Occaſion, by their Flight, of the Defeat of the whole Army: A Defeat the moſt diſmal *England* had ever experienced ſince the beginning of the Monarchy *. The *Scotch* Writers mount the Ene- *The Battle of* Banockbourn. *The* Engliſh *are routed.*

* This Battle was fought on the 25th of *June* 1314, by the River *Banockbourn*. It is ſaid that the *Scots* had digged Trenches three Foot deep and as many broad, into which, being covered over with Hurdles and drove full of ſharp Stakes, the *Engliſh* Horſe fell, and by that means were miſerably ſlaughtered.

my

1314. my's Loſs to fifty thouſand Men. They affirm, the Number of the Priſoners which they took on this Occaſion exceeded that of the Conquerors. The Earl of *Glouceſter*, Nephew of *Edward* II, abundance of other Lords of Diſtinction, and above ſeven hundred Knights, lay dead on the Field of Battle. The *Engliſh* reduce the Number of the ſlain to ten thouſand. But the Conſequences of this Action diſcover that their Loſs was much greater, ſince after that they durſt not any more come into the Field.

Act. Pub. III. 491. *Edward*, with the Relicks of his Army, haſtily retreated, without thinking himſelf out of Danger till he came to *York*. There it was that thoſe who had been diſperſed by their Flight came together again. He formed a very conſiderable Body, with which he ſhewed ſome Willingneſs to re-enter the Enemy's Country and hazard another Battle. But the Conſternation of his Troops was ſo great, that he could not prevail with them to make a freſh Attempt to retrieve their Honour. That Battle, which was called *the Battle of Banockbourn*, brought the *Scots*, beſides an ineſtimable Booty, a Peace which laſted ſeveral Years. They acquired ſo great a Superiority over the *Engliſh* that, far from being able to recover what they had loſt in *Scotland*, they ſaw themſelves for a long while together conſtrained to behold their Borders ravaged, without daring to make the leaſt Reſiſtance. Their Terrour was ſo great that one of their Hiſtorians affirms, that three *Scotch* Soldiers were enough to put a hundred *Engliſhmen* to flight, ſo much were theſe laſt diſpirited by that terrible Defeat.

An Impoſtor pretends to be Edward, *and is hanged.* Whilſt Fortune ſtrove on all Occaſions to humble *Edward*, an Impoſtor, one *Poidras*, a Tanner's Son of *Exeter*, ſought to take his Crown from him, by maintaining that he was himſelf *Edward* and had been changed by his Nurſe. So extraordinary and ill-formed a Project ſerved only to bring the Impoſtor to the Gallows inſtead of a Throne which he would fain have mounted. Without doubt he had built his Hopes upon the little Eſteem the *Engliſh* had for their King, having in all appearance fancied it would be no hard Matter to make them believe he was Son of *Ed-*

ward

ward I, who had none but noble and generous Inclinations. But it was not this vile Inſtrument which *Providence* was pleaſed to make uſe of to pull down this unhappy Prince, though in ſome meaſure one may conſider this Event as a ſort of Preſage of what was to happen. 1314.

The Loſs the *Engliſh* had ſuffered in *Scotland* was followed by a dreadful Famine which laſted three Years, and deſtroyed an infinite Number of People. In vain did the Parliament endeavour to help it by ſettling the Price of Proviſions: They were forced the next Year to revoke the *Act* that had been paſſed on that Account. But neither War nor Famine, nor the Murmurings of the People, were able to hinder the King from expending a large Sum in celebrating the Funeral of his Favourite whoſe Body he cauſed to be removed to *King's Langley* in *Hertfordſhire*. He would honour the Funeral Pomp with his Preſence, attended by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and ſome other Biſhops. But the Barons poſitively refuſed to aſſiſt at the Obſequies of a Man who had been ſo odious to them, and whom they looked upon as unworthy of the Honour done to his Memory. 1315. *Great Famine.*

In the mean time the Famine raged in ſo terrible a Manner that one can hardly give Credit to what Hiſtorians ſay of it. They are not content with telling us that the moſt loathed Animals were made uſe of for Food, but what is ſtill more horrible, People were forced to hide their Children with all imaginable Care, if they would not have them liable to be ſtollen away and eaten by Thieves. They aſſure us that the Men themſelves took care to prevent their being murdered in private Places, knowing there were but too many Inſtances that ſome had been treated in that manner, to feed ſuch as could find Subſiſtance no other way. We are told likewiſe, that the Priſoners in the Goals devoured one another in a barbarous manner, the extreme Scarcity of Proviſions not permitting that they ſhould be allowed neceſſary Food. The Bloody Flux, cauſed by groſs feeding, compleated the Miſery of the *Engliſh*. Such Numbers died every Day that hardly could the Living ſuffice to bury the Dead. The only Remedy which 1316. *The Famine increaſes.*

1316. which could be found against the Famine, but which was not capable of bringing all the Relief necessary, was to prohibit on pain of Death, the brewing any sort of Beer, to the end that the Corn usually expended by the Brewers, should be converted into Bread.

1317. *Injury done the Earl of* Lancaster. In spite of these Calamities which should have turned their Thoughts to Religion and Repentance, the mutual Hatred which the King and Barons had long since harboured in their Breasts, was seen daily to increase. It was next to impossible but this violent Aversion should in the end produce very fatal Effects. *Edward*, not being able to forget the Injuries he had received, entertained in his Heart a strong Desire of Revenge, which put him upon seeking all possible Means to gratify it. He was chiefly exasperated against the Earl of *Lancaster*, whom he looked upon as the sole Author of his Disgraces, and as his most dangerous Enemy. If the Earl's Life had been in his Power, in all appearance he would not have spared it. But as his Dissimulation had not been capable of drawing him into any Snare, finding he could not get hold of his Person, he attempted to deprive him of his Estate and Honour. To that purpose, he brought him into such a Premunire as the most extravagant Distrust could not have been able to prevent.

His Wife is taken away, and given to another. Whilst the Earl kept at a Distance from Court, a certain Knight, one *Richard de St. Martin*, a Man of a mean Look and dwarfish Stature, presented to the Judges a Petition, claiming the Wife of the Earl of *Lancaster*, Heiress of the Families of *Lincoln* and *Salisbury*. He set forth in his Petition that he had known her carnally, and that she had made him a Promise of Marriage before she was contracted to the Earl. The Countess, dissatisfied with her Husband, having, to her eternal Shame, confessed the Fact, was awarded with all her Estate to the unworthy Claimant. This Affair, which would have required a long Examination, was decided in such haste, that it was easy to see the Judges had been gained beforehand, and that the King himself had been the Promoter of the Matter. An Injury of this Nature done to a Prince of the Royal Blood

Blood, exceedingly beloved of the People, raiſed an extreme Indignation againſt the King. Nothing was heard every where but Murmurings againſt his Government. As he had then no Favourite on whom the Blame might be caſt, he bore it all himſelf, and People ſaid publickly, that never was the Throne of *England* filled by a Prince ſo unworthy to rule a free Nation. There were even ſome who took the Liberty to upbraid him to his Face for his ill Conduct. Upon a certain *Holy-Day*, *Edward* dining in Publick in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, a Woman in a Mask came on Horſeback and delivered him a Letter. The King imagining it contained ſomething proper to divert him, ordered it to be read aloud. But he was very much ſurprized to hear nothing but outragious Reproaches for his Cowardice, Tyranny, and all the Grievances which had been introduced in his Reign. The Woman having been apprehended, confeſſed that a certain Knight had put her upon playing that Part, and the Knight boldly maintained, that believing the King would read the Letter in private, he thought it the moſt proper way to let him know the Complaints of his Subjects.

1317. *Murmurings againſt the King.*

His Conduct ripped up in a Letter.

Whilſt *England* was reduced to extreme Deſolation, *Edward*, without giving himſelf any Trouble about the Ravages the *Scots* continued to make in his Borders, minded nothing but how to humble the Barons, who began to form new Projects, the Conſequences whereof he had reaſon to fear. They had preſented to him a little before, a *Petition* containing a long Liſt of the Grievances of the People, of which they demanded a ſpeedy Redreſs. Nothing was farther from his Thoughts than the reforming Abuſes. However as he durſt not openly make known his Intentions, he had referred the Matter to the Parliament which was to meet at *Lincoln*. An Invaſion which the *Scots* made at the ſame time, afforded him a Handle to prorogue the Parliament ſeveral times, and at length to diſſolve it. This Proceeding ſo incenſed the Barons, that with one Conſent they reſolved to take Arms, to obtain by Force the Satisfaction they required. They would doubtleſs

1318. *The Barons complain of ſeveral Grievances.*

He calls and diſſolves a Parliament.

1318. have bore hard upon this weak Prince, uncapable of holding the Reins of Government at so nice a Juncture, if some Lords of more Moderation had not joined with the Pope's *Legate* in endeavouring to accommodate Matters. These Mediators obtained of the King, that to content the confederate Barons a certain Number of them should be admitted into his Council, and that he would oblige himself to do nothing without imparting it to them. The Earl of *Lancaster* was to be one: But as he could not trust the King, it was agreed that he should nominate a Baron or Knight to supply his Place. Moreover *Edward* promised to grant an absolute Pardon, without any Restrictions, to the Earl of *Lancaster*, for all that was passed. This Agreement was made and signed at *Leek* on the 9th of *August* 1318, and confirmed three Days after by the Parliament which the King had called, upon the pressing Instances of the Mediators. After this Affair was ended, the King and Earl of *Lancaster* met on a Plain near *Leicester*, embraced and kissed one another in Token of a perfect Reconciliation. Let us now return to the War with *Scotland*, which still continued during the Troubles in *England*.

Agreement between the King and the Barons.

The King of Scotland *ravages* England.

Has a Design upon Ireland.

After *Robert* had obtained near *Sterling* that signal Victory which proved so fatal to the *English*, he pursued the vanquished into *England*, where he committed prodigious Ravages, whilst *Edward* durst not stir from *York* to oppose his Enemy. The King of *Scotland*, not satisfied with this Advantage, formed the Project of taking *Ireland* from the Crown of *England*. This Island had for a long Time been governed by *English* Lords, who had been more industrious to inrich themselves, than to promote the Publick Good. Their arbitrary Proceedings had begot among the *Irish* so great and universal a Disgust, that they wanted only a favourable Opportunity to revolt. The Defeat of the *English* Army before *Sterling* having given them Room to believe that the present Juncture was very proper to put their Design in Execution, they sent word to the King of *Scotland*, that they were ready to cast off the Yoke of the *English*, provided he would give them some Assist-

ance,

ance. *Robert* took care not to loſe ſo fair an Opportunity of becoming Maſter of the Iſland, or at leaſt of making a powerful Diverſion there. He ſent thither ſome Troops under the Command of *Edward* his Brother, who having headed the Rebels, conquered the beſt Part of the Iſland, and was acknowledged for King. Whilſt he was carrying on his Conqueſts, *Robert* amuſed the King of *England* with Propoſals of Peace, which he ſeemed to make in good earneſt, and with great Eagerneſs: But he artfully raiſed from time to time Difficulties which hindered Matters from being concluded. He ſpun out the Negotiation in this manner till 1317, without *Edward*'s perceiving his Artifices. That Prince's little Penetration would even have made him entirely loſe *Ireland*, if he had not been awakened by the Murmurings of the People. The Prejudice *England* might receive by the Loſs of that Iſland was ſo manifeſt, and the Conſequences of it had been ſo plainly laid before him, that at length he reſolved to ſend thither a powerful Reinforcement under the Conduct of *Mortimer*. With theſe Succours the *Engliſh* that were in *Ireland*, finding themſelves able to take the Field, marched to attack the *Scotch* Prince. In the mean while, the King of *Scotland*, who had received Intelligence how much his Brother ſtood in need of being ſpeedily relieved, was gone himſelf into *Ireland*. But upon his Arrival, he heard that his Brother was defeated and ſlain in a Battle he had raſhly engaged in. *Robert*'s Loſs on that Occaſion having broken all his Meaſures, and diſabled him from continuing the War in that Country, he thought it more proper to go and improve the Advantages his Arms had juſt gained in *Scotland*. Whilſt he was gone *Dowglas*, one of the Generals, had worſted the Army which the King of *England* had ſent into that Kingdom, in order to try to take the Advantage of *Robert*'s Abſence.

1318. *He ſends Edward his Brother thither.*

Who is defeated and ſlain.

This freſh Victory, which put it out of the Power of the *Engliſh* to make head againſt the *Scots*, gave *Robert* encouragement to lay Siege to *Berwick* which was ſtill in the Hands of the *Engliſh*. He could not prepare for it without *Edward*'s having notice of it. But his knowing it was

The King of Scotland prepares to beſiege Berwick,

1318. was to little Purpose, seeing he had neither Money nor Troops sufficient to prevent the Design of his Enemy. His Subjects were so averse to him, that he could not expect to procure from them an *Aid* either speedy or great enough for his Purpose. And supposing he could have expected it, he plainly saw the Parliament would make him pay dear for the *Subsidy* he should obtain. In this Extremity he turned to the Pope, and earnestly intreated him to interpose his Authority, in order to procure him a Peace, or at least a Truce with *Scotland*. *John* XXII, who had lately succeeded *Clement* V. immediately granted *Edward*'s Request. He looked upon this as a very favourable Opportunity to extend his Power over crowned Heads. Accordingly he bethought himself to make Peace between *Edward* and *Robert*, not as Mediator, but as Sovereign Arbiter, and by Virtue of his *Apostolical* Authority. To that End, he sent two *Legates* into *England*, with a Power which showed that he looked upon himself as invested with Sovereign Authority over all King's, even in *Temporal* Affairs. Their Commission ran, That they were to make Peace between the two Nations at War, in what manner they thought fit, and to compel both Princes to accept it, on Pain of *Excommunication*, and an *Interdict* upon their Dominions. But as he judged such a Peace could not be made without some Debate which would have taken up Time, he ordered his *Legates* to cause a two Years Truce to be published in his Name, and by his Authority, and gave them Power to excommunicate those that refused to observe it.

1319. Edward *applies to the Pope,*

who pretends to force Robert *to make Peace.*

His Legates *publish a Truce.*

The *Legates*, furnished with so large and extraordinary Power, came into *England*, and forthwith caused the Truce to be proclaimed. *Edward* paid an implicit Obedience to it, not considering that by so doing he sacrificed to the Court of *Rome* the most authentick Prerogatives of the Crown. *Robert* acted not in that manner, under pretence that the Pope and *Legates* gave him not the Title of *King*, he would never permit the last to enter *Scotland*, much less to proclaim the Truce there. He even treated very roughly the *Superior* of the *Cordeliers* of *Berwick*, whom the *Legates*

Act. Pub. III. 798.

gates had sent to him, and who had been so bold as to publish in some Measure the Truce in the Presence of several *Scotchmen*. So far therefore was he from obeying the Pope, that he besieged and took *Berwick* by the Treachery of the Governour *, if we may believe the *English*. This Contempt for the Pope's Orders, made the *Legates* excommunicate him and put his Kingdom under an *Interdict*. But he did not much trouble himself about a *Censure* so manifestly unjust as to him, and so very partial as to the *English*. So that continuing his Progress he advanced on the Borders of *England* and committed great Ravage, without meeting any Opposition. 1319.

Robert *besieges* Berwick.

He is excommunicated.

Edward found then that the *Spiritual* Weapons of the Pope were but of little Service to him. Accordingly on a sudden altering his Methods, he found Means to raise an Army, with which he would go and attempt to recover *Berwick*. Whilst he was employed in the Siege, the Earl of *Murray*, the King of *Scotland*'s General, made a Diversion in *England*, which proved very fatal to the Borderers. In his Return from ravaging several Counties he met a Body of *English Militia* to the Number of ten Thousand, with the Archbishop of *York* at their Head. Though his Forces were not near so numerous as those of the Enemies, he couragiously charged them, and obtained over these undisciplined Troops a Victory, wherein above one half of them were slain. The *Scots* called this Action *the white Battle*, from some *English* Priests being killed in the Fight with their *Surplices* on. This Accident obliged *Edward* to quit the Siege of *Berwick*. Shortly after, with much Sollicitation, he obtained a Truce for two Years; upon which he left the *North*, and returned to *England*, where he was no less unfortunate.

Edward *besieges* Berwick.

The Militia of York-shire *defeated.*

A Truce for two Years. Act. Pub. III. 809.

The Truce brought not to *England* the Tranquillity expected from it. Hardly was it proclaimed before the Kingdom was involved in fresh Troubles much more violent than those caused by *Gaveston*. The old Grudge between

Promotion of the Spencers, *Father and Son.*

* *Peter Spalding*, who it seems was afterwards hanged by King *Robert*. *Stow*.

1319. the King and the Barons was ſtill kept alive like Fire under Cinders, which wanted only freſh Matter to flame out again. Unluckily an Occaſion was but too near at Hand. The Lords, ever jealous of thoſe that were about the King's Perſon, had introduced into Court a young Gentleman, *Hugh Spencer*, whom they believed entirely devoted to their Intereſts. They had got him made *High Chamberlain*, with a View to make uſe of him as a Spy, that they might have Information of what paſſed at Court, where they ſeldom appeared. But their Project turned againſt themſelves. *Spencer* had a Father named *Hugh* as well as himſelf, a Perſon of Courage and good Senſe, who gave him quite contrary Inſtructions. He made him ſenſible, it would be much more eaſy to make his Fortune by labouring directly for himſelf, than by ſerving the Barons: and that with a little Patience and Pliantneſs, he might put himſelf out of the Reach of thoſe whom he looked upon as his Protectors. *Spencer* the Son being inclined to put this Advice in practice, found at firſt great Difficulties. The King could not behold with a good Eye a Domeſtick who had already ſhown too great an Inclination for his Enemies. Nevertheleſs in Time, and by the prudent Counſels of his Father, *Spencer* removed by Degrees the ill Impreſſions his Maſter had taken againſt him. As his Deſign was to govern the King entirely, he ſcrupled not to become for ſome Time his Slave, by letting him ſee upon all Occaſions which offered, that he was wholly devoted to his Service. By this blind Complaiſance, and by a general Compliance to whatever was agreeable to him, from his Spy, he became his Confident, and at length ſupplied in his Heart the Place *Gaveſton* had formerly poſſeſſed. As ſoon as he ſaw himſelf in this great Degree of Favour, he made an ill uſe of it as his Predeceſſor had done, and by his exceſſive Pride and inſatiable Avarice made it ſoon wiſhed that *Gaveſton* had not been pulled down. *Hugh* his Father, whom he had got created Earl of *Wincheſter*, had been till then of a quite different Character. Nothing could be laid to his Charge unbecoming a Man of Honour and Honeſty. In all the Poſts he had been promoted to

Spencer *the Father made Earl of* Wincheſter. *His Character.*

to by this and the late King, he had always behaved with a great deal of Moderation, Prudence and Impartiality. But he knew not how to preſerve the Reputation he had acquired. A blind Fondneſs for his Son, and Ambition, which had ſeized him in his old Age, made him fall into thoſe Exceſſes which rendered both him and his Son odious to the Nation, and particularly to the *Nobility*. It was not long before an univerſal Diſcontent became viſible. The Earl of *Lancaſter*, a great Favourite of the People, and a ſworn Enemy to the King, notwithſtanding their outward Reconciliation, had ſo managed the preſent Juncture, as to form a Party ſtrong enough to ruin the two Favourites. He had demonſtrated to his Friends, that their Downfal and his own were infallible, if Means were not found to remove the *Spencers* from Court: That the King, who harboured a ſecret Deſire of Revenge, was indeed uncapable of carrying on a Deſign: But that every thing was to be feared from that Prince, aſſiſted by his two new *Miniſters*, of much greater Abilities than *Gaveſton*. He added, that theſe *Miniſters* were no leſs guilty than the other, of divers Encroachments on the Privileges of the People, and that they had hitherto laboured in vain to reduce the Royal Authority within due Bounds, if they ſuffered the King to return to his former Courſes, and to trample upon the Liberties of the Subject. Theſe Reaſons alledged by a Prince who paſſed for a diſintereſted and zealous Aſſerter of the Publick Good, and joined to the Envy which the Advancement of the *Spencers* had raiſed, cauſed ſo ſudden an Effect, that the old *Aſſociation* was renewed. As the confederate Barons had every Thing to fear from the Abilities of the *Miniſters*, they loſt no Time in preſenting to the King *Petitions*, as they had done in the Affair of *Gaveſton*. By ſo doing, they would only have given their Enemies leiſure to prepare themſelves. And therefore, without making known their Intentions, they came to a Reſolution to levy Troops with all the Secrecy and Expedition poſſible, and to ſurprize the King and his Favourites before they ſhould have Time to take any Meaſures. Their Deſign was executed with that Speed, that

1319.

Lancaſter *ſtirs up the Lords againſt the* Spencers.

1320. *They renew their Leagues, and take Arms.*

1320. in a very short Space, they drew together fifteen Thousand Men, with whom they ventured to take the Field. Their first Business was to plunder the Lands of the *Spencers*, the which was left to the Care of *Roger Mortimer* junior, so called to distinguish him from his Uncle of the same Name. He discharged his Commission in so violent a manner and with so little Regard to the Favourites, that in a few Days, he did them threescore Thousand Pound Damage. This done, the Barons sent some of their Body to present a *Petition* to the King, whereby they demanded the Removal of the *Spencers*. *Edward* perceiving it was not in his Power to curb their Boldness, referred the Matter to the Parliament. He did not question but he should have Interest enough with the *Commons*, to protect the two *Ministers*. But the Barons Resolution to continue in Arms broke all his Measures. Several Members of Parliament being at the Lords Devotion, others awed by the Army, and all in general not valuing the *Spencers* enough to run any Risk for their Sake, the two Favourites were banished the Realm without the King's being able to screen them. This Parliament was called *The Parliament of the white Bands*, on account of certain white Marks by which the Partisans of the Barons were to know one another. What Endeavours soever the King might use to oppose these violent Proceedings, he found himself constrained to give way to a Torrent which he could not withstand. *Spencer* the Father being then out of the Kingdom upon the King's Affairs, the Son was ignominiously conducted to *Dover*, where he was shipped off, with great Threats if ever he pretended to set Foot in the Kingdom again.

The Spencers *banished.*
Act. Pub. III. 891.

1321. *Edward* highly resented this Dishonour, and swore he would be revenged. But perhaps Means would have been found to appease him, if the Queen, who on the like Occasions was wont to act the Part of a Peace-Maker between the King and the Barons, had not ceased doing them that good Office. So far was she from endeavouring to assuage the King's Anger, that she took care to excite him to Vengeance, being exasperated at an Affront she

she had just received from one of them, and of which she cast the Blame upon the whole Party. The Occasion of her Resentment was this. 1321.

Whilst *Edward* was thus incensed against the Barons, *Isabella*, designing to go in Pilgrimage to *Canterbury*, sent some of her Domesticks before to prepare her Lodging in the Castle of *Leeds*, belonging to *Bartholomew Badlesmere*, one of the Associated Barons. As the whole Party were then in great Distrust as to the King, the Officer who commanded in the Castle, denied the Queen's People Admittance. There was even one of them killed. So far was *Badlesmere* from disclaiming what was done, upon Complaint made to him of it, that he was so hardy as to write the Queen a very insolent Letter, wherein he approved in express Terms what had passed. It was very difficult for that Princess, who was naturally haughty and revengeful, to put up such an Affront without resenting it. As she plainly saw that the Union of the Barons was the sole Cause of *Badlesmere*'s Insolence, she thought that in order to be revenged on him, the readiest Way would be to try to break their Association. The King waited patiently for a favourable Opportunity to take Vengeance: But a Woman's Revenge can admit of no Delay. In the Resolution the Queen was in of spurring *Edward* on as fast as possible, she perswaded him that a favourable Juncture now offered to free himself from the Power of the Barons; that by immediately punishing the Governour of *Leeds* as he deserved, he would strike such a Terrour into the confederate Lords, who did not in the least expect any such Thing, that they would not think even of standing upon their Defense, when they should see him with Sword in Hand, and in a Condition to compel them to return to their Allegiance by Force. *Edward* liking well this Advice, gave Orders for levying Troops. But least he should meet with any Obstruction, and that he might remove the People's Fears who began to take the Alarm at these Levies, he issued out a Proclamation, protesting that he took not Arms to make War on his Subjects, but only to punish the Insolence of a private Person. This Proclamation

Affront done the Queen by one of the confederate Barons, De la More. Act. Pub. III. 897.

She stirs up the King to a Revenge.

The King issues a Proclamation. Act. Pub. III. 898.

He levies Troops and takes the Castle of Leeds.

1321. on having had a good Effect among the People, and the Barons not having thought best to engage the Kingdom in a Civil War for the Sake of a single Officer, the King raised an Army without Opposition. As soon as his Troops were ready to march, he went immediately and besieged the Castle of *Leeds*, and having taken it, ordered the commanding Officer, with some other inferiour ones, to be hanged. This good Success having caused him to forget his Protestation, he made use of the Arms he had in his Hand, to take Vengeance on his Enemies. With this View, he laid Seige to some other Castles belonging to the Barons, and particularly to *Warwick*-Castle, which he became Master of with the same Ease. As soon as he thought himself formidable enough, he recalled *Spencer* the Son, who since his Banishment had played the Pyrate, especially upon the *English* Ships.

He recals Spencer Act. Pub. III. 907.

The Barons in a wretched Condition.

Edward continuing his Progress, after the Return of his Favourite, put the associated Barons into the utmost Consternation, they not having taken any Measures for their Defence. They would have been very glad at that Time to have the Assistance of the Queen: But she was too much incensed against them to stand their Friend. In this ill Posture they saw themselves exposed to the Fury of their Enemies, who spared them not. Mean while the King, by his sole Authority, revoked the Sentence of Banishment against the *Spencers*, and recalled the Father as he had already done the Son. The King's Diligence had cast the Barons into so terrible a Perplexity that they knew not what Course to take. His Army was in the Center of the Kingdom, ready to fall upon the boldest of them. The People, as it usually happens on such Occasions, joined with the strongest Side, for fear of being oppressed before the Barons should be able to protect them. In this Extremity, the greatest Part of the Associated Barons chose to throw themselves upon the King's Mercy, and by so doing acted the wisest Part. As for those who refused to follow their Example, many of them were taken and executed, some fled for Refuge beyond Sea, and others were shut up in several Prisons. Of the Number of these last

Spencer *the Father recalled.* ibid.

Several Barons submit.

Others are punished. Act. Pub. III. 927.

was

was *Mortimer junior*, whom the *Spencers* closely confined in *the Tower*, but who doubtless would not have met with so favourable a Treatment, had not his Life been saved by a powerful Intercession. 1321. Mortimer *imprisoned.*

The Earl of *Lancaster*'s Faction being extremely weakened by the Defection, Flight, Imprisonment or Death of his Adherents, the Earl, with what few Troops he could muster together, saw himself constrained to retire into the *North*. He had nothing left to depend upon but the Protection of the *Scots*, who had promised him Succours: But he must come and join them. The Rout he took and some intercepted Letters, discovered to the King what his Intention was. To prevent him, he ordered *Andrew de Harcla* a Knight, Governour of *Carlisle* to draw together what Troops he could, and go out against the Earl in order to hinder his Passing, or at least to keep him at a Bay, whilst he should pursue him in Person with his Army. What Expedition soever the Earl of *Lancaster* might make, and what Precautions soever he might use to retard the King's March by destroying the Country as he went along, he found himself obliged to halt, after having passed the *Trent* over *Burton*-Bridge, to the end he might oppose the Passage of the Army which pursued him. But *Edward* having retired, in order to pass over at another Place, the Earl resolved to stand his Ground. Nevertheless, whether through Doubts, or the Fear which the Superiority of the King's Forces had inspired him with, he suddenly altered his Mind. In hopes of being able to free himself from these Streights, he advanced to *Burrow-Bridge*, where ran another River which afforded no other Passage but over a Bridge which *Harcla* defended. So that in the Extremity he was reduced to, he was under a Necessity either of resolving to fight the King who was close at his Heels, or of attempting to force this Pass, before the Royal Army should come up. He chose the latter, and without Loss of Time, ordered the Bridge to be attacked. The vigorous Resistance of the Enemy, the Death of the Earl

1322. Lancaster *goes towards* Scotland.

Is pursued by the King.

Lancaster *attacks a Bridge defended by* Harcla.

He is taken Prisoner,

1322. Earl of *Hereford* * who was slain in the Beginning of the Attack, and the Dread which *Lancaster*'s Troops had of being surprized by the King who was advancing forwards, disheartened them to such a Degree that instead of continuing the Attack, they all ran away, and dispersed themselves in the Country. *Harcla* perceiving their Disorder, hastily passed the Bridge and pursued the Run-a-ways, of whom he took great Numbers Prisoners. The Earl of *Lancaster*, who endeavoured in vain to rally his Men, having staid too long in hopes of succeeding, could not avoid the Misfortune of being taken himself, with fourscore and fifteen Barons or Knights, and conducted to the Castle of *Pontfract*. This unfortunate Prince saw himself exposed to the Insults of the Soldiers, who in Derision called him *King Arthur*, on account of his going under that Name in some of the intercepted Letters. But this was not the worst he was to suffer. A few Days, after the King being come to *Pontfract*, ordered him to appear in Court before a small Number of *Peers* *1 who attended him, among whom were the two *Spencers*. By this little Assembly called in haste, was the Earl condemned to be drawn, hanged and quartered for a Traitor. But on the Score of his Birth, the King was pleased to save him the Infamy of that Punishment and only ordered him to be beheaded. Nine other Lords of his Party were sentenced to the same Punishment and executed at *York*. The Lord *Badlesmere*, the first Occasion of the War, and four other Lords, suffered the like Death at *London*, *Windsor*, *Canterbury*, and *Gloucester*, in order to strike Terrour into the Nation. Never since the *Norman Conquest* had the Scaffolds been drenched with so much *English* Blood as upon this

and beheaded. ibid. *p.* 936.

Badlesmere *and others are executed.*

* *Humphrey de Bohun*, who married *Elizabeth* Daughter of *Edward* I, and Widow of the Earl of *Holland*. He is said to be thrust through the Belly by a *Welch* Soldier from under the Bridge through a Chink.

*1 The Earls of *Kent*, *Warren*, *Winchester*, *Athol* and *Angus* Dugd.

this Occaſion *. Theſe inhumane Proceedings were aſcribed to the *Spencers*, who by that Means rendered themſelves to the laſt Degree odious to all the World, and begot in the Hearts of the *Nobility* an eager Deſire of Revenge, which in the End was but too far ſatisfied. 1322. *The* Spencers *become odious.*

Edward imagined that after being thus ſucceſsful againſt his Subjects, he could not but be very formidable to the *Scots*. In this Belief he reſolved to march towards *Scotland*, full of Hopes of coming upon *Robert* unawares, and repairing by this one Expedition all the Loſſes he had ſuſtained ſince the Beginning of his Reign. Whilſt he was in his own Territories he met with Proviſions in Plenty. Every one ſtrove to ſupply the Army, more out of Fear than Affection. But having prepoſterouſly fancied he ſhould find the ſame Conveniencies in the Enemy's Country, he ſaw himſelf in a terrible Want on a ſudden. So that, far from being able to advance any further, he was forced to make what haſte he could back, as it had happened to him once before, without making him the wiſer. But this was not all the Diſhonour he received from this ill-concerted Expedition. Hardly had he faced about in order to return into his own Dominions, but *Robert* purſued him cloſely, and overtook him at length at *Black-more*, where he eaſed him of his Baggage, and had like to have taken him Priſoner. The *Engliſh* Army being all diſperſed on this Occaſion, *Robert* kept on his March, ravaging the Country with Fire and Sword to the very Walls of *York*. At laſt, having burnt the Monaſtery of *Rippon* and ranſacked the Abbey of *Beverly*, he returned Home loaded 1323. Edward's *Expedition into* Scotland. *Is obliged to retire.* *Is purſued by* Robert, *who ravages* England.

* *Speed* has given us the following Liſts of the Names of the Barons that were put to Death.

The Earl of *Lancaſter*, the Lords, *Warren Liſle*, *William Tochet*, *Thomas Mandute*, *Henry de Bradburn*, *William Fitz-William* junior, *William Cheney*, at *Pontfract*; *Roger Clifford*, *John Mowbray*, *Jocelin D'eivill*, at *York*. *John Gifford*, at *Gloceſter*. *Henry Teyes*, at *London*. *Francis de Aldenham*, at *Windſor*. *Bartholomew de Badleſmere* and *Bartholomew de Aſhburnham*, at *Canterbury*. Threeſcore and twelve Knights, beſides thoſe hanged in Chains, were ſhut up in Priſon, who upon *Fines* paid were afterwards ſet at Liberty, ſays *De-la-More*.

1323. with Booty. What Grounds ſoever that Prince had to expect great Advantages from the Continuation of the War, he entered into a Negotiation for a Truce, which at length was concluded on the 13th of *May* the Year enſuing, for thirteen Years. He conſented the more readily to this Truce, as he was forced to give ſome Reſpite to his Subjects exhauſted by ſo long a War. Beſides, he was in hopes of being reconciled by that Means to the Court of *Rome*, who gave him to underſtand, that his *Abſolution* and the Removal of the *Interdict*, depended upon his Compliance.

Truce of 13 Years. Act. Pub. III. 1022.

The Submiſſion of the *Engliſh*, and the long Truce with *Scotland*, put *Edward* exactly in the Circumſtances which beſt ſuited his Temper. He had nothing upon his Hands which might divert him from his Pleaſures, was in Poſſeſſion of a peaceable Kingdom, and at perfect Liberty to leave the Government to his Favourites, without fear of being controlled by his Subjects. This was a Happineſs he could not attain to till this Year, which was the ſixteenth of his Reign. However, the Satisfaction he enjoyed was ſometimes diſturbed by the Remembrance of what was paſſed. The Death of the Earl of *Lancaſter*, of which he began to repent, ſince he came to be in a more quiet State, ſtung his Conſcience with bitter Remorſe. This manifeſtly appears by his Anſwer to certain Lords who were petitioning him to pardon a condemned Criminal. *Is it poſſible*, cried he, *that ſuch a Wretch as this ſhould find ſo many Friends to plead for him, whilſt not a Soul was found willing to intreat me for the Earl of* Lancaſter *my near Relation?* No, *it ſhall never be ſaid that after having put to Death that Prince, I pardoned a Villain which ſo highly deſerves to dye.*

Edward *repents of the Death of* Lancaſter. Walſing.

Uncertainty about the Earl of Lancaſter's *Character.*

The Character of *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter*, was hardly leſs ambiguous than the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s in the Reign of *Henry* III. The King's and the *Spencers* Party called him *Villain* and *Traitor*, one that having taken Arms againſt his Sovereign, was juſtly condemned to dye. But the People in general had his Memory in great Veneration, looking upon him as a real Martyr for *Liberty*. Immedi-

ately

ately after his Death they ran in Shoals to his Tomb, where it was given out many Miracles were wrought *. The King was even obliged ſtrictly to command the Biſhop of *London* to put a Stop to the Superſtition of the People of his Dioceſe, who came and offered their Devotions to the Earl's Picture which had been hung up in St. *Paul*'s *Church*. In all appearance, the Uncertainty concerning the Character of this Prince would have laſted much longer, if two things had not determined People in his Favour. The firſt was the Puniſhment of *Harcla*, who having been made Earl of *Carliſle*, as a Reward for the Service he had done the King, incurred the Diſpleaſure of the *Spencers* and loſt his Head. He was accuſed of holding Intelligence with the *Scots*. The ſecond was the *Canonization* of *Lancaſter* in 1389, at the Requeſt of *Edward* III, Son of him that had taken away his Life *'. After this there was no Room to queſtion the Sincerity of his Intentions. At leaſt it was no longer permitted openly to defame his Memory. 1323. Harcla *beheaded.*

The Death of this Prince and of ſeveral other Lords of the ſame Party, had placed the *Spencers* on the Top of the Wheel. As there was no Body in a Condition to ſtand againſt them, theſe two *Miniſters* did, in the King's Name, whatever they thought ſuited with their Intereſts, without troubling themſelves about a Party reduced to the laſt Extremity. If they had been ſo wiſe as to moderate their Paſſions and deny themſelves the Pleaſure of Revenge, there is no Queſtion but they would have ſupported themſelves in the High Station they had attained to. They would *Great Power of the* Spencers.

* He was buried in the Church of the *Priory* of *Pontfract*. The *Prior* and *Monks* giving out that Miracles were wrought at his Tomb, the Report gained Ground in ſuch a manner, that the King was forced to order the *Church* to be ſhut up. The King's Letter to the Biſhop of *London* on account of his Picture, is in Vol. III. p. 1033, of *Pub. Act.*

*' The Pope was ſollicited to *canonize* him in 1327. and King *Edward* III permitted a *Chapel* to be built over the Place where the Earl was beheaded: But his Canonization was not compleated till *Richard* II's Reign in 1389.

1323. moreover have caused their Master to pass an easy and quiet Life. But where shall we find People of this Character? The *Spencers*, to compleat their Vengeance, threw the Kingdom into greater and more fatal Troubles than what had been lately appeased. Not content with having put to Death the Heads of the opposite Party, with having deprived others of their Estates, and with having condemned great Numbers to perpetual Banishment, they believed they were not yet safe, till they should get rid of three Persons who made them very uneasy, and against whom they were extremely incensed. These were the Bishops of *Lincoln* and *Hereford*, and *Roger Mortimer* junior. This last, who had done them a great deal of Damage, was in their Power, being actually Prisoner in the *Tower*.

They persecute their Enemies.

Adam Orleton, Bishop of *Hereford*, had been promoted to that Dignity by the Interest of Pope *John* XXII, in spite of all the Endeavours of the King to the contrary. This Prelate, who had shown but little Regard for the Court, on that Occasion, had rightly judged the King would not fail to be revenged on him, if an Opportunity offered. For this Reason he had sided with the Earl of *Lancaster*, to screen himself from the Persecution he had room to fear. Matters having taken a quite different Turn from what he expected, and the King keeping up his Resentment against him, his Ruin was determined. To that End he was summoned to answer in the King's Court to the Charge of High-Treason which had been entered against him. He appeared, but refused to plead in any but the *Ecclesiastical Court*, insisting upon the Privilege of his *Order*. This Refusal would have done him but little Service, had he not been backed by the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *Dublin*. These Prelates looking upon the *Sentence* which the King's Court was going to pronounce, as a manifest Violation of the *Church*'s Liberties, went in Company with several other Bishops, and forbad the King's Judges *to take Cognizance* of the Case. At the same Time they threatned them with *Excommunication*, if they were so hardy as to proceed. How desirous soever the King and his *Ministers* might be to get rid of this Bishop,

They attack the Bishop of Hereford, *but are opposed.* Act. Pub. III. 617. 637.

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the Oppoſition of the *Clergy* hindered the *Judges* from paſſing Sentence, and the Affair was referred to the Parliament. However, whilſt the Suit was depending, the King ordered the Temporalities of the Party accuſed to be ſeized. 1323.

The two Biſhops join together.

The Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who was in the ſame Caſe, plainly perceived by the Step the King had juſt made, what he was to expect himſelf, if the Biſhop of *Hereford* was condemned. Their common Intereſt forming a very ſtrict Union between theſe two Prelates, they laid their Heads together how to find Means to raiſe Troubles which ſhould ſhelter them from the King's Vengeance. Unluckily for him their Endeavours ſucceeded but too well.

Mortimer *is condemned twice and pardoned.*

Roger Mortimer was not, or at leaſt ſeemed not to be, in ſo good Circumſtances. Detained in cloſe Confinement, and deſtitute of a *Character* which might ſcreen him from the Malice of the Favourites, who were extremely incenſed againſt him, he expected to forfeit his Head for the Damages he had cauſed. And indeed he was condemned to dye: But he found a powerful Interceſſion with the King, which maugre the Sollicitations of his Favourites, changed his Sentence to perpetual Impriſonment. It was a great deal for *Mortimer* to have eſcaped being put to Death. The State he was in ſeemed to require he ſhould wait with Patience till Time ſhould make ſome Alteration in his Favour. But ſo ſlow and uncertain a Means was not capable of making him eaſy. Whether he was afraid the King, ſooner or later, might be gained by his Enemies, or whether he relied upon the Protection which had already ſaved his Life, he entered into new Plots. As much a Priſoner as he was, he attempted to make himſelf Maſter of the *Tower*, and likewiſe of *Wallingford*-Caſtle, by the Help of his Friends. His Plot having been diſcovered, one of his Accomplices was condemned to be hanged, and he himſelf once more had the Sentence of Death paſſed upon him. However he obtained his Pardon again.

Remarks on his being thus pardoned.

When one reflects on the great Credit of the *Spencers*, their revengeful Temper, and the Reaſon they had perſonally to hate *Mortimer*, one cannot but be convinced that the

1323. the Protection which screened him from their Vengeance, must needs have been very powerful. On the other hand, if a Man considers all the Circumstances of this Reign, he will find there is no Likelihood that any other Person but the Queen could possibly obtain such a Favour from the King, contrary to the Interest and Sollicitations of his *Ministers*. This Conjecture is confirmed by the scandalous Manner wherein that Princess lived afterwards with *Mortimer*, from whence it may be inferred, that they had a good Understanding together long before it was publickly known, For a further Confirmation of this, may be added what all the Historians unanimously relate, that the Queen incessantly complained of the Severities exercised against the Partisans of the late Earl of *Lancaster*. This gave Occasion to presume that *Mortimer* was the principal Subject of her Complaints. Moreover, at this very Time it was that the *Spencers* began to soure Queen *Isabella*, insomuch that by their Behaviour to her, they constrained her to complain to the King of *France* her Brother, that she was used no better than one of the King her Husband's Domestick Servants. Now it does not appear that the Favourites had any other Reason to mortify her than the Protection she gave *Mortimer* their Enemy. All these Reasons incline me to believe, that there was at this Time a Familiarity between *Isabella* and *Mortimer*, and that the Protection she publickly honoured him with, drew upon her the Malice of the Favourites. The Vexation they gave her, put her upon seeking Means to be revenged in her Turn. This in reality is the Source of the Events we are going to relate, concerning which Historians have expressed themselves very obscurely. Let us add here, in order not to return to *Mortimer* till there shall be Occasion, that quickly after he found Means to make his Escape out of the *Tower*, and lye concealed some Time in *England*, notwithstanding diligent Search was made to apprehend him. Though *Hue and Cry* was raised after him, which seldom fails of Success, yet he had the good Luck to get off and retire into *France*. In all appearance he was hid in some Place where they

The Queen is soured by the Spencers.

Mortimer *escapes into* France.

they durſt not look for him. Let us now proceed to the fatal Effects of the *Love*, *Ambition*, *Revenge*, which at that time poſſeſſed the Minds of the chief Perſons at Court. 1323.

Affairs of Edward *with* France.

The Peace which *Edward* I had made with *France* was ſtill in Being, notwithſtanding ſome Diſputes between the two Crowns in the Reigns of *Lewis Hutin*, and *Philip le long*, Sons and Succeſſors of *Philip the Fair*. Upon *Charles the Fair*'s mounting the Throne of *France*, after the Death of his Brothers, theſe Differences were conſiderably increaſed, on account of the Juriſdiction that Prince pretended to over *Guienne*, as Sovereign Lord of that Dutchy. It is even probable that *Charles*, diſſatisfied at the ill Treatment Queen *Iſabella* his Siſter met with in *England*, ſought Occaſion to give *Edward* Marks of his Reſentment. An unexpected Accident happening in *Guienne*, afforded him Room to make himſelf Satisfaction. Hence flowed all thoſe Misfortunes which afterwards fell upon the Head of the King of *England*.

The King of France *takes Occaſion to ſeize* Guienne.

At a Town in *Agenois* called St. *Sardos*, held of the Caſtle of *Montpezat*, ſome Outrage was committed which *Edward*'s Officers in *Guienne* neglected to redreſs. Whereupon the Parties concerned carried their Complaints to the King of *France* as Sovereign. *Charles* omitted not this Opportunity to improve his Right over *Guienne*. He got the Court of *Peers* to Sentence the Lord of *Monpezat* and ſome other *Gaſcon* Gentlemen to Baniſhment, and to confiſcate their Caſtles to the Crown of *France*. By Virtue of this Sentence, given without ſummoning the King of *England*, or his Officers, *Charles* would have taken Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle of *Montpezat*; but he was prevented by the *Engliſh*, who placed a ſtrong Garriſon there. This Oppoſition occaſioned another Sentence, whereby the Garriſon was declared guilty of *Felony*, for oppoſing the Execution of the former Sentence. Mean while the King of *France* ordered Troops to be raiſed in *Perigord*, and the neighbouring Provinces, with deſign to beſiege the Caſtle. To give the better Colour to this Armament, he complained that *Edward* had not done him Homage for *Guienne* and the Earldom of *Ponthieu*, and from thence he had a Pretence,

1324. Charles de Valois *makes great Progress in* Guienne.

Pretence ready to confiscate these Provinces, in case his Arms met with the Success he expected. Indeed it was visible his Design was not to take a Castle only, since he sent a formidable Army into *Guienne*, under the Command of *Charles de Valois* his Uncle, who made himself Master of several Places. Certain it is, that nothing was farther from *Edward*'s Thoughts, than the Desire of entering into a War with *France*, and yet he took no Method to avoid it. Instead of giving the King his Brother-in-law some Satisfaction, by doing Justice to the Parties aggrieved in the Affair of St. *Sardos*, and by tendering him the Homage due to him, he still kept his Character of neglecting great Matters for the sake of Trifles. It is true indeed he sent Commissioners into *Guienne*, with publick Orders to make Inquisition concerning the Business of St. *Sardos*. But by their private *Instructions* they were to do their utmost to oblige the *Plaintiffs* to drop their *Appeal*, the which was by no Means labouring to satisfy the King of *France*. As for the *Homage*, though he did not pretend to dispute it, he excused himself from doing it, on pretence he had never been summoned in *Form*. In the mean Time he sent the Earl of *Kent* his Brother, to command in *Guienne*, but with so few Troops, that the Earl not daring to keep the Field, shut himself up in *Reole*, where he was besieged and at last forced to capitulate.

Act. Pub. IV. 9.

Negotiation at Paris. Act. Pub IV. 63, 98, 100.

Before the Earl of *Kent* went over to *Guienne*, he had been sent to *Paris* to try to make up the Difference between the two Crowns. He had even agreed with the Court of *France* upon a Treaty, which the King his Brother refused to ratify. This was the Occasion of a long Negotiation which served only to give the Earl of *Valois* Time to push his Conquests in *Guienne*. At length *Edward*, perceiving the Dutchy was in manifest Danger of being lost, thought fit to make some Preparations which occasioned the Court of *France* to equip a Fleet to oppose that which the *English* were sending to Sea. The *Spencers* ever upon the Watch for Opportunities to soure *Isabella*, laid hold of this to deprive her of the Earldom of *Cornwal*, which had been assigned her for her own pri-

ibid. p. 84.

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vate Uſe. They intimated to the King, that it would be dangerous to leave that Country in the Hands of the Queen, and at a Time he was in War with the King her Brother. They added, that in all appearance, the Fleet the *French* were fitting out, was deſigned for an Invaſion from that Quarter. This was enough to induce *Edward* to reaſſume that Earldom in a very diſobliging manner to the Queen, letting her ſee that he thought her capable of holding a criminal Correſpondence with the Enemies of the State. This Affront which ſhe highly reſented, joined to ſo many other Reaſons of Diſguſt againſt the *Spencers* and the King, in all Likelihood haſtened on the Project, the Particulars whereof I am going to relate. 1324.

Although *Edward* made ſome Preparations for War, yet it was not by the Force of his Arms that he expected the Reſtitution of what was taken from him. His chief Reliance was on the Pope, who having been choſen Mediator between the two Crowns, put him in Hopes of a good Iſſue of this Affair. To bring about this Accommodation, the Pope ſent two *Nuntio's* to *Paris*, whither Ambaſſadors from *England* repaired likewiſe. But the Negotiation went on ſo ſlowly, that the *Engliſh* could not help ſhowing ſome Uneaſineſs at it. As they ſeemed inclined to return Home, a Perſon of great Note in the Court of *France* took occaſion from thence to inſinuate to the *Nuntio's*, that if the King of *England* would ſend his Queen to *Paris*, there was no Queſtion but ſhe would obtain from the King her Brother, much better Terms than the Ambaſſadors could expect. The *Nuntio's* having made this Propoſal to the *Engliſh* Plenipotentaries, it was reſolved that the Biſhop of *Exeter* *, one of them, ſhould take a Journey to *London*, in order to perſwade their Maſter to follow the Courſe pointed out to them. Theſe particulars are to be ſeen in a Letter *Edward* ſent the Pope on this Occaſion, inſerted in the *Collection of Publick Acts*. 'Twas not therefore a Contrivance invented by the *Spencers* to get rid of the Queen, as ſome have affirmed, ſee-

1325. *The Pope tries to accommodate Matters.* Act. Pub. IV. 105.

It is propoſed to Edward *to ſend his Queen to* Paris.

ibid. p. 140.

* *Walter Stapelton.*

1325. ing the Project came first from *France*. It is much more likely, that the Queen her self had put the King her Brother upon it, that she might have an Opportunity of going to *Paris*, and of setting about there the Execution of the Plot she had formed against the King her Husband and his Favourites. Be that as it will, the Proposal having been debated in the *Council*, it was thought that any Expedient was preferable to War, as Matters then stood in *England*. *Isabella* therefore was desired to go to *France*; to which she seemed to consent purely with a View to make Peace between the two King's. Immediately after her Arrival at *Paris*, she obtained a short Truce, during which she concluded a Treaty with the King her Brother. By this Treaty the Dutchy of *Guienne* was to be wholly delivered up to the King of *France*. That afterwards both the Kings should meet at *Beauvais*, where *Charles*, at the Instance of the Queen his Sister, should restore *Guienne* to *Edward*, upon his doing Homage for it. That in this Restitution the Country of *Agenois* lately conquered by *France* should not be included: But that the King of *England* should be allowed to sue for it in the Court of *Peers*, where Justice should be done him. And in case the Court should decree that *Edward* should be put in Possession of it again, he should be obliged to pay the King of *France* a certain Sum towards the Charges of the War: But he should pay nothing in case he lost his Cause. The Day after the signing this Treaty, the Commissioners of *France*, for Reasons they did not care to declare, put off for fifteen Days longer the Interview of the two Kings, which had been fixed to *the Assumption of the Virgin Mary*.

He consents to it.

Articles of Isabella's Treaty with her Brother. Ibid. *p.* 153.

How disadvantagious soever this Treaty appeared to *Edward*, as he was willing to avoid a War at any Rate, he failed not to ratify it and prepare to go and do his Homage. The *Spencers* beheld these Preparations with great Uneasiness, well knowing there were in the Kingdom great Numbers of Male-contents who might take Advantage of the King's Absence, to excite fresh Commotions. An Expedient which was found out in this Interval, whether

Edward *prepares to go and do Homage.*

ther in *France*, or whether in *England*, freed them from the Perplexity they were in. It was insinuated to the King that if he would give up to Prince *Edward* his Son aged thirteen Years, the Dutchy of *Guienne* and Earldom of *Ponthieu*, the King of *France* would receive the Homage of the young Prince, and restore to him the Places he had engaged to deliver up by the Treaty. In all Likelihood this Overture came from the Court of *France*, as well as the Proposal of the Queen's going to *Paris*. But it was only intimated to the King like the former, that he might be induced to demand himself that Favour. Be that as it will, as every one is apt to flatter himself, *Edward* imagined that, out of Respect to him, the King of *France* had thought of this Expedient to excuse him from doing what was very disagreeable to him, or that the Queen had obtained this Favour by her Sollicitations. Neither he nor the *Spencers* perceived the Poison which lurked under this Proposal, in appearance very advantagious. They did not question in the least but the Management of *Guienne* would always be in their Hands, in the Name of the young Prince, at least during his Minority. On the other Side, it did not appear how *France* was to be a Gainer by the Change proposed. But for this very Reason they should have suspected it: Since it seldom happens that any Thing advantagious is offered to another, without the Proposer's receiving some Benefit from it, though at first it does not appear so. However, as *Edward* suspected not his Queen, he accepted, without a Moment's Hesitation, the Offer which excused him from a Journey he would have been very unwilling to make. This was, as one may say, throwing himself headlong into the Snare laid for him, the Queen's sole Aim, in the whole Contrivance, being to get the Prince her Son with her, and to make use of him to accomplish the Downfal of the King her Husband.

1325. *The giving up* Guienne *to his Son is proposed to the King.*

He accepts the Proposal.

Remarks which make appear that the King of France *acted in concert with the Queen his Sister.*

There is hardly any Room to question, that *Charles the Fair* had a great Hand in this Plot, when it is considered, it was from him that the first Proposal came of sending *Isabella* to *Paris*. This makes it presumed, that he was likewise Author of the second, which tended to the bringing

1325. bringing Prince *Edward* thither also. And indeed, if he had been swayed by no private Views, what Advantage could the Change proposed have been to him? Was it not more honourable for him, to see the King of *England* at his Feet than his Son? And yet, so far is it from appearing that he made any Objection to this Exchange of *Homage*, that we find in several Places of *the Collection of Publick Acts*, that he very readily closed with it, by the Suddenness wherewith that Convention was made. The 21st of *August*, *Edward* had still Thoughts of going himself to *France*. The 24th of the same Month he writ to *Charles*, to desire to be excused, by Reason of a pretended Fit of Sickness, from meeting him at *Beauvais* on the Day appointed. The 2d of *September*, he made over to the Prince his Son the Earldom of *Ponthieu*. The 4th of the same Month, *Charles* signed *Letters Patent*, whereby he consented the Son should be substituted in his Father's Room, provided King *Edward* would resign to his Son all the Lands he held in *France*. But this *Proviso* had been already performed in *England* two Days before, with respect to the Earldom of *Ponthieu*. Hence it is plain, that this Negotiation was begun and ended between the 24th of *August* and the 4th of *September*, a Space of Time which doubtless will seem much too short, if it is supposed that the Court of *France* was not determined beforehand to grant what she well knew was going to be demanded. If the Exchange of the Father for the Son had been attended with no Consequences, there would have been no Occasion to take much Notice of it, the Thing in it self being of little Moment. But it was necessary to relate the Circumstances of it, in order to make appear that it was a Plot contrived long since by the Queen, and a Snare laid by her for the King her Husband, and at the same Time that she acted in Concert with the King of *France* her Brother. The Truth is, one can hardly believe that this Princess should have had Cunning enough to get King *Charles* into her Projects, without his or his *Council*'s perceiving any thing of the Matter. It is therefore very likely, that before she left *England*, *Isabella* had let

Act. Pub. IV. 163, &c.

let the King her Brother know how much ſhe wanted to throw off the Dependance wherein the *Spencers* kept her, and free herſelf from the ill Treatment ſhe received from the King her Husband, by their Inſtigation. So that it may be very probably preſumed, that it was with a view to ſerve the Queen his Siſter, that *Charles* got the Propoſal of her coming to *Paris* to be made him. That it was moreover in Purſuance of the ſame Deſign, that he ſo readily came into the Treaty he concluded with her, at a Time when he might reaſonably expect to become Maſter of *Guienne*. Finally, that it was with the ſame View, that he conſented to receive the Son's inſtead of the Father's Homage. It is ſcarcely to be doubted but that the prolonging the Term of doing the Homage, without giving the Reaſons, was a Conſequence of the ſame Project. It was believed without doubt there would be need of a little more Time, to prevail with *Edward* to ſend his Son to *Paris*, which it was imagined he would make ſome Scruple to do. To all theſe Reaſons may be added, that afterwards *Charles* permitted the Queen his Siſter to ſtay in *France*, notwithſtanding the repeated Inſtances of her Husband to the contrary. Moreover the *French* Hiſtorians own themſelves, that he had promiſed her Succours. Add to this, the Averſion *Iſabella* had entertained againſt *Spencer* the Son, and her Paſſion for *Mortimer*, which ſhe took no further Pains to hide, as ſoon as ſhe had the Prince her Son in her Power; and likewiſe the Readineſs wherewith all the *Engliſh* Lords declared for her at the proper Time, as we ſhall ſee preſently. From the Connexion of all theſe Circumſtances together, one cannot but be convinced that *Iſabella*'s Plot was formed before ſhe went from *England*, and that the King her Brother was not ignorant of it. I have dwelt the longer on this Matter, becauſe the Hiſtorians ſeem to me to ſpeak very obſcurely of the Cauſes which brought about the *Revolution*, the Particulars whereof we are going to ſee.

1325. Mezerai.

The two Kings having agreed upon the Expedient propoſed, Prince *Edward* ſet out for *Paris* on the 12th of *September* 1325, after having received from his Father the abſolute

Prince Edward comes to Paris.

1325. Act. Pub. IV. 158, &c. *He does Homage.*

absolute Grant of the Dutchy of *Guienne* and Earldom of *Ponthieu*. In a few Days after his Arrival, he did Homage to the King his Uncle, who actually gave him up *Guienne*; but he kept *Agenois*, which *Edward* the Father very much complained of. He affirmed, that by the late Convention *Charles* was obliged to restore all *Guienne* to his Son. *Charles* on the contrary maintained, that the Restitution he was bound to had relation to the late Treaty, whereby he had reserved *Agenois* for himself. This Dispute displeased not the Queen, who wanted a Pretence to stay at *Paris*, from whence she had no Design to depart so soon. After the Arrival of the Prince her Son, all the *English* who had fled for Refuge into *France*, or had been banished their own Country, came in to her. *Roger Mortimer* was of this Number, and became her chief Counsellor. From thenceforward *Edward*'s Ambassadors had rarely Admittance to the Queen, and were no longer advised with, concerning the Affair of the Restitution of *Agenois*. On the contrary, she held frequent Councils, where none were present but the avowed Enemies of the King her Husband and of the *Spencers*. Very often she had secret Conferences with *Mortimer*, which occasioned many Suspicions. In fine, she came to use so little Discretion in her Familiarities with him, that *Edward*'s Servants who were at *Paris*, were extremely offended at it. On the other hand, her Return to *England* was put off from Day to Day, on diverse Pretences, notwithstanding the repeated Orders of the King her Husband to bring home his Son. All the Historians unanimously assure us, she was in Love with *Mortimer*. Some say, her Passion began at *Paris*: But it is much more likely it had its Birth in *England* before *Mortimer*'s Imprisonment, as was observed above. However this be, the secret Conferences the Queen had with a Person she ought to have banished her Presence as an Enemy to the King, opened at length the Eyes of the Bishop of *Exeter*, one of *Edward*'s Ambassadors. The Bishop, plainly perceiving that his Master was betrayed, privately withdrew from the Court of *France* in order to go and inform him of what was doing

The Queen's Plot against the King her Husband.

Her Passion for Mortimer.

The Bishop of Exeter *informs the King of it.*

at

at *Paris*. He acquainted him not only with the ſcandalous Behaviour of the Queen with regard to *Mortimer*, but aſſured him alſo that they were hatching together ſome Plot againſt him. He very juſtly founded his Suſpicions upon the frequent Councils they held with the *Exiles*, without ſuffering the Ambaſſadors to be preſent. *Edward* had already begun to think it very ſtrange that after the Homage was done, the Mother and Son ſhould ſtay ſo long in *France*, though he had often writ to recal them. The Information he had juſt received from the Biſhop of *Exeter* having intirely let him into the Myſtery, he began from that Moment to perceive the wrong Step he had made in ſending his Son to *Paris*. This made him redouble his Inſtances for their Return, and poſitively to command the Queen to bring his Son with her without letting the Reaſons ſhe had hitherto alledged ſtay her one Minute. His Orders were ſo urgent, that *Iſabella* found her ſelf obliged to ſeek ſome other Excuſes. She got the King her Brother to ſend him Word, that ſhe could not think of returning to *England*, without being ſecured beforehand againſt the ill-Treatment ſhe was apprehenſive of from *Spencer* the Son. *Edward* anſwered this Letter, juſtifying the Behaviour of *Spencer* to the Queen, and taking to Witneſs, the very Letters full of Expreſſions of Friendſhip and Amity, which ſhe had ſent to his Favourite ſince ſhe had been in *France*. Moreover, he aſſured the King his Brother-in-law, that he would never ſuffer *Spencer* or any other Perſon, to be wanting in the Reſpect due to his Queen. He further repreſented to him, that if he had not entirely relied on the Sincerity of his Intentions, he ſhould never have ſent his Son into *France*, and deſired him to be mindful of his Word, and ſend him back with all Speed. He writ in much the ſame manner to the Queen and Prince: But his Letters where all to no Purpoſe. *Iſabella* was determined to purſue her Deſign; and whilſt ſhe was taking Meaſures at *Paris* to compaſs her Ends, her Friends did her good Service in *England*. The Heads of her Party were *Henry* of *Lancaſter* Brother of him that had been beheaded at *Pontfract*, and the Biſhops of *Lincoln*

1325.

The Queen complains of Spencer.

Edward's *Letter to* Charles *about that Matter.* Act Pub. IV. 180.

The Queen gains a Party in England.

1325. *Lincooln* and *Hereford*. They found it no hard Matter to form a ſtrong Party againſt the King, conſidering the Temper the late cruel Executions had put the *Engliſh* Lords in.

1326. *Charles the Fair* had promiſed the Queen his Siſter ſome Succours, as the *French* Hiſtorians are forced to own: But he was unwilling it ſhould appear he had any Hand in her Plots. It was neceſſary therefore that *Iſabella* ſhould look out for a Protector who would not ſtick at openly eſpouſing her Intereſts. To that End, ſhe pitched upon the Earl of *Hainault*, from whom ſhe believed ſhe ſhould be able to procure ſome Troops, in order to ſtrengthen her Party upon her Arrival in *England*. But as ſhe could not expect to gain that Prince on her Side, without making it turn to his Advantage, ſhe concluded with him a Marriage between *Edward* her Son and *Philippa* his Daughter, as if it had been in her Power to diſpoſe of the young Prince. Several Pieces in *the Collection of Publick Acts* plainly make appear that this Marriage was in hand whilſt the Queen was at *Paris*. We find there amongſt others, a Letter of King *Edward* to his Son, expreſſly forbiding him to enter into any Marriage-Ingagement without his Knowledge.

Iſabella treats with the Earl of Hainault, and concludes a Marriage between Prince Edward and his Daughter.

Confutation of Edward's baniſhing the Queen and his Son.

In the mean Time the King of *France* ſtill permitted *Iſabella* to continue at *Paris*, and read without any Emotion, and without ſending any Anſwer, the Letters *Edward* wrote him, upbraiding him with Breach of Faith. The Information *Edward* had received from the Biſhop of *Exeter*, the frivolous Excuſes made uſe of by the Queen to defer her Return, and the Connivance of King *Charles* on that Score, vexed him to the Heart. He plainly ſaw, ſome Plot was contriving againſt him at *Paris*, though he could not tell what it was. But he was very ſenſible, he had good Reaſon to dread the Conſequences, as long as the Prince his Son was in the Hands of his Enemies. Moſt of the Hiſtorians affirm, that the Contempt which the Mother and Son ſhowed for his Orders, carried him at length to baniſh them the Realm. But a Letter which he ſent the Pope on that Subject, manifeſtly ſhows that it was only

Act. Pub. IV. 190.

only a falſe Rumour ſpread in *France* on purpoſe to juſtify the Queen's Stay. In the Letter *Edward* told the Pope, *That ſuch a Thought never came into his Head: That the tender Age of his Son freed him from all Imputation of Diſobedience, which the Queen alone was chargeable with, and that he had too great an Affection for both, to treat them ſo inhumanly.* After having in vain tried all the Ways he could deviſe to oblige them to return to *England*, he turned his whole Fury againſt the Ambaſſadors who had been aſſiſting to the Queen in the Negotiation of the fatal Treaty, and was reſolved to make them reſponſible for the Iſſue. He particularly charged the Biſhop of *Norwich* and Earl of *Richmond*, with having prevaricated in the executing their Orders, in doing which he committed two egregious Blunders. Firſt, as he increaſed thereby the Number of his Enemies, which was but too great already. Secondly, as he diſcovered his Incapacity to govern his Kingdom, ſince, as a *minor* King might have done, he caſt on his *Miniſters* the Blame which he himſelf had incurred, by ratifying the Treaty. This Proceeding could not fail of giving his Enemies a great Advantage, whoſe chiefeſt Aim was to perſwade the People that the King was very unfit to govern. To this imprudent Step he added another which was no leſs ſo, in declaring War againſt *France*, without being in any readineſs to maintain it, and in giving King *Charles* a plauſible Handle openly to eſpouſe his Siſter's Cauſe.

1326.

He accuſes his Ambaſſadors of Prevarication. p. 193.

Act. Pub. IV. 198.

He declares War with France.

As *Iſabella*'s Project to dethrone the King her Huſband has ſomething deteſtable in it, the *French* Hiſtorians would fain have it that *Charles the Fair* her Brother had no manner of Hand in it. On the contrary, they affirm that the Moment he came to know it, he expelled her his Dominions, and forbad his *Knights* to give her any Aſſiſtance. They would have ſpoke the whole Truth, if they had added, that he did not act thus till *Iſabella* had taken all her Meaſures with the Earl of *Hainault*, and was upon the Point of putting her Deſign in Execution. *Mezeray* could not help diſcovering his Thoughts of the Matter, when he ſaid, the *Spencers* ſo freely dealt about their Mo-

Charles *aſſiſts his Siſter.*

Mezeray.

1326. ney at the Court of *France*, that *Charles*, gained by Presents, or awed by the Threats of a Rupture, prohibited his Subjects from assisting the Queen. It is true he adds, that because *Mortimer*, who had made his Escape out of the *Tower*, was come to Queen *Isabella* at *Paris*, *Charles* detesting their shameful Doings, would not suffer her any longer to stay in his Dominions. But it is easy to see, that the *French* King was not swayed by that Motive, since it is not true that *Mortimer* came after the Queen into *France*, he having been there two Years before her. And if he sent her afterwards out of his Territories, it was purely on account of the Uncertainty of the Issue, in order to avoid the Blame of having approved of her Conduct, in case she miscarried.

The Queen embarks at Dordrecht.

Isabella having left the Court of *France*, went and passed some Days at *Abbeville*, from whence she came to *Valenciennes*. Upon her Arrival, she ratified the Treaty concluded between her and the Earl of *Hainault*, and contracted her Son *Edward* to the Princess *Philippa*. A few Days after she set out for *Dordrecht*, where she embarked the Troops which the Earl of *Hainault* furnished her with, who were all ready there, with Ships to transport them. *John de Hainault* Brother of the Earl commanded them, and the Queen as a singular Favour gave him leave to stile himself her *Knight*. Some make these Troops not to be above three Thousand Men. Others reckon them a great many more. But she did not rely so much upon the Forces she brought with her, as upon the Discontents of the *English*, and the numerous Party her Friends had formed in *England*. She landed on the 22d of *September* [at *Ortwell*] in *Suffolk* where she was joined by *Henry of Lancaster*, and several other Lords *. At the same Time, the Enemies of the *Spencers* were very busy in levying Troops to come to her Assistance, and her Army soon became so numerous, that she struck Terrour into those who had a mind to serve the King. That unfortunate Prince, who had

She Lands in England, *and is joined by the Male-contents.*

* Particularly *Edward* Earl of *Kent* the King's Brother, *Aymerick de Valence* Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl of *Leicester*, with the Bishops of *Hereford*, *Lincoln*, *Ely*, and *Dublin*.

had received timely notice that a Plot was contrived againſt him at *Paris*, had laid out his Time and Pains as uſual, about ſuch Remedies as were of little Service towards curing the Evils which hung over his Head. Inſtead of raiſing an Army and fitting out a Fleet, which might have quaſhed the Deſigns of his Enemies, he had contented himſelf with writing to the Pope and King of *France*, Letters which were to no manner of Purpoſe. Accordingly upon the Arrival of the Foreign Troops, he was deſerted by all the World, and unable to make Head againſt his Enemies. In vain did he publiſh a *Proclamation* commanding his Subjects to fall upon the *Foreigners*, and ſet a Price upon the Head of *Mortimer*; not a Soul ſtirred to obey him. The Earl of *Kent* his own Brother ſided with the Male-contents and went over to the Queen. In this Extremity he reſolved to retire into the *Weſt* with the two *Spencers*, the Earl of *Arundel*, Chancellor *Baldock*, *Simon de Reading*, and a few other Adherents of the Favourites.

1326.

Edward *deſerted by all.* Act. Pub. IV. 232.

In the mean Time the Queen, whoſe Army increaſed daily by the Troops which were brought her from all Parts, publiſhed a *Manifeſto* in her own, as well as in the Names of *Edward* her Son and the Earl of *Kent*, wherein they ſet forth the Reaſons of their taking Arms. They pretended that their ſole Aim was to free the *Church* and *State* from the Oppreſſions they were liable to by the Male-Adminiſtration of the King and the Tyranny of the *Spencers*. They added, that theſe unworthy Favourites and their Adherents, ought to be looked upon as Enemies of the *State*, ſince by their pernicious Counſels, and Abuſe of the Royal Authority, they deprived ſome of their Lives, others of their Eſtates and Liberty, without any Regard to the Laws of the Land or the Privileges of the People. This *Manifeſto* was publiſhed at *Wallingford*, *October* the 15th, whilſt the Queen was marching in purſuit of the King.

The Queen publiſhes a Manifeſto. Act. Pub. IV. 236.

Edward was then little able to withſtand his Enemies. All his Endeavours to raiſe Troops had been fruitleſs: No Body was willing to expoſe himſelf to the Queen's Reſentment, or hazard his Life and Fortune for the ſake of an unhappy Prince, who was looked upon as loſt without

The King leaves Spencer *the Father at* Briſtol, *and thinks of retiring to* Ireland

1326. out Redemption. In this Extremity, finding no Remedy in *England*, he had a Mind to retire into *Ireland*, after having left *Spencer* the Father in *Briſtol*. He fancied the Siege of that Place would employ the Queen ſo long that he ſhould have Time to take ſome Meaſures. Purſuant to this Reſolution, he went on Board a ſmall Veſſel and ſet ſail for *Ireland*. But he was driven back by contrary Winds on the Coaſts of *Wales*, where he was forced to land and lye concealed in the Abbey of *Neath*, till the Wind ſhould become fair, or till he could form ſome other Deſign. Whilſt the wretched King was hard put to it to find a Place of Safety in his own Kingdom, the Queen over-ran the Counties with a wonderful Rapidity. Every one was eager to furniſh her Army with all Neceſſaries. At length ſhe came before *Briſtol*, where *Spencer* made but a very faint Reſiſtance. The City having ſurrendered after a few Days Siege, the old Gentleman, aged fourſcore and ten Years, was immediately hung up [in his Armour,] without any Formality.

He is driven on the Coaſt of Wales, *where he hides himſelf.*

The Queen takes Briſtol, *and hangs* Spencer *the Father.*

Mean while, the City of *London* following the Example of the Reſt of the Kingdom, declared for the Queen. In vain did *Stapleton* Biſhop of *Exeter*, whom the King had left Guardian of the City, endeavour to keep it for his Maſter. His Efforts ſerved only to ſtir up againſt him the Fury of the Populace, who after having treated him with great Indignity, at length cut off his Head *. The Citizens likewiſe enraged againſt the King, became Maſter of the *Tower*, and ſet at Liberty all the Priſoners which the *Spencers* had confined there.

London *declares for the Queen.*

The Biſhop of Exeter *beheaded.*

It was at *Briſtol*, where the Queen ſtaid ſome Days, that ſhe was informed of the King's being embarked for *Ireland*. As he had not committed the Government to any Perſon, the Lords who attended the Queen, made uſe of that Pretence, to name for *Guardian* or *Regent* of the Kingdom, Prince *Edward* who took upon him the Adminiſtration. This done, the Queen came to *Gloceſter*, where the

Prince Edward *choſe Regent.* Act. Pub. IV. 237.

* He was a great Benefactor to *Oxford*, founded and endowed *Exeter College*, and built *Hart-Hall*.

the Gates were opened to her. Here ſhe publiſhed a *Proclamation* inviting the King to come and reſume the Government: But in this ſhe acted not with Sincerity. She not only had no Intention to put the King again in Poſſeſſion of the Regal Power, but very well knew he never durſt place any Confidence in her, after he had been ſo cruelly treated. 1326. *The Queen by Proclamation invites the King to return.*

Whilſt the Queen was at *Gloceſter*, a Report being ſpread that the King lay concealed ſomewhere in *Wales*, *Henry* of *Lancaſter* was detached thither in queſt of him. His Diligence and a Reward of two Thouſand Pounds which the Queen had promiſed to any Perſon that ſhould take *Spencer*, ſoon gained him Intelligence of the Place where the unhappy King thought to conceal himſelf. He had with him only *Spencer*, Chancellor *Baldock*, *Simon de Reading*, and a few Domeſticks, every one elſe having deſerted him in his Misfortunes. As the Abbey of *Neath* was no proper Place to keep the Priſoners in, *Henry* of *Lancaſter* carried them to *Monmouth*-Caſtle till farther Orders. *The King is taken and carried to* Monmouth.

As ſoon as the Queen had Advice that the King her Huſband and her principal Enemies were in her Power, ſhe ſummoned a Council to know in what manner ſhe was to behave at this Juncture. It was reſolved in Council that the Biſhop of *Hereford* ſhould be ſent to demand the *Great Seal* of the King, as well to hinder him from uſing it againſt the Queen, as to be able to call a Parliament, without which nothing could be done but what would want the Stamp of lawful Authority. If what had hitherto paſſed had diſcovered to the King the Deſigns of his Enemies, this laſt Circumſtance fully convinced him, that they would no longer keep any Meaſures with him, ſince by taking from him the *Great Seal*, they deprived him at the ſame Time of the Exerciſe of the Royal Authority. He delivered it however without ſhowing any Reluctance, and gave the Queen and the Prince his Son Power to uſe it as they ſhould judge proper, even in Matters of mere Grace and Favour. This was the laſt *Act* of Authority the King did, being ſhortly after conducted to *Kenelworth*-Caſtle. *He is forced to deliver up the* Great Seal. ibid. *p.* 237.

As

1326. *A Parliament called in the King's Name.* p. 242. *The Earl of* Arundel *bewailed.*

As soon as the Queen had the *Great Seal* in her Possession, she made use of it to her own Advantage, as well to order the Payment of her Debts, as to call a Parliament in the Captive King's Name. She had not Patience to defer till the meeting of the Parliament her Revenge upon *Spencer* and the rest of her Enemies. The Earl of *Arundel* * had already lost his Head by her Orders at *Hereford*, where she had a mind to sacrifice the others to her Vengeance. She set out for that City, ordering the Prisoners to be drawn in a most ignominious manner, that they might be exposed all the Way to the Insults and Curses of the People. As soon as she was arrived, she caused *Spencer* and *Simon de Reading* to be brought to their Tryals, the first of whom was hanged on a Gibbet fifty Foot high, and the other ten Foot lower. As for Chancellor *Baldock* he being in *Holy Orders*, they durst not proceed against him in the same manner, but delivered him to the Bishop of *Hereford*, who carried him to *London*. But in going into the City, the Mob fell upon him, and after they had terribly abused him, threw him into *Newgate*, where he died of the Blows he had received.

Spencer *and* Simon de Reading *hanged.*

Baldock *dies in* Newgate.

1327. *The Parliament meets.*

The Favourites and Ministers having thus received the Reward of their Pride and Cruelty, the Queen came to *London* to take new Measures concerning the Parliament which was to meet. She entered the City in Triumph, amidst the Acclamations of the People, who called her *their Deliverer*, and expressed their Thankfulness for the pretended Service she had done the *State*. The Parliament being met in *January* 1327, the first Thing that was debated was the Deposing of the King, for which every one was already prepared, so that the unfortunate King had not so much as a single Advocate to plead for him. It was unanimously resolved that the King should be deposed and *Edward* his Son made King in his Room. The Heads of the Charge exhibited against him, were digested into several

Edward *is deposed, and his Son chosen in his Room.*

* *Edmund Fitz-Alan*, descended from a Daughter of the Family of the *Albini* Earls of *Arundel*. He was mortally hated by *Mortimer*.

several Articles, amongst which there were some very much aggravated, and others that were only bare Repititions, in order to swell the Number. In general he was accused of not having governed according to the Laws of the Land: Of having made use of ill Counsellors, and of having rejected the Advice of his faithful Subjects. This *Act* having passed *nemine contradicente*, young *Edward* was proclaimed King in *Westminster-Hall*, under the Name of *Edward* III. Then the Archbishop of *Canterbury* preached a *Sermon* on these Words, *The Voice of the People, the Voice of God*, wherein he endeavoured to vindicate what the Parliament had done, and exhorted the People to pray to the King of Kings for their new Sovereign. 1327.

Pretended Sorrow of the Queen.

When the News of this rigorous Sentence was brought to the Queen, she seemed to be extremely disturbed, even to the bursting out into Tears. But her outward Grief was not of a-piece with all the Steps she had made to dethrone her Husband: Much less with her Passion for *Mortimer*, of which she gave such publick Marks, that there was no possibility of being mistaken on that Score. The Prince her Son, whose Youth made him less suspicious, was perhaps the only Person that was affected with her counterfeit Tears. Carried away by his generous Temper, he solemnly vowed not to accept the Crown during the King his Father's Life, without his express Consent. This Vow confounded a little the Measures of the Parliament. They were afraid *Edward* the Father would persist in keeping the Title of King, though stript of all his Authority. In this Perplexity, it was deemed absolutely necessary to oblige him to resign the Crown to the Prince his Son. Pursuant to this Resolution the Bishops of *Lincoln* and *Hereford* were sent to prepare him for it. Then the Parliament nominated twelve *Commissioners*, namely, three Bishops, three Earls, two Barons, two Abbots, and two Judges, to whom was added Judge *Trussel* as special *Proxy* for the People, to declare to him that the People of *England* were no longer bound by their Oath of Allegiance to him, and to receive his Resignation. Nothing showed so much their Resentment against the unfortunate King, as their

The Prince would not accept the Crown without the King's Consent.

The Parliament obliges the King to resign his Crown.

1327. their pitching upon the two first Bishops whom he had all along looked upon as his Enemies, and who indeed discharged their Commission in a very rude manner. Instead of giving him some Consolation, they insulted over his Misfortunes, in endeavouring to make him believe that he was deposed for his own Good, and with a View to ease him of the great Weight of the Government, that he might live more happily than he had hitherto done. But as their malicious Discourse had but little Effect upon his Mind, they plainly told him, unless he complied with the Parliament, it would go much worse with him. They added, that his Non-compliance would be a great Prejudice to his Family, since, in Case he refused to resign the *Crown* to his Son, the Nation was resolved to elect a King who had no manner of Relation to the Royal Family. Upon saying this, they left him alone, in order to give him Time to consider what Answer he should return to the *Commissioners* who were coming to receive his Resignation.

Sad State of Edward. Upon the Arrival of the Deputies the unfortunate King came out of his Room in a Mourning Habit, and with Looks which demonstrated his inward Trouble. As he was already acquainted with the Occasion of their Coming, the Sight of that formidable Power which had just despoiled him of Royalty, made such an Impression upon his Mind, that he fell into a Swoon, from whence he could hardly be recovered. As soon as he came to himself, the Deputies informed him upon what Account they were sent, and represented to him the ill Consequences which might attend his Refusal. Then the unhappy Prince, in a mournful Condition, which could not be seen without Compassion, made Answer: That he submitted to all that was required of him with so much the greater Resignation, as he acknowledged, his Sins were the sole Cause of his Misfortunes. He added however, that he could not behold without extreme Grief, the Aversion his People had entertained against him: But if his Sorrows could admit of any Comfort, it was from the Consideration of the Re-

His Answer to the Deputies.

gard

gard his Subjects had for his Son, for which he was very much obliged to them. 1327.

Upon his answering thus, they went on to the Ceremonies of the Resignation, which consisted only in the Formality of the King's delivering into their Hands, the Crown, Sceptre, and other Ensigns of Royalty. Which done, *Trussel*, addressing himself to the King, spoke in this manner, making use of a Form of his own in a Case wherein there was no *Precedent* to go by. *I* William Trussel, *of the Parliament and of the whole* English *Nation Procurator, do declare in their Name and by their Authority, that I revoke and retract the Homage which I did you, and from this Time forward do deprive you of Royal Power, and protest never more to obey you as my King.* After these Words the High Steward [Sir *Thomas Blunt*] broke his *Staff*, and declared that all the King's Officers were discharged from his Service. Thus ended the Reign of *Edward* II. in the forty third Year of his Age, after having lasted 19 Years, 6 Months and 15 Days.

He resigns the Ensigns of Royalty.

A new Procedure in this Case. Polychron. l. 7. c. 43.

This Prince had a very narrow *Genius*, which permitted him not to discern what was for his Advantage, from what was hurtful to him. He followed his Humour, without troubling himself about the Consequences, and without being able to remedy the Misfortunes he drew on his Head by so doing. Though he had many Failings, one may venture to affirm he was more weak than wicked. To sum up his Character in a few Words, he was exceeding like his Grandfather *Henry* III. *Edward* his Father, a much wiser Prince than he, and taught by the Misfortunes of the two Kings his immediate Predecessors, always avoided as a most dangerous Rock, all Occasions of quarrelling with the Nobility, chusing rather to give way a little, then hazard his Quiet by gratifying his Resentment. The Son had not Capacity enough to follow so good an Example, or to be the better for his Instructions. He gave up himself entirely to his Favourites, and chose rather to forfeit the Affections of his People, than deny himself the Satisfaction of heaping Benefits on those he loved. His Weakness and Incapacity drew on him the Contempt

Character of Edward II.

1327. of his Subjects; a Contempt which was ſoon changed into Hatred, when they ſaw he ſacrificed All to his Paſſions. He had the ill Luck to have a beautiful and amorous Wife, who giving way to an infamous Paſſion, compleated his Ruin, it may be for Fear he ſhould be beforehand with her. Moſt certainly he was treated too ſeverely by his Subjects, whoſe Inſolence was increaſed in Proportion to their Sovereign's Weakneſs. One cannot obſerve without Amazement, that there was not a ſingle Perſon who was willing to draw his Sword in his Defenſe. I ſhall not take upon me to determine how far, in thoſe Days, the Rights of the People with regard to the King, might extend. I ſhall only ſay, they could not found their Proceedings upon any *Precedent*, ſeeing this is the firſt Inſtance in the *Engliſh* Hiſtory, of a King's being depoſed by his Subjects, at leaſt ſince the *Conqueſt*. *Edward* II is taxed with having been given to drink. Some ſpeak of his Fondneſs for *Gaveſton*, ſo as to make believe it was very Criminal. Others on the contrary, commend him for his Continency. And indeed, we do not find he had any *Miſtreſſes* or *Baſtards* like ſome of his Predeceſſors. He founded *Oriel-College* and St. *Mary-Hall* in *Oxford* *, and built a Monaſtery for Friars on his Eſtate at *Langley*.

His Iſſue. He had by *Iſabella* of *France* two Sons, and two Daughters. The Eldeſt of his Sons was *Edward* III, his Succeſſor. The youngeſt called *John* and ſirnamed of *Eltham* the Place of his Birth, died in the Flower of his Age, in his Brother's Reign, without Iſſue. *Joanna* the eldeſt Daughter, was married to *David* King of *Scotland*. *Eleanor* the ſecond, was Wife to *Reynald* Duke of *Guelder*.

I ſhall

* The Honour of founding *Oriel-College* is attributed to *Edward* II, though he did little more than grant Licence to *Adam de Brom* his Almoner in 1324, to build and endow a College to be called St. *Mary's-Houſe*. To this Society King *Edward* III in the firſt of his Reign, gave a Tenement called *Le Oriele*, on which Ground ſtands *Oriel College*. The Preſent St. *Mary-Hall* was a long Time the Parſonage-Houſe to the Rector of St. *Mary's*; which Church being appropriated by *Edward* II to the College founded by *de Brom*, the Houſe came alſo in their Poſſeſſion, and was ſoon after allotted for the Reſidence of Students. *Camb. Add. Oxfordſhire.*

I ſhall cloſe the Hiſtory of this Reign with two Occurrences, which I have not had Occaſion to ſpeak of elſewhere. The firſt was an *Earthquake*, the moſt terrible that had ever been felt in *Great Britain*. The ſecond was the Suppreſſion of the Order of the *Knights-Templars*, as well in *England* as in all other *Chriſtian* States. This *Order* was firſt inſtituted at *Jeruſalem*, in the Reign of *Baldwin* IV, for the Defenſe of the *Holy Sepulchre*, and Protection of the *Pilgrims* which came thither from all Parts. *Hugo de Paganis* and *Geoffrey de St. Ademar* were the Founders. The Knights of this *Order* were at firſt called *the Poor of the Holy City*. Afterwards they had the Name of *Templars*, becauſe their firſt Houſe was near the *Temple*, or *Church*. Hence it is that all their Houſes were ſtiled *Temples*. This *Order* was confirmed in the Council of *Troyes* 1127, and it's *Rule* compoſed by St. *Bernard*.

1327. *An Earthquake.*

Suppreſſion of the Templars.

After the Downfal of the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, about the Year 1186, this *Order* diſperſed it ſelf over all *Europe*, and increaſed prodigiouſly by the Liberality of the *Chriſtians*. Riches ſoon changed the Manners of the *Knights*. In proceſs of Time their ſcandalous Lives, joined to an inſupportable Pride, cauſed them to be abhorred as much as they were eſteemed in the Beginning of their Inſtitution *. *Philip the Fair*, King of *France*, having taken ſome Diſguſt againſt thoſe of his Kingdom, and not content with puniſhing ſuch as had offended him, attempted the Ruin of the whole *Order*, by the Help of Pope *Clement* V, whom he had found Means to gain on his Side. In the firſt Place he ordered all the *Templars* in *France* to be ſeized, as well as the *Grand Maſter* of the *Order*, who kept his Reſidence upon the Iſland of *Cyprus*, and who by the Pope's Order, had repaired to *Paris*. Afterwards, upon a Charge exhibited againſt them, that at their entering into the *Order*, they denied *Jeſus Chriſt*, and ſpit upon a *Crucifix*, he cauſed fifty-ſeven to be burnt among whom was the *Grand Maſter*. To this was added the Charge of

* It was a common Saying, *To drink like a Templar*. *Coll. Eccl. Hiſt. p.* 507.

1327. other *Hereſies*, *Sodomy*, and numberleſs Crimes. To oblige the King of *France*, *Clement* V, earneſtly preſſed *Edward* II to follow the Example of *Philip* his Father-in-law. After much Solliciration, he obtained at length, that all the *Templars* in *England* ſhould be ſeized in one Day, as had been done in *France*. *Edward* having ſuffered himſelf to be prevailed upon, from the Proſpect of getting their Eſtates, which were very conſiderable, held a *national Synod* at *London*, wherein they were condemned. However, they were not treated ſo rigorouſly as in *France*. They were only diſperſed about in the Monaſteries to do *Penance*, with ſmall Annuities allowed out of the Revenues of the *Order*. The Severities which were exerciſed againſt them in *France* and *England* would no doubt have been ſufficient, if the Deſign had been only to chaſtize them: But their Deſtruction was determined. *Clement* V, agreeing in that Point with *Philip the Fair*, cauſed ſtrict Inquiry to be made, and abundance of Witneſſes to be heard, who accuſed not ſome particular *Knights* only, but the whole *Order*, of the moſt enormous Crimes. If theſe *Depoſitions* were well atteſted, one can hardly imagine it poſſible there could be ſo deteſtable a *Society* among *Chriſtians*. But every Body was not equally perſwaded of the Truth of theſe *Evidences*, particularly as to what related to the whole *Order* in general. Theſe Preparations being made, the Pope called, at *Vienna* in *Dauphine*, a general *Council*, wherein he preſided in Perſon, and where *Philip* was pleaſed alſo to be preſent to forward the Condemnation of the *Order*. But they did not find the *Council* in the Temper, they expected. The Biſhops could not bring themſelves to condemn People who had not been convicted, or ſo much as ſummoned before the *Council* to anſwer for themſelves. Theſe Proceedings of the Pope of his own Head, without hearing what the *Order* could alledge in their Juſtification, did not appear ſufficient to the *Council*, who wiſhed that Matters were carried on in a more legal manner. So that, the Pope ſaw himſelf conſtrained to make uſe of *the Plenitude of his Apoſtolical Power*, in ſuſpending this *Order* for ever, by a *Bull* which was read in the

the ſecond *Seſſion*. As the *Council* was not prepared for it, not a Man durſt venture to oppoſe the *Bull*, and their Silence was taken for their Approbation, according to the Method eſtabliſhed ſome Time ſince. By the ſame *Bull* the Pope reſerved to the *Holy See*, the Diſpoſal of the Eſtates of the *Templars*, and ſhortly after, *Clement* aſſigned them to the *Hoſpitallers* or *Knights of St. John of Jeruſalem*, called at this Day *Knights of Maltha*. It was to no Purpoſe that *Edward* II, who had taken Poſſeſſion of the Eſtates of the condemned *Order*, would have oppoſed the Pope's Grant to the *Hoſpitallers*, and inſiſted on the *Prerogatives* of the Crown, by which all Confiſcations were his. The Troubles *England* was involved in during his Reign, would not admit him to keep Poſſeſſion. Thus the whole *Order* of the *Templars* were made to ſuffer the Puniſhment which ſome of their Members no doubt deſerved, but which, in all appearance, was not due to all in general. 1327.

The End of the Reign of EDWARD II.

THE

THE HISTORY of *ENGLAND.*

BOOK X.

The Reigns of EDWARD III *and* RICHARD II *containing the Space of 73 Years: with a Diſſertation on the* Salick-Law, *and the* State *of the* Church *from* 1272 *to* 1399.

SECT. I.

II. EDWARD III, *Sirnamed of* WINDSOR.

1327. 

THE Depoſing of *Edward* II procured not the *Engliſh* all the Happineſs they were made to expect from it. If they ſaw themſelves freed from the Troubles which had diſturbed the late Reign, it was only to fall into a no leſs incommodious State. The Government of a weak and imprudent King was not more dangerous than that of a *minor* Prince under the Direction of a Mother of ſtrong Paſſions, and of a young unexperienced *Miniſter*, more preſumptuous and leſs able than the *Spencers*. Accordingly the People quickly found

that

Sparing p. 19. Vol. IV



G. Vertue sc.

that they had not gained much by the Change. The best of it was, *Edward*'s Minority was of no long continuance. As soon as the young Prince had taken the Government upon himself, he converted the Misfortunes of the late Reign into Blessings, and the Injuries received from *France* and *Scotland* into Glory and Triumphs. A remarkable Instance, which plainly makes appear that the prosperous Condition of a *State* depends less on its own Strength, than on the Prudence of him that sits at the Helm. This is what we are going to see in the present Reign, which is justly ranked amongst the most Illustrious of the History of *England*. 1327.

As soon as the Commissioners sent to *Kenelworth* were returned with *Edward* II's Resignation, the Prince his Son was proclaimed anew, under the Name of *Edward* III, and crowned a few Days after *. The Queen and *Mortimer*, whose Interest it was to make the whole Nation Accomplices of their violent Proceedings, affected upon that Occasion to cause a *Coronation-Medal* to be struck importing the universal Consent the People gave to the present *Revolution*. On one Side was the young King crowned, laying his Scepter on a heap of Hearts, with this Motto, *POPULO DAT JURA VOLENTI.* On the Reverse, a Hand held forth, as it were saving a Crown falling from on High, with these Words, *NON RAPIT SED RECIPIT* *'. Edward III *proclaimed and crowned.*

Though *Edward* was but in his fifteenth Year, he had already a mature Judgement, and a Penetration uncommon to that Age. However in Compliance to the Laws of the Land, *The Parliament names the Regents.*

* On *Candelmas-Day* he received the Order of *Knighthood* by the Hands of the Earl of *Lancaster*, and on the same Day was crowned at *Westminster*, by *Walter* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. *Speed*, *p.* 566.

*' This is *Joshua Barnes*'s Account in his Life of *Edward* III, who tells us he saw one of these *Medals* at a Friend's Chambers in *Grey's-Inn*. But Bishop *Nicholson* thinks they were very widely mistaken that first ascribed these *Medals* to that Prince. For (as he says) there is nothing in the *Legend* that looks that Way, and the inscribed Fancies are too bright for those Times, and savour of a much more polite Age. *Hist. Lib. Part* III. *p.* 250. Fol.

1327. Land, the King must have Governours, and the *State* Regents. The Parliament chose twelve from among the Bishops, Earls, and Barons, of whom *Henry* of *Lancaster* was declared the President. The Queen opposed not this Nomination. But as she had the Power in her own Hands, she seized the Government, and suffered none but her Creatures to have any Share in it. *Roger Mortimer*, who had as great an Influence over her as *Spencer* the Son had over the late King, executed the Office of *Prime Minister*, and managed the Affairs of the Kingdom according to his Pleasure. As the Parliament was at the Queen's Devotion, she procured the Grant of a *Dowry*, which ran away with the two Thirds of the Revenues of the Crown. At the same Time a hundred Marks a Month were assigned for the Maintenance of the deposed King. A Sum more than enough for the Expences that unfortunate Prince was at, who was treated in his Confinement after a very unbecoming Manner.

But the Queen seizes the Government.

Walsing.

The Animosity the Parliament had shown in their Proceedings against *Edward* II, encouraged such as had been Sufferers whilst the *Spencers* were in Power, to petition to be restored to their Estates and Honours. Their *Petitions* met with a favourable Reception. The Parliament, willing to justify their late Conduct, reversed all the *Sentences* passed in the foregoing Reign, as well against the late Earl of *Lancaster* and his Adherents, as against those that had abetted the Designs of the Queen. It was pretended, they were contrary to Law, and had manifestly been extorted by the great Power of the Favourites. Perhaps this is what gave Occasion to some Historians to say, that *Edward* III was pleased to begin his Reign with a General Pardon. But if by this General Pardon be meant the reversing the *Sentences* before mentioned, the Honour of it is not to be ascribed to the King. He not only had no Hand in it himself, but it is certain that the sole Motive of it was to run down the late Government, and favour the Queen's Party. With this View it was that they brought the King earnestly to sollicit the Court of *Rome* for the *Canonization* of the Earl of *Lancaster*, beheaded at *Pontfract*.

The Parliament annuls the Sentences passed in the late Reign. Act. Pub IV. 245.

The King demands the Canonization *of the late Earl of* Lancaster.

fract. They made him ſay in his Letter to the Pope, that the Miracles which were wrought at his Tomb, were a clear Evidence that his Puniſhment was a real *Martyrdom*. In fine, all the Proceedings of the Queen and Parliament tended ſolely to juſtify what had been done with regard to the late King; which doubtleſs would have been deemed criminal in the higheſt Degree, if the Iſſue had not been ſucceſsful. 1327. ibid. 249, *&c.*

The King of Scotland breaks the Truce.

The Tranquillity *England* hoped to enjoy under the new King who was in Peace or in Truce with all his Neighbours, was diſturbed by an Incurſion the *Scots* made on the Borders. *Robert* their King, though in an ill State of Health, and of a great Age, believed he ought not to let the *Nonage* of the King of *England* paſs without taking ſome Advantage of it. He was afraid likewiſe that too much Eaſe might enervate the Courage of his Subjects. In the Circumſtances wherein he was, he thought it neceſſary to keep them in Breath, well knowing they had to deal with formidable Enemies, who in making Truce with them, had not dropped their Pretenſions. Theſe are the moſt apparent Reaſons of this Rupture, which *Buchanan* juſtifies by ſaying, it is to be ſuppoſed that *Robert* was ſwayed by powerful Motives. Be that as it will, he put the Earl of *Murray* and Sir *James Douglaſs* at the Head of twenty Thouſand Men, and ordered them to go and ravage the Borders of *England*. *Edward* could not hear the News of this Irruption, without feeling in his Soul an eager Deſire of ſignalizing himſelf in the Defence of his Kingdom. Although they which governed in his Name had no great Inclination for War, they did not think it for their Intereſt to ſit down quiet under ſuch an Inſult. Their Authority might have tottered, if on this Occaſion they had ſhowed any Signs of Weakneſs or Cowardice.

Edward raiſes an Army.

The Opinion of the *Council* being conformable to the King's Wiſhes, an Army of ſixty Thouſand Men was drawn together, including the Troops which *John de Hainault* had brought into *England*. The whole Army being come to *York*, *Edward* was juſt going to head them, when a ſudden Quarrel aroſe between the *Engliſh* and the

1327. *Hainaulters*, wherein a great deal of Blood was Spilt. As the *Engliſh* were the Aggreſſors, Juſtice could not be done the Foreigners, without diſpleaſing the Army. So that the Court was forced to make a longer Stay at *York* than was at firſt deſigned, in order to find Means to compoſe this Difference before they took the Field. This Delay gave the *Scots* Time to paſs the *Tine* between *Carliſle* and *Newcaſtle*, and to ravage in a barbarous manner the Country on this Side the River. They had four Thouſand Men at Arms. The reſt of the Troops were mounted on little ſwift Horſes, that they might the more eaſily make Incurſions and retreat. The News of this haſtened the King's Departure. Though he did not know for certain where the Enemies were, he marched in queſt of them, guided only by the Fire and Smoak of the Houſes ſtill burning in the Road. What ſpeed ſoever he made, he could not poſſibly overtake them. As they had no *Infantry*, nor were encumbered with much Baggage, they made ſuch quick Marches, that not only they were out of the Reach of the *Engliſh* Army, but even at ſuch a Diſtance, that there was no following them by the Track. The Uncertainty of knowing which Way they were gone, having put the King out of Hopes of meeting with them, he called a Council of War upon that Score. Some confuſed Advices having made it thought, that the *Scots* had not yet repaſſed the *Tine*, is was reſolved that the Army ſhould go and wait for them beyond the River, near the Place where it was believed they would come over in their return Home. This Reſolve was put in Execution. But the *Engliſh* Army had no ſooner paſſed the *Tine*, but they were forced to go back again, not finding *North* of the River wherewithal to ſubſiſt.

Echard.

The Scots *ravage the Borders.*

Boeth.

Buchan.

During the Time which was ſpent in Marches and Counter-Marches, *Edward*, having never had certain Intelligence concerning the Enemy, was extremely uneaſy. As he was at a Loſs which way to take, he ordered it to be proclaimed in the Army, that whoever ſhould bring him certain News of the *Scots*, he ſhould be made a *Knight* and have a Penſion of a hundred Pounds *Sterling*. The Hopes

Hopes of ſo good a Reward ſet ſo many People at work, that it was not long before he had Information of what he wanted to know. But it was not without ſome Diſorder that he heard the Enemies, which he was ſo eagerly in queſt of, were not above two Leagues off. He marched immediately towards them, in hopes of fighting them that very Day. But he did not long enjoy the Satisfaction that Proſpect gave him. The *Scotch* Generals, who were not ignorant of his Approach, had encamped over againſt *Stanhope-Park*, on a Hill at the Foot of which flowed the River *Were*, ſhallow indeed, but full of Rocks which rendered its Paſſage very difficult. How deſirous ſoever *Edward* might be to fight them, he was ſenſible to his great Sorrow, that he could not attack them without hazarding the Loſs of his Army. It was a vexatious Thing for a young Prince greedy of Glory, to ſee the Enemies ſo near, without being able to give them Battle. He did not however quite deſpair of bringing it about. As he judged of their Courage by his own, he ſent them Word, that if they would come over the River to him, he would retire at a convenient Diſtance and give them Time to paſs, and Opportunity to take what Ground they ſhould think proper, or elſe on the ſame Terms he would come over to them. The *Scotch* Generals returned in Anſwer: That the *Engliſh* Army being three Times ſtronger than theirs, it would be great Raſhneſs to accept the Propoſal: That they were bent upon keeping their Poſt, and that it was the King's Buſineſs to diſlodge them, if he thought it would be for his Advantage to attempt it. However, as they were apprehenſive that *Edward*, in amuſing them with his Offers, might have a Deſign to paſs the River at ſome other Place, they retired in the Night, and went and encamped in a more advantagious Poſt than what they had left. Beſides that they had ſtill the *Were* in their *Front*, their *Flanks* were defended by inacceſſible Mountains and Bogs, which removed their Fear of being attacked, ſuppoſing the *Engliſh* ſhould have paſſed the River higher up. *Edward* having notice of their Motion, followed them, the *Were* between, and having

1327.

Edward *overtakes them, but could not fight them.*

Joſ Barns. *Hiſtory of* Edward III.

1327. found them posted in that Manner, he made them the same Offer he had done before, to which they returned the same Answer.

Bold Action of Douglass. Whilst the two Armies lay thus in Sight of one another without being able to ingage, Sir *James Douglass*, one of the *Scotch* Generals, passed the River at some Distance from the two Camps, with only two hundred *Horse*. With this little Troop, he stole into the *English* Camp, and penetrated even to the Royal Tent, where he gave a terrible Alarm. In all Probability, his Design was to carry off the King: But not being able to compass his Ends, he retired without much Loss. At length, after both Armies had kept their Posts fifteen Days, the *Scots* decamped in the Night, and by speedy Marches, which prevented the *English* from pursuing them, retired into their own Country. They were already at such a Distance when *Edward* was told of their Retreat, that he did not think fit to follow them. Several attributed to *Mortimer* the ill Success of this Campaign, and suspected him of having held Intelligence with the Enemy, in order to give them an Opportunity of retiring without fighting. *Edward* having no longer any thing to fear from the *Scots*, returned to *York*, extremely mortified at not being able to revenge himself. Upon his Arrival at that City, he disbanded his Army, and after having made him magnificent Presents, sent *John de Hainault* back to his own Country.

The Scots *retire.*

Tragical Death of Edward II. Whilst the young King was taken up in this Expedition, his Father still closely confined in *Kenelworth-Castle*, spent his Days in Affliction, not being suffered to take the least Diversion. He wrote from Time to Time to his Queen, to intreat her to render his Imprisonment more easy; but nothing was capable of moving that inexorable Princess, in favour of a Husband, whom she her self had reduced to that wretched Condition without his deserving, at least from her Hands, such barbarous Usage. If she durst have acted according to her Inclinations, she would have left his Letters unanswered. But as it was her Interest to deceive the Publick by this Correspondence, she was very glad to keep it up. She sent him now and then

De la more.

some

ſome Linnen, and Cloaths, and other little Preſents, to make the credulous People believe ſhe ſacrificed her Tenderneſs for him to the Good of the State. It was not ſo eaſy a Matter to deceive *Edward* himſelf, ſeeing he could not but be convinced that ſhe was the ſole Cauſe of his Misfortunes. Accordingly ſhe never had the Face to appear in his Sight. She would not ſo much as permit the King her Son to go and pay his Duty to his unhappy Father, for fear he ſhould come to the Knowledge of ſome Things, which ſhe deſired he might be ignorant of as long as he lived. So that although the impriſoned King ardently wiſhed to ſee them both, and frequently asked the Reaſon why they were ſo unkind as to deny him that Comfort, he could never obtain the Favour. 1327.

In the mean Time, the rigorous Uſage that unfortunate Prince met with, began to excite Compaſſion in the Breaſts of the *Engliſh*, who are naturally of a generous Temper. *Henry* of *Lancaſter* himſelf, who had the Cuſtody of him, relented daily to ſuch a Degree that he gave him ſome ſmall Hopes of recovering his Liberty. Another Motive, beſides that of Generoſity, influenced the Earl: That was, the irregular Conduct of the Queen, and the great Credit of *Mortimer*, whoſe Arrogance rendered him odious to all the World. As he took no Care to hide his Sentiments, the Queen and *Mortimer* ſuſpected him of having formed a Deſign to reſtore the old King. This Suſpicion, whether well or ill grounded, produced a fatal Effect, by determining them to prevent the Danger which they imagined hung over their Heads. With this View they reſolved to take the captive King out of the Cuſtody of one whom they were become jealous of, and entruſt him with ſuch as they could depend upon. Sir *John Maltravers* and Sir *Thomas Gurney*, both of ſo brutiſh a Temper as qualified them for the Deſigns of thoſe that employed them, had Orders to remove *Edward* from *Kenelworth*, to *Berkley-Caſtle*. It was hardly poſſible for the unfortunate Prince to fall into worſe Hands. At firſt they carried him to *Corffe*, then to *Briſtol*, and afterwards to *Berkley-Caſtle* which was to be his laſt Priſon. In the Journey, they

1327. they made him ſuffer a Thouſand Indignities, even to the cauſing him to be ſhaved in the open Field with cold Water taken from a ſtinking Ditch. What Firmneſs ſoever he had ſhown hitherto, he could not on this Occaſion help lamenting his Misfortunes, and diſcovering how much he was affected with it. Amidſt the Complaints and Reproaches which he uttered againſt thoſe who uſed him ſo barbarouſly, he told them, that in ſpite of their Teeth, he would be ſhaved with hot Water. And at the ſame Time he ſhed a Torrent of Tears from his Eyes. His Enemies were in hopes, the Vexation and Fatigue he was made to indure, would put an End to his Days. But though they were ſerved with a barbarous Zeal by theſe mercileſs Guards, who put in Practice to that End the moſt cruel as well as the moſt inſolent Means, yet the Goodneſs of his Conſtitution fruſtrated their Deſigns. Theſe Wretches finding that their Cruelties had not ſo ſpeedy an Effect, ſent for freſh Inſtructions, which they were not made to wait for long. They received preciſe Orders to put that Prince to Death, who, overwhelmed as he was with Miſery, cauſed continual Fears in the Authors of his Calamity. It is ſaid that *Adam Orelton*, Biſhop of *Hereford*, one of the Queen's *Miniſters*, ſent with theſe Orders a Latin Letter, wherein by a ſhameful Equivocation, he adviſed them at the ſame Time to murder *Edward*, and exhorted them to refrain from ſuch a Crime. And indeed, the Words which are attributed to him, are capable of both theſe Senſes, according to the different Pointings (*a*). Theſe Orders were no ſooner come, but the two Keepers, well knowing what they were to do, enter'd *Edward*'s Room to put them in Execution. He being then in his Bed, they clapped a Pillow upon his Face, to prevent his being heard. After which, with a Cruelty not to be parallelled, they thruſt a horn Pipe up his Body, through which they ran a red-hot Iron, and burnt his Bowels. In this

De-la-more.

(*a*) Edwardum *occidere nolite timere, bonum eſt.*
Edwardum *occidere nolite, timere bonum eſt.*

this horrible Manner did that miſerable Prince expire, (*a*) amidſt ſuch violent Pains, that in ſpite of the Precaution of his Murderers, his Cries were heard at a Diſtance. To conceal this execrable Deed the two Executioners ſent for ſome of the Inhabitants of *Briſtol* and *Gloceſter*, who examining the Body, and finding no Signs of a violent Death, gave their Opinion that he died a natural Death. Their Account, which was carefully atteſted by Witneſſes, was immediately diſperſed over the whole Kingdom, that every Body might have notice of it. 1327.

The Calamities of that Prince, whom his Enemies perſecuted with ſo much Eagerneſs, began to ſtir up the Compaſſion of the *Engliſh*, after he had ceaſed to be formidable to them. But this Compaſſion was unactive; whereas their Hatred never let them reſt till they had entirely ruined him. Indeed it would be a hard Task to juſtify his whole Conduct. But they cannot be charged with being prejudiced in his Favour, who aſſure us, his Demerit bore no Proportion to his Puniſhment. He was a Sufferer himſelf for not having had the Reſolution to puniſh his Favourites. An important Leſſon for all Princes, but which few are ſo wiſe as to be the better for. The Pity People had for his Sufferings, which could not always be concealed, roſe to that Height, that after his Death he was reverenced as a *Saint*, ſo eaſily do the People run from one Extremity to another. His Body was forthwith buried without any funeral Pomp, in the *Abbey*-Church at *Gloceſter*. However ſome Time after, the King his Son ordered a ſtately Tomb to be erected in that Church. So far were his Murderers from receiving for their Parricide the Reward they expected, that they were forced to fly beyond Sea to avoid Puniſhment. The very Perſons that had employed them, affected to cauſe diligent ſearch to be made after them, that they might palliate the Share they had in the Crime. Three Years after, *Gurney* was ſeized at *Burgos*, and by Order of the King of *Caſtile* carried

Gurney *taken and beheaded.*

(*a*) In *October*. Mr. *Barns* ſays his Murder was committed on the 21ſt of *September*.

1327. ried to *Bayonne*, from whence *Edward* commanded him to be brought over to *England*. But by some secret Practices, which are not fully cleared up in History, his Head was struck off at Sea, on board the Vessel. *Maltravers* spent his Days in Exile, in some Place in *Germany* whether he had retired. But *Divine Vengeance* stopped not at the Punishment of these two Villains. The Queen, *Mortimer*, and their Accomplices, felt likewise its Effects. Perhaps we are to consider as Consequences of the same Vengeance, the violent or untimely Deaths of almost all the Descendants of *Edward* III, as well as the *Civil* Wars which *England* was afflicted with in the Reigns of that Prince's Posterity, as we shall see hereafter.

1328. *Marriage of* Edward III. The Death of *Edward* II put a stop to all the Commotions which began to be observed in the Kingdom. The King his Son finding himself in a State of greater Tranquillity, since by the Death of his Father which he believed to be natural the Scruples he might have upon his Account were removed, took this Opportunity to solemnize, with *Philippa* of *Hainault*, his Marriage which had been concluded by the Queen his Mother at *Valenciennes*. The Solemnity was performed at *York*, where the King came in his Return from his Campaign. Shortly after the new Queen was crowned with the usual Ceremonies.

The King consults the Parliament about the Peace proposed by Scotland. After the Rejoycings for the King's Marriage and the Queen's Coronation were over, *Edward* called a Parliament at *Northampton*, in order to consult them about two very momentous Affairs. The first related to the Regency of *France*, which he laid claim to after the Death of *Charles the Fair* his Uncle, who died in the Beginning of this Year. I shall speak of this Matter in another Place. The Second was the Peace with *Scotland* proposed by King *Robert*. Queen *Isabella* and *Mortimer*, who held the Reins of the Government, being of Opinion that a War was against their Interests, were very eager for a Peace. On the other Side, the King of *Scotland* perceiving he was no longer able to undergo the Hardships of a War, was desirous to spend the residue of his Days in Peace. Besides

as

as his Infirmities warned him of his approaching Death, he was very glad to prevent by a Peace with the *Engliſh* the Accidents which a War might cauſe during the *Nonage* of *David* his Son who was but ſeven Years old. The Parliament being intirely in the Queen's Intereſts, it was no difficult Matter to get their Conſent, to enter upon a Treaty which both Parties were equally deſirous of concluding. The Queen-Mother and *Mortimer* in behalf of the *Engliſh*, and *Douglaſs* in the Name of the King of *Scotland*, were the Managers of this Affair. A Peace was quickly made and confirmed by the Marriage of *David* Prince of *Scotland* with *Joanna* * Siſter of *Edward*, though they were both Children. 1328. *Peace between* England *and* Scotland.

The *Engliſh*, for the moſt Part, were very uneaſy at a Treaty being ſet on Foot, which in all Appearance, could bring them no manner of Advantage. However, their Uneaſineſs would have wore off by the Proſpect of the Repoſe a Peace muſt have procured them, if to haſten the Concluſion of it, *Iſabella* and *Mortimer* had not given up to the King of *Scotland* ſuch Advantages as he could not have expected, even after the gaining many Battles. By their Advice, *Edward* quitted all his Pretenſions to *Scotland*, both with regard to the *Sovereignty* and the *Propriety*. At the ſame Time he reſtored to *Robert* all the *Deeds* and *Inſtruments* which might prove the *Sovereignty* of the King's of *England* over that Kingdom. Among theſe *Deeds* was the famous *Act* called *Ragman's Roll*, ſigned by *John Baliol* and all the Barons of *Scotland*, wherein were contained the Rights of the Crown of *England*. This was followed by the Reſtitution of the Crown, Scepter, Jewels *', which *Edward* I. had carried off from *Edinborough*, and every thing in general which might be an Evidence of the *Sovereignty* of *England* over *Scotland*. If all this had been done from a Motive of Juſtice and Equity, Edward *quits claim to* Scotland. *He reſtores all that* Edward I. *had taken from* Scotland,

* The *Scots* called her in Deriſion, *Joan Make-Peace.*

*' Particularly one of great Value, called the *Black-Croſs of Scotland*. By this Treaty alſo no *Engliſhman* was permitted to hold Lands in *Scotland*, unleſs he would live there.

1328. quity, in order to repair in some Measure the Injury *Edward* I had done the *Scots*, far from thinking it strange, one should have praised so Christian-like a Proceeding. But as People were fully convinced that the Queen and *Mortimer* acted not from such a Motive, and besides were prepossessed in Favour of the *Sovereignty* which *Edward* I had been pleased to establish, every Body was very much disgusted at this Restitution. It was affirmed that this was buying at a very dear Rate a Peace neither honourable nor necessary; that by this shameful Treaty all the Expences *England* had been at, and all the Blood spilt in the Conquest of *Scotland*, were rendered intirely fruitless: That the Queen, who had made the Incapacity of the King her Husband a Handle to divest him of his Authority, plainly discovered how unable she was herself to govern the *State*, and that the Faults which *Edward* II had committed during his whole Reign were nothing in comparison of what she had done in the first Year of her Administration. Maugre all these Murmurings, the Queen and *Mortimer* had Credit enough with the Parliament to get the Peace confirmed, and to have the Sum of thirty Thousand Marks, which *Robert* promised to pay within three Years, looked upon as a sufficient Compensation for all that had been given up to *Scotland*. Thus it very often happens, that the very Persons who take upon them to reform the Government by extraordinary Methods, show afterwards that they had nothing less in View than the *Publick Good*, which served them for a Pretence.

The English *murmur.*

Nuptials of the Princess Joanna.

In Pursuance of the Treaty, the Nuptials of *Joanna* Sister of the King were solemnized at *Berwick*. Shortly after, *Mortimer* as a Reward for the pretended Service he had lately done his Master, was made *Earl of March* in full Parliament. *John of Eltham*, Brother of the King, was created Earl of *Cornwal*, and *James Butler*, Earl of *Ormond*.

Discontents of some Lords.

Henry of *Lancaster*, and some other Lords came not to this Parliament. They were dissatisfied that the Queen-Mother and *Mortimer* had usurped all Authority, contrary to the Intent of the Parliament who had nominated twelve

Barons

Barons to manage the Publick Affairs. The tragical Death of *Edward* II, and the late Treaty with *Scotland*, furniſhing them with a plauſible Pretence to complain, they had already begun to hold private Conferences, and form Plans to redreſs what was amiſs in the Government. As it was difficult to keep ſecret a *Confederacy* wherein they deſigned to engage a great many Perſons, the Queen and *Mortimer* had ſoon notice of it. The Earl of *Lancaſter*, whom they conſidered as Author of the Plot, and Head of the Male-Contents, was the firſt Sacrifice they reſolved to make to their Safety. An Accident which happened ſhortly after, afforded them an Opportunity which they believed they ought to lay hold of to accompliſh their Deſign. The Earl had a private Quarrel with the Lord *Holland* *, whom he looked upon as a mortal Enemy to his Family, and as one of the principal Authors of the Death of Earl *Thomas* his Brother. Some Threats he let fall againſt his Enemy, induced Sir *Thomas Wythers* one of his Domeſticks, to ſeek Occaſion to revenge his Maſter. Having met with an Opportunity quickly after, upon the Breaking up of the Parliament, *Wythers* killed the Lord *Holland*, and took Refuge in the Earl's Palace at *Lancaſter*, from whence repeated Orders from Court were not able to force him. The Queen and Earl of *March* were not ſorry that their Enemy gave them ſo plauſible a Handle to ſtir up the King againſt him. They repreſented to the young Prince of what Importance it was, not to ſuffer any Subject of what Quality ſoever, to take upon him to protect *Criminals*, and ſtop the Courſe of *Juſtice*: That it was acting the Sovereign, and that it was to be feared that thoſe who aſſume ſuch a Power, intended to enlarge it at the Expence of the Royal Authority, and were contriving Plots to diſturb the Publick Peace. By theſe provoking Diſcourſes, they brought the young King to take the Reſolution to chaſtiſe this Diſobedience.

1328.

Henry *of* Lancaſter *is attacked by the Queen.* Dugdale. *Vol.* 2. *p.* 73.

She ſtirs up the King againſt him.

* The Riſe and Advancement of this Lord was by his being *Secretary* to *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter*, whom he deſerted after the Battle of *Burrough-Bridge*. Dugdale.

1328. *He prepares for his Defense*

As soon as the Earl of *Lancaster* knew they designed to attack him, he prepared for his Defense, and formed an *Association* which was entered into by *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, and *Thomas* Earl of *Norfolk* the King's Uncles, the Lord *Beaumont*, Judge *Trussel*, and some other Lords who unanimously resolved to stand upon their Defense in Case they were attacked. At the same Time they published a *Manifesto* containing the Motives of their taking Arms, all drawn from the publick *Grievances* of the Kingdom. The Reasons they alledged were, I. To oblige the Queen-Mother to refund into the publick Treasury the Revenue she had caused to be assigned her, far exceeding the usual Dowry of the Queens. II. To put a stop to the Exactions and Incroachments of those who governed in the King's Name. III. To bring to condign Punishment the Betrayers of their Country in the late War with *Scotland*. IV. To make Inquiry by what Means the *Ordinance* of Parliament establishing twelve Barons to govern the *State*, during the King's *Minority*, had not been put in Execution. V. To cause strict Inquisition to be made concerning the Death of *Edward* the King's Father, after he had by private Orders been taken out of the Custody of those whom the Parliament had intrusted him with. VI. To bring those to an Account who had seized the Treasure of the late King. VII. To cause the *Publick* to be informed by whose Advice the King during his *Minority* had quitted all his Pretensions to *Scotland*, and given up all the *Records* which might prove them. VIII. Lastly, To call those to an Account who had advised the King to marry the Princess his Sister to *David Bruce*, mortal Enemy to the *English* Nation.

League against the Court.

A Manifesto *published.*

These *Articles*, Copies whereof were carefully dispersed over all the Kingdom, touched to the Quick the Queen and Earl of *March*, who were plainly enough struck at. But instead of losing Time in vindicating their Conduct, which indeed could not be easily done, they took another Course, giving the King to understand, that they who had taken Arms sought to snatch the Crown from him. They maliciously insinuated, that his two Uncles, and

Henry

Henry of *Lancaſter* Grandſon to *Henry* III, had formed the Project of excluding the Iſſue of *Edward* II from the Throne, of which that Prince had been declared unworthy, as if the Faults of the Father were to return on the Head of his Children. The young King, who never ſuſpected the Queen his Mother in the leaſt, giving Ear to this Accuſation, reſolved to compel by Force of Arms to return to their Duty, Perſons whom he already deemed Rebels. He even began to prepare to put his Deſign in Execution. In all likelihood this Affair would have been attended with fatal Conſequences, if the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* * had not zealouſly interpoſed to accommodate Matters. The Archbiſhop artfully gave the Queen to underſtand, that the *Manifeſto* of the Male-contents was ſo plauſible, and the *Grievances* complained of ſuch, that it was to be feared the whole Nation would ſide with them. The Queen readily apprehending what the Archbiſhop told her but by halfs, and believing it would be full as dangerous for her as for the Male-contents, if ſhe attempted to bring Matters to the laſt Puſh, ſhe was prevailed with to come to an Accommodation, which the Male-contents very willingly agreed to. As their Party was not yet ſtrong enough to carry Things to the Point they deſired, their Intent in publiſhing the *Manifeſto* was only to convince the Queen how great a Risk ſhe would run in going about to cruſh them. So that, without inſiſting any further on their *Grievances*, they were contented with a Pardon which the Archbiſhop procured them, for certain Fines, and the Baniſhment of *Beaumont*, *Truſſel*, and the Murderer of the Lord *Holland*, who were excepted in the Pardon. On this Occaſion ahe Earl of *March* pretended to be a Friend to the Princes. But he harboured in his Breaſt a lively Reſentment againſt them, to which the Earl of *Kent* fell a Sacrifice.

1328.

The King reſolves to puniſh the Male-contents.

The Male-contents accept of a Pardon.

Robert, the brave King of *Scotland*, enjoyed not long the glorious Peace he had made lately with *England*. He died quietly and peaceably, with the Comfort of having freed *Scotland*

1329. Robert *King of* Scotland *dies, and is ſucceeded by* David *his Son*

* *Simon de Mepham.*

1329. *Scotland* from the Dominion of the *English*, and of seeing his own Family settled in the Throne. It is not without Reason, that the *Scots* rank him among their most illustrious Kings, as the Restorer of their Monarchy. This Prince being on his Death-Bed, recommended three Things especially, to those to whom he had committed the Regency, during the Minority of *David* his Son, who was but eight Years old. The first, was never to hazard a Battle in the Kingdom. The second, to make no long Truces with the *English*, in Case the two Nations should come to a Rupture. The third, to have always an Eye upon what was doing in *England*, that they might not be surprised unawares.

Earl of March *becomes more and more odious.*

The Earl of *March*, all along supported by the Queen-Mother, saw himself raised to such a Degree of Power, that he acted more like a *Sovereign* than a *Minister*. He disposed of all the Offices, as well as of the publick Revenues, with an Authority joined to an Arrogance common enough to Favourites, and which contributes no less than their good Fortune to render them odious. The extraordinary Credit of this Earl roused the Jealousy of the *English* who were not altered since the deposing of *Edward* II, and who had no greater Esteem for this new Favourite than they had formerly for *Gaveston* and *Spencer*. Among those who discovered their Minds the most freely on this Head, *Edmund* Earl of *Kent* the King's Uncle, was the principal. This Prince, as well as *Edward* II his Brother, had no great Genius for publick Affairs, but he was naturally honest and generous. He had however suffered himself to be imposed upon by the Artifice of *Isabella*, when he joined with her against his own Brother, never imagining she would have carried Things so far. When once he was engaged in that Party, the Suddenness of the *Revolution* which happened immediately after, would not permit him to draw back. The Government was changed before he had Time to reflect on the Consequences of the Queen's Undertaking. The disorderly Behaviour of that Princess, the Arrogance of the Favourite, the sudden Death of the King, and the ill Ma-

Walsing.

The Earl of Kent *is dissatisfied.*

nagement

nagement in the Administration of Affairs, at length opened his Eyes. He perceived with Grief the Injustice of the Plot he had unhappily ingaged in. A generous Man cannot without difficulty conceal his Sentiments. The Earl, little versed in the Maxims of *Politicks*, was not careful enough to hide his Uneasiness at what had passed, and of what he saw every Day. He had sided with *Henry* of *Lancaster* during the late Commotions, which plainly showed, it was not his Fault that the present Scene of Affairs was not shifted. This was sufficient to induce *Isabella* and the Earl of *March* to hasten his Ruin, in the Dread they were in of being themselves prevented. To that End, they laid for him the most out-of-the-way Snare that could be devised, and in which it is amazing he should suffer himself to be taken. As his Conduct afforded them no Handle against him, there was a necessity, in order to have an Opportunity to destroy him, to manage it so that he should render himself criminal, that his Ruin might be thought the less strange. With this View, his two Adversaries got some about him who, feigning to be his Friends, slily hinted to him, that *Edward* II his Brother was still alive, and that they had given out he was dead only to prevent the Troubles his Friends might excite. They added, that he was strictly guarded in *Corfe*-Castle, where no Body had the Liberty to see him but his Domesticks who were shut up with him. This pretended Secret was backed with divers Circumstances, and confirmed by the Testimony of several Persons of Distinction, among whom were two Bishops who were deceived as well as *Edmund*, or helped to deceive him. He had himself been present at the Funeral of the King his Brother. But what he had now heard, joined to a like Report which began to spread at Court by the Artifice of his Enemies, and to his Desire that the Thing might be true, easily brought him to believe that he might have been imposed upon by counterfeit *Obsequies*. In this Belief he resolved to try all possible Means to free the pretended Prisoner from his Confinement. He was however in suspence on the Score of his Oath to the King his Nephew; but

1329.

The Queen and Mortimer *lay a Snare for that Prince.*

He is made to believe that Edward II *is still alive.*

He resolves to free him.

1329. but he was quickly eased of that Scruple. It is said, that having been ordered to go to the Pope to demand the *Canonization* of the late Earl of *Leicester*, he took this Opportunity to consult *John* XXII about that Affair. It is added, but how truly I cannot say, that the Pope not only approved of his Project, but charged him to put it in Execution, under Pain of *Excommunication*. As soon as *Edmund* found himself backed by such Authority, all his Scruples vanished. So that, without any further Deliberation, he set out from *Avignon*, bent upon using all his Endeavours to free the King his Brother, whom he imagined to be still in Prison. However, as his Belief was founded only upon Report, the Certainty whereof had not been fully made appear, he got a certain Monk his Confident, to go to *Corfe* and know the Truth. The Contrivers of the Plot had not omitted to cause it to be whispered about in the Country near the Castle, that *Edward* was still a Prisoner there. So that the Monk upon his coming into those Parts for private Information, found that the Inhabitants of the Neighbourhood were of Opinion he was alive. These false Rumours having prepossessed the Mind of the Monk, he feigned some Business with the Governour of *Corfe*, and asked him, whether there was really any Foundation for what was reported of *Edward*. The Governour, who had received Instructions how to behave, returned him such an Answer as confirmed him in his Opinion. It is even said, that he showed him, but at a little Distance, a Person sitting at Table, who was served with a great deal of Respect, and by that Means entirely convinced him, that he had not been imposed upon. *Edmund* being confirmed in his Belief by the Monk's Report, came himself to *Corfe*, and without showing the least Doubt, demanded to be conducted to his Brother's Apartment. The treacherous Governour pretending to be surprized at his knowing the Secret, did not deny but that *Edward* was in the Castle; but told him that he had very positive Orders to let no Person see him. This Confession made *Edmund* redouble his Instances, but finding the Governour was inflexible, he gave him a Letter for

the

the Priſoner, wherein he aſſured him, that he would do his utmoſt to gain him his Liberty. This Letter was forthwith carried to the Queen, who ſhowed it to the King her Son, magnifying the Danger he was in from the Practices of his Uncle. It was no hard Matter for her to obtain the King's Leave to ſecure the Prince's Perſon. He was far enough from ſuſpecting that his Mother had her ſelf contrived this Plot. As ſoon as the King had given his Conſent to what was propoſed to him, Meaſures were taken to apprehend *Edmund* at *Wincheſter*, where the Parliament was aſſembled. His Impeachment being brought before the *Peers*, his own Letter was produced, which he could not diſown. He confeſſed that ſeveral Lords, and particularly the Archbiſhop of *York* and Biſhop of *London*, were concerned in the Plot, or at leaſt had adviſed him to haſten the Execution of it *. Upon this Confeſſion, which ſhowed a ſettled Deſign to change the Government, he was condemned to loſe his Head. The Execution ſoon followed his *Sentence*. All that Day the King was ſo beſet by the Queen his Mother and the Earl of *March*, that no Body could come near him, to ſue for the Pardon of

1329.

He is apprehended.

condemned and executed. March 19.

* *Walſingham* gives the following Account of *Edmund*'s Confeſſion before the Parliament, On the 16th of *March*, 4 *Edward* III. He confeſſed that a certain *Friar-Preacher* of *London*, told him that he had conjured up a *Spirit*, who aſſured him that *Edward* his Brother was ſtill alive. Alſo, that Sir *Ingram Baringer* brought him a Meſſage from *William* Lord *Zouche*, deſiring he would aſſiſt in his Reſtoration. Likewiſe, that Sir *Robert Taunton* came to him from the Archbiſhop of *York*, to encourage him, by aſſuring him that he had in readineſs 5000 Men to carry on the Work. Alſo, that Sir *Fulk Fitz-Warren* told him, it would be the greateſt Honour that ever could happen to him, in caſe he appeared in the Attempt; promiſing his beſt Aſſiſtance. Moreover, that Sir *Ingram Barenger* came to him again from Sir *John Peche*, letting him know he ſhould have his Help. And that *Henry* Lord *Beaumont*, and Sir *Thomas Roſſelyn* at *Paris* inſtigated him thereto, ſaying, they were ready to come into *England* to his Aid. Laſtly, that the ſaid Sir *Ingram* came to him another Time at *Arundel*, into his Bed-chamber, and aſſured him of the Biſhop of *London*'s Help. *T. Walſing. p.* 110.

1329. a Prince so nearly related to him. It is even affirmed that he knew nothing of the Sentence passed upon his Uncle, or of his Execution till it was too late to help it. Be that as it will, *Edmund* was brought upon the Scaffold to suffer the Punishment he had been sentenced to. But the Executioner having slipt out of the Way, he stayed from Noon till Evening, before they could get any one to do his Office. At last, towards Night, one of the Guards of the *Marshalsey*, bribed with Money, undertook to do it *. Thus died that Prince in the 28th Year of his Age. He left two Sons who died young, and two Daughters, the youngest of whom was the greatest Beauty of her Time. Her second Husband was the famous Prince of *Wales* her Cousin, eldest Son of *Edward* III. *Edmund* was the only Person prosecuted for the *imaginary* Crime for which he suffered Death, though according to the Depositions, several others ought to have undergone the same Punishment. But the Contrivers of the Plot wanted no other Sacrifice. Besides, they took care not to examine Matters too strictly, for fear of giving Occasion to discover what it was their Interest to conceal. It is even very probable, that several of those whom *Edmund* had impeached, were Betrayers, employed by his Enemies to hurl him down the Precipice.

Before I go on with the Relation of what passed in *England* during *Edward*'s Minority, it will be necessary to speak of his Affairs with *France*, before he took the Reins of the Government into his own Hands. Not only the Order of Time requires it, but it is very proper to clear up beforehand, the Origin of an Affair which is to be the principal Subject of this Prince's *Majority*. To that End, I must begin the Account of the Disputes between the two Crowns, where I left off in the Reign of *Edward* II.

Affairs of Edward *with* France.

The last Treaty made at *Paris* by the Mediation of *Isabella* had not fully ended all Differences between *Edward* II and *Charles the Fair*. The Queen, who had nothing

* *Knighton* says, It was one of the Prisoners, who did it to save his own Life, on the *Eve* of St. *Cuthbert*.

thing in View but the Project ſhe had formed againſt the King her Husband, did not think it would be for her Intereſt to diſcuſs all the Articles which were included in theſe Diſputes. She was too much afraid of ſtarting ſome Obſtacle to her principal Deſign. On the other Hand, King *Charles*, who was in Poſſeſſion of *Agenois*, did not think proper to urge, himſelf, any further Diſcuſſion of Matters. Accordingly the Sentence paſſed at *Paris*, in the Buſineſs of St. *Sardos*, which condemned the *Gaſcon* Lords to Baniſhment, and decreed the demoliſhing of their Caſtles, was ſtill in Force: But the Treaty which the Queen had concluded, preſerved entire *Edward*'s Pretenſions, and left him free to proſecute his Right in the Court of *Peers*. The Reſignation of *Guienne* had occaſioned freſh Difficulties. *Edward* II had pretended that *Charles*, in receiving the Homage of the Prince his Nephew, had obliged himſelf to reſtore that whole Province, which the King of *France* denied. 1329.

Edward III was no ſooner on the Throne, but by Advice of his Parliament, he ſent Ambaſſadors to *France*, to make up all Matters between the two Crowns. Shortly after a new Treaty was concluded, containing theſe ſix Articles.

I. That both Sides ſhould reſtore what they had conquered during the War. *New Treaty made at Paris.*

II. That *Edward* ſhould pay the King of *France* fifty Thouſand Pounds *Sterling*, to defray the Charges he had been at on Occaſion of the Rupture.

III. That a general Pardon ſhould be granted by both Parties.

IV. That the King of *France* ſhould pardon the *Felony* of the *Gaſcon* Lords, as to Life and Limbs, on Condition they ſubmitted to Baniſhment.

V. That *Edward* ſhould undertake to rebuild their Caſtles.

VI. That this Treaty ſhould be of no Effect, if it was not ratified by the King of *England* before *Eaſter*.

1329. The Court of *England* was too desirous of a Peace, to neglect the Performance of the last Article. So that there was a good Intelligence between the two Crowns, during the rest of that Year, each King taking care to avoid all Occasions of a fresh Rupture.

Death of Charles *the* Fair.

Hardly was this Affair over, when a new Subject of Dispute of much greater Moment ingaged the two Kingdoms in a War, which caused Torrents of Blood to be spilt, and brought *France* in the End to the very Brink of Destruction. This was the Death of *Charles the Fair*, which happened on the first of *Feburary* 1328. This Prince dying without Issue-Male, and having left *Joanna* his Queen big with Child, there arose a great Dispute concerning the Regency of the Kingdom, till the Queen should be brought to Bed. *Edward* laid claim to it, as Nephew and the neareſt Relation to the deceased King: But *Philip* Son of *Charles* of *Valois* and Cousin-German of the said King, maintained that he had an incontestable Right to the Regency. He founded his Claim upon the *Salick-Law*, which, in his Opinion, barred the Females and their Descendants from the Succession to the Crown; whence he inferred that neither had they any right to the Regency, to the prejudice of the *Male-Line*. This Controversy was decided in Favour of *Philip* by the *Peers* of *France*, who adjudged him the Regency till the Queen was delivered. It was partly on this Occasion that *Edward* called the Parliament at *Northampton*, on account of the Peace with *Scotland*, as hath been said. He laid before them the Reasons he had to claim the Regency of the Kingdom of *France*, the Injury he pretended was done him in giving the Preference to *Philip* of *Valois*, and the disadvantagious Inference which might be drawn from his Exclusion, with respect to the Crown of *France*, in case the Child the Queen was big with, should not live, or should be a Daughter. Historians do not positively say, what the Parliament's Opinion was in this nice Affair. But as the Members were at the Devotion of the Queen-Mother and the Earl of *March*, it is very likely they were no more scrupulous with Respect to the Affairs of *France*, than

Mezeray.

Edward *and the Earl of* Valois *dispute about the Regency.*

It is adjudged to Philip.

than they had been with regard to those of *Scotland*. There were much more plausible Reasons to dissuade *Edward* from making War with *France*; the Difficulty of the Undertaking, the Strength of that Kingdom, the King's Age, were Objections not easily to be answered. Besides, it might so happen that the Preparations which should be made to support the King's Claim, would be fruitless, if the Queen-Widow should bring into the World a Male-Infant. In spite of these Reasons, it was not possible to perswade the young King, to quit Claim to a Right which he thought lawfully belonged to him. However, as he was still a *Minor*, he plainly perceived that he should not be able effectually to oppose the Advice of the Queen his Mother, his Council, and the Parliament. But if he tacitely dropped his Pretensions to a Regency which was about to expire, he was far from doing the same Thing with regard to the Crown it self, in case the Point in Question was not decided by the Birth of a Prince. This is evident from several Letters which he wrote to certain Lords of *Guienne*, dated the 28th of *March*, about a Month before Queen *Joanna*'s Delivery. On supposition that she should be brought to Bed of a Daughter, he told these Lords, his Intent was to use all possible Means to recover the Right and Inheritance of the Queen his Mother. 1329. Act. Pub. IV. 344, &c.

The Queen delivered of a Daughter.

In the Month of *April*, *Joanna* was brought to Bed of a Princess, whose Birth would from that Moment have occasioned a bloody War, if *Edward* had been in a Condition to assert his Pretensions. He demanded however the Crown of *France* by his Ambassadors: But *Philip* having caused himself to be crowned by Vertue of the Judgement which had given him the Regency, the *English* Ambassadors were not so much as heard. I slightly pass over these Things because it will be necessary hereafter to speak more fully of them. It is sufficient at present to know, that *Edward* not having it in his Power to push this Affair, thought proper to let it lye dormant till a more favourable Opportunity offered. Several Pieces in *the Collection of Publick Acts* make appear, that this was his

Edward *demands the Crown.*

Philip *is crowned.*

Edward *hides his Designs.*

1329. his Intention, and that his Silence argued nothing less than the Design to wave his Right. We see there, that immediately after the Coronation of *Philip* of *Valois*, he began to take Measures in order to war against him. The Alliance he made about this Time with the Duke of *Brabant*, and with several Lords who engaged to furnish him with Troops, is a clear Evidence he was meditating some grand Design, and his Letters to the Lords of *Guienne* show it was against *France*. In these Letters dated *September* 16, 1328, he positively said, his Intent was to recover his Mother's Inheritance. Now at that Time, he had no Quarrel with *France*, wherein the Queen his Mother was particularly concerned. The Inheritance he mentioned related therefore to the whole Kingdom of *France*, seeing the Contests he might have with *Philip* about *Guienne* had no manner of Relation to *Isabella*'s Right.

Philip *summons* Edward *to do Homage.* Froissard. Mezerai.

Philip de Valois being ingaged in the Beginning of his Reign in a War with the *Flemings*, was in no Haste to demand *Edward*'s Homage for *Guienne* and *Ponthieu*. It was not till *April* 1329, that he caused him to be summoned to appear and do Homage in Person. In the Temper *Edward* was in, he would have been glad if he could have excused himself from paying Homage to a Prince whom he considered as an Usurper of his Right. But his *Council* reflecting on his Youth and the State of the Kingdom which abounded in Male-contents, could not be brought to approve of a Refusal which in all Likelihood would throw him into great Perplexities. On the other hand, the Queen his Mother and the Earl of *March* did all that lay in their Power to prevent a Quarrel with *Philip*. They represented to him, that he would infallibly lose all he held in *France*, if he unadvisedly discovered his Pretensions to that Kingdom, before he was in a readiness to support them. But these Remonstrances would perhaps have had little Weight with him, if for his Satisfaction they had not bethought themselves of an Expedient, unbecoming indeed the Sincerity Kings ought to profess, but which his Youth and Passion permitted him not to examine too nicely. They suggested to him, that by protesting

testing beforehand against the Homage, it would be no Detriment to his Claim. Pursuant to this Advice, he made in the Presence of his *Council* the following Protestation: *That by the Homage he was going to pay, his Intention was not to prejudice his just Right to the Crown of* France *supposing he should ratify it by his Letters-Patent, and that it was purely the fear of losing his Dominions in* France, *which obliged him to it (a).* This Declaration was signed by the King and Council; but it was not communicated to *Philip*'s Envoy. They only gave him this general Answer, that the King would perform as soon as possible what he owed the Crown of *France*. 1329. Edward *privately protests against the Homage.*

How great soever *Edward*'s Unwillingness might be to do the Homage, the Consequences whereof he so much dreaded, he was determined to it, for fear of discovering by his Refusal a Design which it was not proper as yet to make known. To make himself Amends in some Measure, for the mortifying Step which he was forced to take, he ordered a great Number of Lords to attend him, and with a very splendid Equipage, and a Retinue of a Thousand *Horse*, he came to *Amiens* where *Philip* staid for him. On the Day appointed for doing his Homage, he appeared before the King of *France*, cloathed in a Scarlet Robe seeded with Gold Leopards, with his Crown on his Head, his Sword by his Side, and his Gold Spurs on. The King of *France* received him sitting on his Throne, with his Crown on his Head, his Scepter in his Hand, having on a Robe of blue Velvet, full of Flower-de-Luces. By him were the Kings of *Navarre* and *Majorca*, all the *Peers* and principal Lords of *France*, whom he had expressly sent for, to be Witnesses of this authentick Homage. Before *Edward*'s Arrival *Philip* had pretended that this should be a *full* Homage *, as in Effect it ought to have been. But in the Conferences held on this Account, before the Ceremony, *Homage done by* Edward *to* Philip. Act. Pub. IV. 384.

(a) *Informat.* Edward. *ad Papam. in Benedict. Tom. VI. Post Epistol. Secret.* 302 *in Biblioth. Vatican. Ord. Vital.* Raynald.

* *Full* or *Liege* Homage was done bareheaded and Sword ungirt,

1329. remony, Matters had been ſettled otherwiſe. *Edward* having proteſted that he was not perfectly informed of the Quality of the Homage, had offered to do it in general Terms. However, he had given his Word and Honour, that if, upon conſulting his *Records*, he found that the Homage ought to be *Full*, he would give Letters-Patent of it, under his *Great Seal*. Upon that Condition, *Philip* had conſented to receive the Homage in general Terms. This was really the manner wherein *Edward* did it, whatever certain *French* Hiſtorians may have ſaid to the contrary, who without doubt, were miſled by bad *Memoirs*.

Serres.

Barnes. A Writer of *Edward*'s Life ſays likewiſe, upon no better Grounds, that the King of *France* was juſt going to order him to be ſeized, but that the Biſhop of *Lincoln* gave his Maſter notice of it, who withdrew without taking Leave. This cannot be Fact, ſince *Philip* could not have taken this Reſolution but upon *Edward*'s refuſing to do *full* Homage, and yet it is certain he was willing to receive it in general Terms. They even held together ſeveral Conferences after the Ceremony. Before they parted it was agreed that *Edward* ſhould ſend Ambaſſadors to *France*, to finiſh what the late Treaty had left undecided.

1330. *Sequel of the Affairs of* Edward *with* France. In the Diſpoſition *Edward* was in with regard to the Kingdom of *France*, he was not very forward to ſend the promiſed Declaration. On the contrary, he tried to gain Time, by Propoſals of a double Marriage of his Brother and Siſter with the Son and Daughter of *Philip*. He even kept at *London* almoſt a Year, on diverſe Pretences, Ambaſſadors who had been ſent to preſs him to perform his Promiſe. During that Time *Edward* was very importunate in his Turn with the King of *France*, to make up their Differences about *Guienne*, as had been agreed at their late Interview. It was eaſy to ſee that *Edward* ſought only to delay Matters. Accordingly *Philip*, who bore impatiently all theſe Put-offs, ſent him Word that he would not be thus gulled. He diſpatched into *Guienne* the Earl of *Alenzon* his Brother, who took and demoliſhed the Caſtle of *Xaintes*, and plundered that of

Bur

Burg. These Hostilities, which *Edward* did not expect, produced a new Treaty between the two Monarchs. *Edward* positively ingaged to send the Declaration of Homage, to pay the fifty thousand Pounds *Sterling* which were owing to *France*, and sixty thousand *Parisian Livres* for the Assignment made to him by the King his Father of *Guienne*. Moreover he promised to see the Castles demolished belonging to the *Gascon* Lord's condemned in the Reign of *Charles the Fair*. Shortly after the Conclusion of this Treaty, he sent the King of *France* Letters-Patents under his *Great Seal*, to confirm and specify the Homage he had done at *Amiens*. He expressly declared that the Homage was to be deemed *Full*, and that the Homage which he himself or his Successors Dukes of *Guienne* and Earls of *Ponthieu* should pay hereafter, should be done in the same Manner and with the same Formalities which the King of *France* had expected from him. In these Letters there was a Pattern how the Homage was to be done. After he had sent this Authentick Declaration, he took a Journey to *France*, under colour of performing a Vow there. He saw *Philip*, and obtained of him an Abatement of thirty thousand *Livres Tournois*, for the Damage done to *Burg* and *Xaintes*, and an absolute Pardon for the condemned *Gascon* Lords. Let us leave a Moment *Edward*'s Affairs with *France*, to see what passed in *England* during these Negotiations. We shall soon have Occasion to resume the Sequel of these Affairs, which are the principal Subject-Matter of this Reign.

1330.

Edward *declares the Homage to be* Full. Act. Pub. IV. 478.

New Agreement between the two Kings. ibid. p. 484.

It was very quickly after his Return from *Amiens*, that *Edward* began, as 'tis suppos'd, to be suspicious of the Queen his Mother's Conduct. As soon as it was perceiv'd at Court that the King grew weary of being under the Guardianship of his Mother and the Favourite, their Enemies fail'd not to do all that lay in their Power to make him jealous of them. So many things worthy his Attention were insinuated to him, that he resolv'd at length to have perfect Information how Matters stood. Those to whom he applied caus'd him to observe, that the Earl of *March* affected to out-shine his Sovereign, by a Magnificence too

Downfal of Queen Isabella *and* Mortimer. Knighton. Walsing.

Informations given the King.

1330. splendid for any Subject. That he dispos'd of all the great Offices of the Kingdom to his Creatures: That he was absolute Master of the Destiny of the *English*, pulling down some, and raising others, according as they appear'd *for* or *against* his Interests: That it was by his private Orders that *Edward* II was murder'd: That the Earl of *Kent* had lost his Life by his secret Practices: Finally, that it was very probable the Queen and her Minister had form'd the Design of securing in their Hands the Royal Authority, by keeping him always a *Minor*. Some add, it was intimated to him that the Queen his Mother was big with Child by *Mortimer*. What they say is not unlikely, since according to the Testimony of *Froissard*, the Report of her being with Child was spread over the whole Kingdom. These Informations entirely convinc'd the King of what he had only suspected before. He call'd to mind the sudden Death of the King his Father, the Beheading of the Earl of *Kent* his Uncle, the dishonourable Peace they had made him conclude with *Scotland*, the extravagant *Dowry* of the Queen his Mother, the Credit, Riches and Pride of the Earl of *March*, and abhorring the Wickedness of those who had made *the Publick Good* a Pretence to gratify their Passions, he resolved to bring them to condign Punishment. However he carefully conceal'd his Purpose till a favourable Opportunity should offer, to enable him to act without Danger of ruining himself. To accomplish his Design, he pitch'd upon the Time the Parliament was to meet at *Nottingham*. The Court being come to that Town, Queen *Isabella* and the Earl of *March* lodg'd in the Castle, with a Guard of one hundred and eighty *Knights*, whilst the King, with a small Retinue, took up his Lodging in the Town.

Act. Pub. IV. 452, Edward *seizes* Mortimer *and sends him to the Tower.*

In spite of these Precautions, which seemed to argue that the Queen and the Favourite were not without their Uneasiness, *Edward*, who had gain'd the Governour, enter'd the Castle through a subterraneous Passage, and came into his Mother's Apartment, being accompanied with *Montacute* and some other Officers, all bent to lose their Lives in his Service. There was some Noise made upon their apearing, and two Knights of the Guard were killed, who having

ving leſs Reſpect for the King than their Companions, offered to reſiſt. The Earl of *March* was apprehended; and notwithſtanding the Queen's Cries and Intreaties to ſpare *the Gallant Mortimer*, he was carried out the ſame Way the King came in, and conducted under a ſtrong Guard to the *Tower* of *London* *. 1330.

This Maſter-Piece of Policy having ſucceeded ſo well, the King diſſolved the Parliament, and call'd another by Proclamation. As the late Parliament had not regarded ſo much the Publick Good as the Intereſts of the Queen and the Earl of *March*, the King bitterly complained in his Proclamation of the *Members*, and took Occaſion to exhort the People to chuſe *Repreſentatives* who ſhould have the Good of the State more at Heart. The Parliament met at *London*, with Diſpoſitions very different from thoſe of the Former. The Majority of the Members, overjoyed to ſee the Kingdom freed from the Tyranny of the Earl of *March*, had no other Views but to reform what was amiſs in the Government, and to puniſh the Favorite according to his Demerit, the common Fate of *Favorites* and *Miniſters* who abuſe their Power. How Great ſoever they may be, they muſt expect to ſee themſelves abandoned by all the World the Moment their Affairs begin to decline. *He calls a new Parliament.* ibid.

In his Speech to the Parliament the King complained in general of the Queen and *Mortimer*. After which, he ſaid that, with the Conſent of his Subjects, he deſigned to hold himſelf the Reins of the Government, though he was not yet arrived at the Age preſcribed by the Law. The Parliament joyfully conſented to it, all the Members being equally ready to ſecond his Deſigns. *The Queen is confined to the Caſtle of* Riſing.

* Beſides Sir *William de Montacute*, (afterwards Earl of *Salisbury*,) there were with the King Sir *Humphrey de Bohun*, and Sir *William* his Brother, Sir *Ralph de Stafford*, Sir *William de Clinton*, Sir *John Nevel* of *Hornby*, Sir *William Eland*, &c. The Paſſage under-Ground is ſtill called *Mortimer's Hole*. The two Knights that were killed were, Sir *Hugh de Turplington*, Steward of the King's Houſhold, and Sir *Richard Monmouth*, according to the *Fœdera*, but according to *Dugdale* and *Barnes*, Sir *John*.

1331. *Edward* being thus rid of his Governours, his first Care was to seize the exorbitant *Dowry* of the Queen his Mother, and reduce it to a Pension of a hundred Pounds a Year. At the same Time he confined her in the Castle of *Rising* [in *Norfolk*,] least by her Plots and Intrigues she shou'd excite new Troubles. *Mezerai* was mistaken when he said that *Edward* hasten'd his Mother's Death. It is certain she lived twenty-eight Years in her Confinement, where the King her Son paid her one or two Visits every Year, more out of Decency than Affection.

Abregee, &c. An. 1328.

The Earl of March *is condemned and executed.*

As for the Earl of *March*, he was treated with the utmost Rigour. His Impeachment, which was brought before the Parliament, contained divers Articles, of which the chief were these: *That* he had seiz'd the Government of the Kingdom without Authority, and contrary to the express Regulation of the Parliament: *That* he had placed about the King's Person, People that were Spies upon all his Actions, that he might not be able to free himself from the Subjection he was kept in: *That* he had procur'd the Death of *Edward* II by his express Orders: *That* he had contrived a treacherous Plot to take away the Life of the late Earl of *Kent* the King's Uncle: *That* he had appropriated to his own Use the thirty thousand Marks paid by the King of *Scotland*: Lastly, *That* he had lived in a too familiar Manner with the Queen-Mother. For all these Crimes, which they affirmed were notorious to the World, and for the Proof whereof they did not vouchsafe so much as to hear the Evidences, he was condemned to die. His Sentence, which ran that he should be hanged for a Traitor on

* The Earl of *March* left four Sons, of whom *Edmund* his eldest died in the Flower of his Age, and left his Son *Roger*, who was restored to his Grandfather's Estates and Honours. The Earl had also seven Daughters, *Katherine* Wife of *Thomas de Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*; *Joan* married to *James* Lord *Audley*; *Agnes* to *Lawrence de Hastings* Earl of *Pembroke*; *Margaret* to *Thomas* Son and Heir of *Maurice* Lord *Berkley*; *Maude* to *John* Son and Heir of *John de Charleton* Lord *Powis*; *Blanche* to *Peter de Grandison*; and *Beatrix* first to *Edward* Son and Heir to *Thomas* of *Brotherton* Earl *Marshal*, Son of *Edward* II, and afterwards to Sir *Thomas de Brooke*, Dugdale.



EDWARD P. of WALES
son of K. EDWARD III.

G. Vertue Sc.

on the common Gallows at *Tyburn*, was executed without ſhowing him the leaſt Favour. There was this remarkable in his Sentence, that he was condemned without being ſuffered to ſpeak in his Defenſe, juſt as he himſelf had ſerved the *Spencers*. But this prov'd an Advantage to his Family. *Roger* his Grandſon obtained afterwards an *Act* which reverſed this Sentence, as given contrary to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Realm. We ſhall ſee in the Sequel of this Hiſtory, his Deſcendents by the Female-Line aſcend the Throne of *England*. The Article of his Impeachment relating to his Commerce with the Queen, is a clear Evidence how much the whole Kingdom was offended at their Familiarity. If it had not been notorious, there is no Likelihood that the Parliament would have given that Princeſs's Honour ſo deep a Wound, which could not but affect the King her Son. They who have endeavour'd to vindicate her by the little Probability there is, that a Princeſs of ſo high a Rank ſhould ſo far forget herſelf, did not conſider that a few Years before the three Daughters-in-law of *Philip the Fair* had been as careleſs of their Reputation, by the Confeſſion of all the Hiſtorians. 1331.

Birth of Prince Edward.

Thus it was that *Edward* began betimes to wipe off the Blemiſhes which had ſullied his *Minority*, and by holding the Reins of the Government, gave happy Preſages of the Glory and Proſperity of his Reign. For a farther Addition to the Publick Happineſs, Heaven bleſſed the young Monarch with a Son, whom the Queen brought into the World this Year. He was called *Edward* after his Father, and became in his Time the moſt illuſtrious and the moſt accompliſhed Prince *England* had ever produced.

The King forms the Project of conquering Scotland.

After *Edward* had taken upon himſelf the Adminiſtration of Affairs, People were impatient to ſee what Courſe the young Prince would ſteer. His Courage, his Abilities, and his active Spirit, made them believe he would not, like the King his Father, chuſe a Life of Indolence and Idleneſs. It was much more likely he would tread in the Steps of his Grandfather *Edward* I. *France* and *Scotland* were equally concerned to obſerve his firſt Proceedings. *France* might be apprehenſive that he would renew his Pretenſions to the Crown,

1331. Crown, which *Philip de Valois* had obtained to his Prejudice. *Scotland* had no less Reason to fear that he would break through the dishonourable Treaty wherein the Queen his Mother and *Mortimer* had ingaged him during his *Nonage*. Though the King of *Scotland* was his Brother-in-law, it was well known in those Days as well as now, that the Bond of Affinity is not always a sufficient Bar to the Ambition of Princes. The Truth is, *Edward* had in View these two grand Designs. But it was not possible for him to ingage at once in two so considerable Undertakings. He took the Resolution therefore to begin with *Scotland*, that he might after he had subdued that Kingdom, attack *France* with the united Forces of the two Nations which divided *Great Britain*.

The Peace concluded two Years before with *Robert Bruce*, seemed to lay an insuperable Obstacle in his Way. But ambitious Princes always find Pretences enough when the Business is to gratify their Passion. *Edward* had one ready which to him appeared just, or at least sufficient to authorize his Attempt upon *Scotland*. This was, that he had been betrayed by his Mother and her *Ministers* in the late Treaty made with *Robert Bruce*. But how specious soever this Reason might seem to him, he did not think proper to take the Advantage of it, till he was sure of succeeding in his Enterprise. To compass his Ends, he made use of as his Instrument *Edward Baliol*, Son of that *John Baliol* whom *Edward* I. had placed on the Throne of *Scotland*, and had afterwards deposed as a Punishment for his pretended Rebellion. It was now thirty-eight Years since his Father was dethroned. After so long an Interval, the Son who since the Death of his Father led an obscure Life in *France*, little expected to see the King of *England* press him to assert his Right to the Crown of *Scotland*. This however was what *Edward* caused to be insinuated to him by the Lord *Beaumont*, who since his Banishment sojourned in *France*. *Beaumont* represented to him that he had a fair Opportunity to mount the Throne of *Scotland*, usurped by the *Bruces*: That *David*'s Minority afforded him a Juncture which would not easily occur again: In fine,

He makes use of Baliol *to compass his Ends.*
Boeth.
Knighton.
Walsing.

He stirs him up to assert his Right, and promises to aid him.

fine, that the King of *England* was inclined to ſecond his Endeavours. *Baliol* lent a ready Ear to ſo pleaſing a Propoſal; and to be certain how far he might rely upon the King, came into *England*, where he kept himſelf concealed. During that Time, he treated with *Edward*, by the Mediation of *Beaumont*, about the Terms on which he was to engage in this Buſineſs. *Edward*'s Hiſtorian labours heartily to vindicate the King in a Proceeding ſo contrary to Sincerity and the Treaty lately made with *Scotland*. But they who are not concerned in defending his Reputation, will hardly be able to help owning that on this Occaſion, Ambition was the ſole or real Motive of his Conduct. It is but too probable that the Proſpect of an Acquiſition, ſuch as that of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, made him get over the Scruples he might have on that Account. I ſhall give Proofs of it hereafter which make it more than probable. 1331. Barnes.

The two Parties came to an Agreement without much ado. *Baliol* thought he could not purchaſe at too dear a Rate a Crown to which he would never have dared to aſpire, without being backed with a powerful Aſſiſtance. On the other Side *Edward*, who minded his own more than the Concerns of *Baliol*, and intended to reap all the Benefit of this Enterprize, made no Scruple to promiſe ſtill more than *Baliol* durſt have hoped for. The Articles of their Agreement were no ſooner ſettled, but the *Engliſh* Nobles were privately given to underſtand that in ſerving *Baliol* they would do what was agreeable to the King. There needed no more to engage in his Party thoſe who having received the Grants of Lands in *Scotland* from *Edward* I, had afterwards loſt them by the *Revolutions* which happened in that Kingdom. Beſides theſe Succors, *Baliol* might alſo depend in *Scotland* it ſelf, upon the Aſſiſtance of the old Friends of his Family, who found it their Intereſt to ſupport him. And indeed, the placing this Prince on the Throne was the only Way to come at the Offices and Poſts they were excluded from after *Robert Bruce* became King. Baliol *prepares for his Expedition.*

Whilſt

1331. Edward *pretends to keep the Peace with* Scotland. Act. Pub. IV. 529.

Whilſt *Baliol* was getting ready, *Edward* made as if he would punctually obſerve the Peace with *Scotland*, and iſſued upon that Account ſeveral Orders, which were not well executed. He even publiſhed a Proclamation againſt ſuch as had engaged in the Service of *Baliol*. But this was not done till they were juſt ſetting out, and till it was too late to ſtop them. His only Aim was to make the Publick believe that he had no Hand in the Undertaking, though in Effect he was the Author of it.

1332. Baliol *lands in* Scotland. Boeth. Buchan. Knigthton *He gains four Battles.*

As ſoon as *Baliol* was in a Readineſs, he imbarked with his little Army, conſiſting but of two Thouſand five Hundred Men, and went and landed at *Kinghorn* near *Perth*, from whence he ſent back his Ships. He was willing by that to let his Troops ſee that they had nothing to truſt to but their Valour. Mean while his Preparations could not be carried on ſo privately but the *Scots* had ſome Intelligence of them. Hardly were his Men landed, when he heard that *Alexander Seaton* was coming to give him Battle at the Head of ten Thouſand Men. All Means of retreating being taken from the *Engliſh*, they had no Hopes of Safety but in Victory. Accordingly having expected the coming of their Enemies with a noble Reſolution, they fought with that uncommon Bravery, that the *Scotch* General with an Army much Superiour was ſhamefully and entirely routed. The Earl of *Fife* who was cloſe after *Seaton*, with an Army ſtill more numerous, wanting to be revenged, met with no better Succeſs. After theſe two Victories, *Baliol* having advanced farther into the Country, met with another Body of *Scotch* Troops, whom he likewiſe defeated. Five Days after he fought *Nigel Bruce*, who came to attack him with ten Thouſand Men. In this laſt Action he gave no Quarter, becauſe he would not be incumbered with Priſoners.

He becomes Maſter of Perth.

Four Battles loſt in ſo ſhort a Space, having thrown the *Scots* into the utmoſt Conſternation, *Baliol* had Time to beſiege *Perth*, called alſo St. *John's Town*, of which he eaſily became Maſter. He found there a great Quantity of Warlike Stores and Proviſions, which he ſtood in extreme need of, in order to be in a Condition to make farther

ther Progreſs. His Affairs obliging him to be at a Diſtance from *Perth*, *Patrick Dunbar* Earl of *March*, took the Advantage of his Abſence, and laid Siege to that Town. But upon the firſt News of *Baliol*'s marching to relieve it, he haſtily quitted the Siege, though his Army was ſuperiour in Number: Such Terrour had their former Loſſes ſtruck into the *Scots*. 1332.

Baliol's Good-Fortune failed not to produce the Effects which uſually attend Succeſs. Great Numbers of Lords and Gentlemen of the Country came in and ſwore Fealty to him. This Defection, which threatned King *David* with a greater, obliged the young Prince to fly for Refuge with his Queen into *France*, not being ſafe any longer in their own Kingdom. In the mean Time, to forward the Ruin of *Scotland*, *Edward* managed it ſo that ſeveral private Perſons fitted out a Fleet in their own Name to go and give Chace to that which the *Scots* had put to Sea, and which was their laſt Shift. The Loſs of this Fleet, which was deſtroyed by the *Engliſh*, quite confounded the Friends of King *David*. The Earl of *Fife*, who was one of the Chief, ſubmitted to the Conqueror, and his Example was followed by many Others. The good Succeſs determined *Baliol* to cauſe himſelf to be crowned. The Ceremony was performed at *Scone*, the uſual Place of the Inauguration of the Kings.

David *King of* Scotland *retires into* France.

The Scotch *Fleet deſtroyed by the* Engliſh.

Baliol *crowned.*

The new King was no ſooner on the Throne, but in Order to perform the Treaty he had made with the King of *England*, he did him Homage for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, in the ſame manner as his Father had done it to *Edward* I, that is, with all the Circumſtances which might fully denote an entire Subjection. In the *Letters-Patents* which he ordered to be drawn up, he ſaid expreſſly, that it was with the Conſent of the King of *England*, and the Aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh* that he had recovered the Poſſeſſion of his Inheritance, of which he ſuppoſed, contrary to Fact, that *John* his Father had been deprived by *Robert Bruce*. Moreover he yielded up to the King of *England*, for the Succours he had received from him, the Town and Caſtle of *Berwick* which were ſtill in the Hands of King *David*.

He does Homage to Edward *for* Scotland.

He gives up Berwick. Act. Pub. IV. 536. 539.

1332. *David.* He offered likewise to marry *Joanna*, Sister of *Edward*, if the Marriage of that Princess with *David Bruce* could be annulled. Lastly, he promised to furnish the King his Sovereign with *Aids* of Men and Money whenever required. All these Circumstances plainly make appear that *Edward* was at the Bottom of this Expedition, how much soever his Historians may labour to clear him.

Edward *levies an Army on pretence of Troubles in* Ireland; Whilst *Baliol* was taken up in pushing his Conquests in *Scotland*, *Edward* had called a Parliament in order to demand a *Subsidy*. His Pretence was certain Troubles in *Ireland*, which he represented to be of so dangerous a Consequence, that there was a Necessity of sending an Army thither. The *Subsidy* was readily granted. But whilst the Troops designed for that Expedition were upon the March in order to go and imbark, they received Orders to advance towards the Borders of *Scotland*. *Edward* having represented to the Parliament, that it was dangerous to leave the *Northern* Counties without an Army, whilst their Neighbours were in Arms, and affirmed, that his Presence was necessary in those Parts, it was resolved that the *Irish* Expedition should be put off to some other Time. Apparently, the Parliament did not suffer themselves to be deceived, but were willing to shut their Eyes voluntarily, that they might not obstruct the King's Designs.

but sends it to Scotland.

1333. *He complains that the* Scots *have broke the Treaty of Peace.* Act. Pub. IV. 552. In the mean Time *Edward*, finding that by the Rapidity of *Baliol*'s Conquests, his Project succeeded to his Wish, immediately threw off the Mask. He began upon frivolous Pretences to complain that the *Scots* had violated the Treaty of Peace. He must needs have been in great want of good Reasons, since he made use of one so very unlikely, in the Circumstances *Scotland* was in. The Regent King *David* had left in *Scotland*, spared neither Excuses, nor Intreaties, nor Submissions to divert the impending Storm; but all to no Purpose. *Edward*, who had formed the Design of taking *Berwick*, soon laid Siege to the Town. He carried it on so briskly, that he obliged the Governour to sign a Capitulation, whereby he engaged to surrender the Place, if it was not relieved by such a Day. During

that

that Time, the Regent, seeing *Berwick* could not be saved without exerting his utmost, had levied an Army, and was advancing with all Speed to give the *English* Battle. *Edward*, who had received notice of it, went and expected his coming at *Halydon-Hill*, where was fought a bloody Battle which ended in the entire Rout of the *Scotch* Army. Seven *Scotch* Earls were slain on the Spot, with nine Hundred Knights, and four Thousand Gentlemen, besides thirty-two Thousand common Soldiers, if we may believe the *English* Historians. But the *Scotch* own but ten Thousand, which doubtless is nearest the Truth. This Victory was followed by the surrender of *Berwick*, which the King annexed for ever to the Crown of *England*.

1333. *He becomes Master of* Berwick. *The Battle of* Halydon. ibid. *p.* 571.

The Success of this Campaign having answered *Edward*'s Expections, he returned into his own Dominions, leaving with *Baliol* a Body of Troops to compleat the Reduction of *Scotland*. Reinforced with these Succours, *Baliol* took several Towns more, after which he held his first Parliament at *Edenborough*. He got whatever had been done in Favour of the King of *England* confirmed and ratified. Moreover, all the *English* Lords who had served him, had their Lands restored which they had lost in *Scotland*, or obtained other Estates in Lieu of them. All the *Acts* of Parliament passed in the Reign of *Robert Bruce* were annulled, as not having been made by a lawful Authority. *Baliol* was not satisfied with having shown his Gratitude to *Edward* by giving up *Berwick*, and doing him Homage, but resigned to him likewise *Roxburgh*, *Jedburgh*, *Selkirk*, *Dumfries*, and the Castle of *Edenborough*, as a Requital, as he said himself in his Letters, for the Assistance he had received from him for the recovering his Dominions.

Baliol *holds his first Parliament at* Edenborough. Act. Pub. IV 590, *to* 595, 614 *He gives up several Places to* Edward.

This voluntary *Homage*, and these extraordinary *Alienations*, made him lose the Esteem and Affections of his new Subjects. It was easy for them to see that *Baliol* was but a Tool made use of by *Edward* to render himself Master of *Scotland*. In this Belief, they resolved to shake off the Yoke of their new King, who so visibly betrayed the

1334. *The* Scots *rebel against him.* Buchan. Boeth.

1334. *He is surprized and driven out of* Scotland.

Intereſts of the Nation. Some of the great Men taking the Advantage of this univerſal Reſolution, put themſelves at the Head of a Body of Male-contents, and went in queſt of *Baliol*, who expected nothing leſs than to be attacked. They came upon him unawares, defeated him, and reduced him to the Neceſſity of eſcaping on a Horſe without a Saddle to *Carliſle*, from whence he ſent his Protector Word of the Misfortunes which had befallen him.

Ad. Merim.

At the ſame Time *Edward* had ſummoned a Parliament, to whom he had communicated the Deſign which he ſaid he had formed of going to the *Holy Land* with the King of *France* and ſeveral other *Chriſtian* Princes. But the News of the Revolution happened in *Scotland* made him alter his pretended Project. As ſoon as he had obtained the *Aid* of Money which he demanded, he marched towards that Kingdom at the Head of a numerous Army, and penetrated without Oppoſition to the *Northern* Counties, whilſt the *Scotch* Army lay encamped in ſuch a manner that it was not poſſible to attack them. So that for want of having an Enemy to deal with, he left *Scotland* and returned into *England*. Hardly had he reached the Borders when *Dunbar*, who commanded the *Scotch* Army, ſallying out of his Retreats, took ſome Places from the *Engliſh*. As the Seaſon would not permit the King to go in Queſt of his Enemies, he put his Troops into Winter-Quarters, and that he might not be at too great a Diſtance, reſolved to paſs the Winter at *Roxburgh*.

Edward *marches into* Scotland *and ravages the Country.*

1335. *Another Expedition into* Scotland.

In the Spring he attacked *Scotland* by Sea and Land. He even advanced as far as the *Northern* Ocean. But he reaped no great Benefit from this Incurſion, there being no keeping the *North* Parts of *Scotland* without a ſtanding Army always upon the Spot, ſuperiour to that of the *Scots*. So that finding he could not get them to come to a Battle, he ſtaid ſome Time at *Perth*, whilſt the Earl of *Cornwal* his Brother ravaged the *Weſtern* Counties of that unfortunate Kingdom. It is true, the *Scots* got the better of five hundred *Engliſh* Archers who ſuffered themſelves to be ſurprized. They took Priſoner likewiſe the Earl of *Namur*,

Namur, and the Prince his Brother, who ſerved in *Edward*'s Army. But this laſt Advantage proved fatal to them, as it was the Occaſion of their loſing the Earl of *Murray* Regent of the Kingdom. This Earl, who was ſo generous as to give his two Priſoners their Liberty, having carried his Civilities a little too far in waiting upon them himſelf to the Frontiers, had the Misfortune to be taken by a Party of the Garriſon of *Roxburgh*. This Accident added to the Loſſes the *Scots* had already ſuſtained, that of a good General and a very able Regent. 1335.

The Regent of Scotland *taken by the* Engliſh

In the mean Time the Pope and King of *France* were uſing their Intereſt, though indirectly, for King *David*, by endeavouring to turn the *Engliſh* Arms another Way. Whilſt *Edward* was at *Perth*, he received Ambaſſadors from *France*, who, jointly with the Pope's *Nuntio*, preſſed him to perform his Engagement to carry his Arms into *Paleſtin*. He eaſily perceived that their ſole Intent was to divert him from the War with *Scotland*. So that, to cut off all farther Sollicitation, he roundly told the Ambaſſadors of *Philip*, that by God's Grace, he was in a Condition to make War againſt the *Infidels*, without their Maſter's Aid, as ſoon as he had finiſhed the Conqueſt of *Scotland*. This Anſwer having let the *Scots* ſee that he was fully bent not to put an End to the War till he was abſolute Maſter of the Kingdom, the greateſt Part of them voluntarily ſubmitted, plainly perceiving, it was not poſſible for them to hold out any longer. They who took this Courſe obtained favourable Terms enough; but there were ſome who choſe rather to be expoſed to the laſt Extremities, than ſubmit to the Yoke of the *Engliſh*. After the Campaign was over, *Edward* returned in Triumph to *England*, having given Orders for the fortifying again *Perth*, *Edenborough*, *Sterling*, and left the Government of *Scotland* to the Earl of *Athol*.

The Pope and King of France *try to divert* Edward *from the War with* Scotland.

The chief Scots *ſubmit to* Edward.

He returns to England.

The new General who, though a *Scotchman*, had ſided with *Edward*, in order to revenge ſome Affronts he had received from his Countrymen, had no ſooner the Command of the *Engliſh* Army, but he went and laid Siege to *Kildrummy*, *Dunbar*, and *Douglaſs*, who commanded the *Scotch*

The Engliſh *are beaten.*

1335. *Scotch* Forces, posted to its Relief; and though their Army was not near so numerous, they defeated and slew the Earl of *Athol*, and relieved the Town. This Success having put fresh Courage into the *Scots*, they came together from all Parts under the Conduct of these two Generals, who made a very considerable Progress.

1336. Edward *ravages* Scotland, *and returns.* *Edward*, who thought he had sufficiently tamed the *Scots*, fell into a sort of a Fury upon the News of this fresh Revolt. As soon as the Season would permit, he marched a fourth Time into the Heart of *Scotland*, and ravaged in a merciless manner the Counties that had declared against him. In returning, he burnt the Town of *Aberdeen* to Ashes, and some other Places of less Note; and having left a small Army with *Baliol*, he went back to his Dominions, where Affairs of greater Moment called him. This was *Edward*'s last Expedition into *Scotland*. It was Time for that unhappy Kingdom to enjoy some Respite. Since *Edward* I had begun to attack the *Scots*, there had been so much *Scotch* Blood spilt, that one cannot but be amazed that after so many Losses, the People of that Country should still be able to contend for their Liberty.

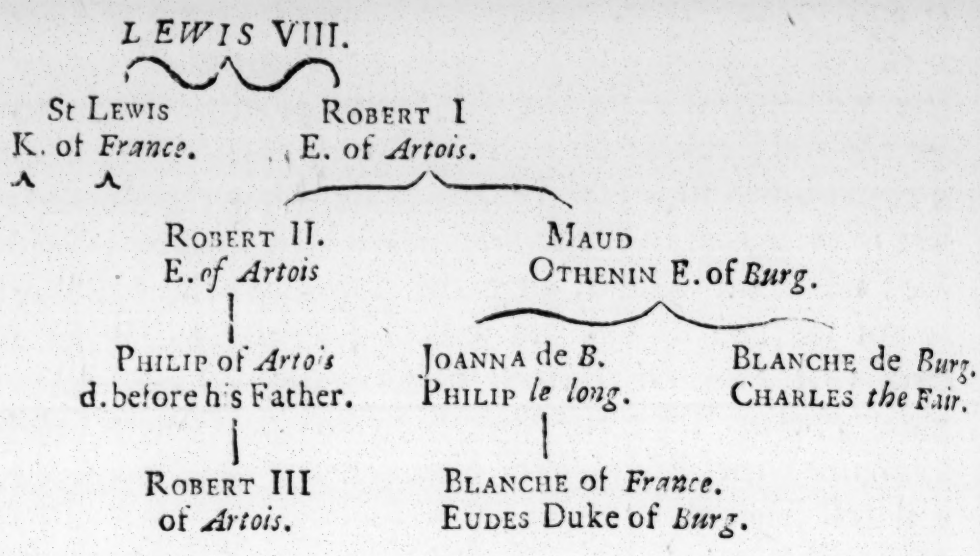
Edward's *Design against* France. *Edward*'s four Expeditions into *Scotland* had gained him no doubt a great deal of Reputation. But it seems that one might have eclipsed some Part of his Glory, by the consideration of the Superiority of his Troops, more numerous, better disciplined, and more amply provided with all Things necessary, than those of the *Scots*. He was willing therefore to demonstrate in a larger and more noble Field, that he was not afraid to face the greatest Dangers, and to measure Swords with more formidable Enemies. Accordingly, neglecting from henceforth *Scotland*, which he believed to be sufficiently subdued, and which afforded him no more Laurels to gather, he resolved to attack *France*, the most powerful State of all *Europe*, and to do his Utmost to wrest the Crown from *Philip de Valois*. I have already mentioned his Claim to that Kingdom, from which he was excluded by Virtue of the *Salick-Law*. As he affirmed that this *Law* was misunderstood;

underſtood, and as that was the Origin and Cauſe of a long and bloody War, which frequently brought *France* into extreme Danger, there would be a ſort of Neceſſity before we entered upon the Particulars of this War, to ſhow the real Foundation of it. But as this Matter cannot be explained in a few Words, I muſt beg the Reader's Leave to refer him to the *Diſſertation* which ſhall be placed at the End of this Reign, that the Thread of the Hiſtory may not be interrupted. It will ſuffice here to ſay in a Word, that *Edward* affirmed that the *Salick-Law*, in excluding *Females* from the Succeſſion to the Crown, did not exclude their *Male-Iſſue*, from whence he inferred that the neareſt Male Relation ought to ſucceed. 1336.

The Collection of Publick Acts contains ſeveral Pieces which plainly make appear, that although *Edward* had ſeemed to acquieſce in the Judgement given againſt him in *France*, he had in his Head ſome great Deſign, and that it was againſt *France*. Amongſt others, there is a Letter to the Inhabitants of *Bayonne*, wherein he poſitively promiſes them never to make Peace with *France*, without including them, though at that Time he was not in War with that Crown. It was not therefore *Robert d' Artois*, expelled *France* and ſheltered in *England*, that inſpired him with the Thoughts of invading *France*, as all the Hiſtorians unanimouſly aſſure us. I do not deny but that *Robert d' Artois*, diſguſted at *Philip de Valois*, helped by his Councils, and it may be by the Conſideration of the Friends he had in *France*, to make him haſten the Execution of his Project. But ſince *Robert d' Artois* is generally reckoned the Author of this Undertaking, and of the Calamities which *France* ſuffered on that Occaſion, it will not be improper to inform the Reader of the Reaſons which that Prince, deſcended from *Lewis* VIII, thought he had to complain of *Philip*. To that End, it will be neceſſary to know ſomething of the *Genealogy* of the Houſe of *Artois*.

LEWIS

1336.



State of the Earl of Artois's *Case.*

Robert I. Earl of *Artois* Son of *Lewis* VIII King of *France*, had a Son and a Daughter, namely, *Robert* and *Maud*. *Robert* II was Earl of *Artois*, and *Maud* married *Othenin* Earl of *Burgundy*, by whom she had two Daughters, *Joanna* and *Blanch*, who were Wives to *Philip le long* and *Charles the Fair*, Kings of *France*. The first had a Daughter called *Blanch*, married to *Eudes* Duke of *Burgundy*. *Robert* II had but one Son, named *Philip*, who dying before the Earl his Father, left *Robert* his Son the third of that Name, but who was not Earl of *Artois*. *Robert* III claimed the Earldom as Grandson to *Robert* II, and the next Male-Heir. But *Maud* his Great-Aunt, maintained that the Succession belonged to her as Sister of *Robert* II, and nearer of Kin by one Degree than *Robert* III. The Court of *Peers* decided the Matter in Favour of *Maud*, whose two Daughters were married to the two younger Sons of *Philip the Fair*. *Robert d' Artois* acquiesced in the *Sentence* during *Philip*'s Life, and all the Reign of *Lewis Hutin*; but took Arms in the Regency of *Philip le long*, and got Possession of *Artois*. When from Regent *Philip* was become King, the Affair of *Artois* was again brought before the Court of *Peers*, and decided once more in favour of *Maud* his Mother-in-law. After the Death of *Charles the Fair*, *Robert d' Artois* was of all the Great Men of *France* the Person which bestirred himself

the

the moſt zealouſly, in order to procure the Crown for *Philip de Valois* his Brother-in-law, and maintained the moſt ſtrenuouſly the Authority of the *Salick Law*. He was in Hopes to prepoſſeſs him by that Means in his Favour, with regard to the Earldom of *Artois*, and that the *Salick-Law* being admitted as to the Crown, all the *Fiefs* held of it would be ſubject to the ſame Law. So that depending upon this, and the Advantage he had of being Brother-in-law of the new King, he revived the Suit, and produced certain Letters under the *Great-Seal*, which he pretended to make uſe of. But *Philip* cauſed the Letters to be examined ſo ſtrictly that they were diſcovered to be a Cheat, for which a Gentlewoman of *Artois* who had forged them, was ſeverely puniſhed. This *Act*, on which *Robert* founded his Claim, having been rejected, the Earldom of *Artois* was adjudged to *Blanch* Daughter of *Philip le Long*, by virtue of the Right ſhe had from *Maud* her Grand-Mother. *Robert* vexed to the Heart, flew out into a Paſſion with the King, and upbraided him in ſuch a Manner as touched him to the Quick. 'Tis ſaid he proceeded ſo far as to threaten him, the which made the King reſolve to proſecute him with the utmoſt Rigour. He ordered him to be ſummoned before the *Peers*; and having got him to be condemned for Non-Appearance, he cauſed the Sentence to be publickly read in the Streets of *Paris*. *Robert* withdrew into *Hainault*: But *Philip* not letting him reſt there, he took the deſperate Courſe of going and caſting himſelf into the Protection of the King of *England*. He found that Monarch finiſhing the War with *Scotland*, and meditating his Attempt upon *France*. In all Likelihood, he contributed by his Sollicitations to forward the Execution of that Project. 1336.

1337. Edward *makes an Alliance with ſeveral Princes,*

So important a War could not be taken in Hand, without extraordinary Preparations, and the Help of divers Alliances which might balance the Superiority *France* had then over *England*. *Edward* had already ſecured in his Intereſts the Emperor *Lewis of Bavaria*, the Duke of *Brabant*, the Earls of *Guelder* and *Hainault* his Brother-in-law, the Archbiſhop of *Cologn*, and ſeveral other *German* Princes.

1337. He omitted not even the private Succours of divers Lords of *Germany*, *Flanders*, *Holland*, *Brabant*, *Gascoign*, who were to furnish him with a Number of *Horse* in proportion to the Sums he gave them. All these Troops drawn together, and joined to the *English*, would have made a very numerous Army. But these Alliances were not near so advantagious to him as that procured him by *Robert de Artois*, with *James de Arteville*, a Brewer of *Ghent*. The Credit of that Burgher was so great in *Flanders*, that he had made the principal Cities revolt against the Earl*. This Prince was even reduced to the Necessity of flying for Refuge into *France*, whilst *Philip* who had ingaged to restore him, should be able to accomplish his Promise. *Edward*, taking the Advantage of this Juncture, had offered his Protection to the *Flemings*, who gladly accepted his Offer, in the Apprehensions they were in of seeing themselves oppressed by *Philip*. This Alliance was so much the more beneficial to him, as besides the Succours he might expect from the *Flemings*, it would afford him the Conveniency of drawing his Army together in *Flanders*, and be a Means to make himself a Way into the Enemy's Country from that Quarter. The Parliament, who had approved of his Design, having granted him large *Subsidies* to carry it on, he raised one of the finest Armies that had ever been levied in *England*. Whilst all his Allies were getting ready, he sent Part of his Troops to the Assistance of the *Flemings*, whom their Earl was vigorously attacking with the *French* Succours. Upon the Arrival of these Troops, *Guy* Brother of the Earl of *Flanders*, who had posted himself in the Isle

Act. Pub. IV. 1335. 1337.

and with James de Arteville.

Victory of the English *in* Flanders. Mezerai.

* This Man by undertaking to be Patron to the People, had all things at his Command. He never walked the Streets without 60 or 80 lusty Yeomen at his Heels, who upon a Sign given them, killed every Man they met who was not a Friend to this *James*. He collected and spent as he pleased the Earl's Rents and Profits; he banished all the Lords whom he suspected to be the Earl's Friends: And in every Town he had Soldiers in Pay, to spy and give him Notice of any Person who had a Design against him, whom he never left till he had banished or destroyed. He was murdered at length in 1345, by the Populace, for endeavouring to make King *Edward*'s Son Earl of *Flanders*. *Barnes*.

Isle of *Cadsant*, was defeated and made Prisoner. This successful Beginning of the *English* Arms broke the Measures of the Earl of *Flanders* to such a Degree, that the Cities, which till then had stood by him, declared against him. 1337.

Whilst *Edward* was making his Preparations for this momentous War, which was the Object of all his Cares, he summoned a Parliament: The main Business of which was to settle the *Woollen Trade*, which was of great Importance to the Kingdom. In this Parliament, he created Prince *Edward* his eldest Son *Duke of Cornwal*, the First in *England* that bore the Title of Duke *. *Prince* Edward *made Duke of* Cornwal.

As soon as the King saw himself almost ready to begin the War, he wrote to the *Pope* and *Cardinals*, to justify his Expedition against *France*. He complained in his Letters, that although after the Death of *Charles the Fair* his Uncle, the Crown was devolved to him as next Heir, he had been deprived of it by a Rash and unjust Sentence: That the Ambassadors he had sent to *Paris* to demand the Crown, not only had been refused to be heard, but were also threatened and in danger of their Lives: That by taking from a *Minor* the Crown which of Right belonged to him, the *Peers* of *France* had acted the Part of Robbers rather than of Judges; and that he protested against whatever had been done during his *Nonage*. Then he said, that *Philip de Valois*, not content with usurping the Kingdom of *France*, had unjustly seized *Guienne* and the Earldom of *Ponthieu*, before he had declared War, and had without Cause united these two Provinces to the Crown: That he had abetted the *Scotch* Rebellion, instead of siding with him, as the Edward *writes to the Pope against* Philip. Act. Pub. IV. 826.

* He was invested with this Dukedom, *by a Wreath on his Head, a Ring on his Finger, and a Silver Verge.* Since which time, the eldest Son of the King of *England*, is born *Duke of Cornwal*. At the same Solemnity were created six Earls and twenty *Knights*, among whom, says *Speed*, was Sir *Thomas de la More*, who wrote the Life of *Edward* II, and is often quoted by *Rapin*. He wrote in *French*, but has been frequently published in *English*, by our general *Chroniclers*. He treats very largely of that King's Sufferings.

1337. Ties of Blood obliged him: Lastly, That by his whole Behaviour, he had made appear that he was his mortal Enemy, and that he beheld with extreme Regret every Thing tending to the Honour of *England*.

Philip's *Answer.* These Letters being communicated to *Philip*, he answered, That by the *Salick-Law*, and the Judgement of the *Peers*, *Edward* was excluded from the Succession to the Crown of *France*, to which besides he could pretend no manner of Right, since he was born out of the Kingdom: That for his Part, not only the *French* had received him for their King, but *Edward* himself had acquiesced in their Judgement: That the Homage he had done in Person and confirmed by his *Letters Patents*, was a clear Evidence that he was himself convinced how groundless his Pretensions were. *Edward* replied That, the Protestation he had made in the Presence of his *Council* before he went and did Homage, was a Bar against its being any Prejudice to him: That the Fear of losing his Lands in *France*, was the sole Motive of his doing it; and that that Reason, added to the Consideration of his *Minority*, was more than enough to invalidate whatever had been done hitherto. Of these two Reasons the first would hardly have been admitted in a Court of *Judicature*: but it was not there this famous Trial was to be decided. In the mean time, *Edward* willing to let his Allies see he was too far ingaged in the Contest to draw back, ordered the Duke of *Brabant* to demand the Crown of *France* in his Name. At the same Time he made him his Lieutenant-General for that whole Kingdom, with Orders to the *French*, whom he called his Subjects, to pay him Obedience.

Edward's *Reply.*

Edward *demands the Crown of* France *by the Duke of* Brabant; *p.* 815.

The Pope sends two Legates into England. ibid. *p.* 826. To try to prevent the Calamities which a Quarrel of this Nature might bring upon *Christendom*, *Benedict* XII, who then filled the *Papal* Throne, used all his Interest with the two Kings. But as *Edward* was the Aggressor, the Pope sent first to him two *Cardinals*, with Instructions to do all that lay in their Power to perswade him to Peace. These two *Legates* discharged their Commission with great Zeal, and were very urgent with *Edward* to put the Affair in Negotiation. They could not however help showing some Partiality

Partiality in Favour of *France*, becauſe of the Alliance which *Edward* had made with the Emperor the Pope's profeſſed Enemy. Nevertheleſs the King let them know that their Mediation was acceptable to him, and that he would make a Peace provided Terms were offered him anſwerable to his Right. He even ingaged to defer the Execution of his Deſigns till next *March*. But this was no great Favour, ſince it was *December* then. He ſpent the reſt of the Winter in getting ready his Army and Fleet, and eſpecially in ſtrengthening the League by new Allies. Among whom, we find in *the Collection of Publick Acts*, the Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, the Duke of *Auſtria*, and the *Dauphin* of *Viennois*, who are all three reckoned by the *Hiſtorians* among the Allies of *France*. This gives Room to ſuppoſe, they were at firſt ingaged with *Edward*, but that afterwards they ſuffered themſelves to be gained by *Philip*. The *Dauphin* had entertained the Project of getting his Dominions erected into a Kingdom: The which in all Probability was the Reaſon of his having ſided with *Edward*, hoping without doubt that he would uſe his Intereſt with the Emperor to procure him what he wanted. This Project coming to Nothing, he eſpouſed the Quarrel of *France*. The Earl of *Hainault*, being willing alſo to enter into the League, deſired that *Edward* might have the Title of *Vicar of the Empire*, in order to have a Pretence to join Forces with him, as General of the Emperor's Army. To ſatisfy the Earl, and in hopes of bringing by that Means other *German* Princes to the ſame Reſolution; *Edward* was pleaſed to demand that Dignity of the Emperor.

1337. Edward *grants a ſhort Truce.* Act. Pub. IV. 833, 838.

Edward *prepares for War.*

The Dauphin *of* Viennois *would erect his Country into a Kingdom.* Act. Pub. IV. 839.

The Earl of Hainault *enters into the League.*

When he had taken all the Precautions which Prudence ſuggeſted to him, he ſet out from *England*, with a Fleet of one hundred and fifty Sail, and ſteered his Courſe towards *Antwerp*, whither Affairs of Moment called him. It was neceſſary he ſhould be near his Allies, that he might take with them all proper Meaſures for the Execution of his Deſigns. Although his Ambaſſadors had concluded Alliances in his Name with ſeveral Princes, there were ſtill a great many Things to be ſettled with them before they could aſſemble their Forces. This was properly what retarded

1338. Edward *comes to* Antwerp. July.

1338. tarded for several Months the Beginning of the Campaign. But this Delay was not entirely without its Use. During that Time, *Edward* went and conferred at *Cologn* with the Emperor *, who ordered a *Patent* to be drawn up constituting him *Vicar of the Empire* as he had desired. This Sort of Favour was accompanied with the Promise of a powerful Assistance, a Promise which was afterwards very lamely performed. The Cities of *Flanders* having entered into the League by Means of *James de Arteville*, were grown apprehensive they should one Day be abandoned to the Vengeance of their Earl and the King of *France*. It was therefore necessary that *Edward* should show himself to the *Flemings*, that he might hearten them by his Presence. With this View he took a Journy to *Ghent* and granted the principal Cities several Privileges, relating to their Trade with *England*. During this Interval, he promised the Marques of *Juliers* to make him a *Peer* of *England*, which he did afterwards, by creating him Earl of *Cambridge* *. His Power as *Vicar of the Empire*, enabled him to erect the Earldom of *Guelder*, into a *Dutchy*, and to grant the City of *Cologn* divers Privileges, by which Means he

He is made Vicar of the Empire.

1339. *He promises to make the Duke of* Juliers *a Peer of* England.

* At this Interview, two Thrones being erected in the open Market-Place, one for the Emperor, the other for the King; the Emperor took his Place first, and King *Edward* sat down by him. There were Present 4 Great *Dukes*, 3 *Archbishops*, and 6 *Bishops*, 37 *Earls*, and according to the *Heralds*, 17000 *Barons*, *Bannerets*, *Knights*, and *Squires*. The Emperor having his Scepter in his Right-Hand, and the Globe in his Left, and a *Knight* of *Almain* holding over his Head a naked Sword, his Imperial Majesty did then and there declare the Disloyalty, Falsehood, and Villany of the King of *France*; and thereupon defied him, and pronounced that he and his Adherents had forfeited the Protection and Favour of the Empire. And then he constituted King *Edward Vicar-General of the Empire*, granting unto him full and absolute Power over all on this Side as far as *Cologn*; whereof he gave him his *Imperial Charter* in sight of all that were present. *Jos. Barnes* Life of *Edward* III.

*[1] On the 7th of *May*, 14 *Ed.* 3. and gave him a Grant of 20*l.* a Year payable out of the Issues of *Cambridgeshire*, for the Support of that Dignity: But he never had any Summons to Parliament. He was Queen *Philippa*'s Sister's Son. He died without Male-Issue.

he ſtrengthened his Alliance with the Archbiſhop. Among all his Allies the Duke of *Brabant* gave him the moſt Trouble. That Prince being apprehenſive that the two Monarchs would accommodate Matters at his Expence, it being a common Caſe for great Princes to neglect the Intereſts of the petty Ones who have ſerved them, was willing to ſecure himſelf before he ingaged in the League. The more diffident he was, the more *Edward* laboured to make ſure of his Aſſiſtance. Beſides the Money he furniſhed him on that Occaſion, he gave him Hopes of the Honour of having one Day for his Son-in-law the Duke of *Cornwal*, Heir apparent of the Crown of *England*. Moreover, to make him perfectly eaſy, he was pleaſed to give it under his Hand not to quit *the Low-Countries* till the War was over. 1339.

He borrows Money from all hands. Act. Pub. V. 101.

But all theſe Affairs, though of great Moment, were not the ſole Cauſe of *Edward*'s long Stay in *Brabant*. As the Expence he was at, was exceſſive, he endeavoured during that time to borrow Money of all the Foreign Princes. He did not ſcruple to apply to Private Perſons and take up ſuch Sums as they were willing to lend him, though never ſo ſmall. We even find in *the Collection of Publick Acts*, that he pawned his Crown to the Archbiſhop of *Triers* [for 50,000 *Florins*].

Birth of Prince Lionnel.

During *Edward*'s Stay at *Antwerp*, his Queen was brought to Bed there of a Prince called *Lionnel*. Here likewiſe he received a Letter from the Pope, repreſenting to him in pretty ſtrong Terms the Danger he was expoſing himſelf to by his Alliance with *Lewis of Bavaria*, who ſtood *excommunicated*. At the ſame Time, he upbraided him for undervaluing himſelf in receiving from the Pretended Emperor the Title of *Vicar of the Empire*, ſo much beneath him. But theſe Remonſtrances had little Effect upon his Mind. Though the Pope threatened to proceed to extraordinary *Cenſures* againſt him, he choſe to run that Hazard, rather than interrupt the Execution of his Deſigns.

The Pope's Letters. p. 128.

Edward *enters* Artois.

All Things being ready to open the Campaign, which had been retarded till *September*, *Edward* put himſelf at the

1339. the Head of forty thousand Men, and went and encamped between *Marchienne* and *Doway*. Then he marched towards *le Cambresis*, and halted some time before the Walls of *Cambray*. Here he was informed that *Philip* was advancing with a formidable Army, with Design to give him Battle. As this War was vastly expensive, and as it was his Interest to put an End to it at once, as soon as he had received this Intelligence he passed the *Schelde*, in order to meet his Enemy. A few Days after, the two Armies being encamped pretty near one another, not far from *Vironfosse*, *Philip* sent a *Herald* to offer him Battle, on Condition it should be on a Plain where there was Room enough. *Edward* accepted his Challenge, and left it to him to appoint the Time and Place. The 22d of *October* was pitched upon for the Decision of this famous Battle. But whilst both Sides were preparing with equal Ardour for Battle, *Philip* was discouraged by a Letter he received from *Robert* King of *Naples*. This Prince, who passed for a great *Astrologer*, foretold him he should be worsted, where-ever he fought the *English*. At least this is what several Historians affirm, adding, that upon the Credit of this Prediction *Philip* retired, not daring to hazard a Battle. Others however maintain with more Likelihood, that this Letter would not have been able to bring him to that, if the *Great-Men* who attended him had not cooled his Ardour by more prudent Counsels. Tis said they repre-represented to him, that in the Battle which was going to be fought, he hazarded no less than his Crown; whereas *Edward* ventured only the Lives of Soldiers, the greatest Part of whom were not his own; and that, upon this Remonstrance, he was brought, though with great Reluctance, to give his Enemy this small Advantage. As soon as *Edward* saw there was no Prospect of bringing *Philip* to a Battle, he marched into *Hainault*. In this manner is the Matter related by *Froissard*, whom the *French* charge with being on all Occasions too partial for the *English*. *Nangis* a *French* Historian gives a very different Account, by saying that *Edward* retired first, to avoid running the Risk of a Battle. This is not the only Instance of the like Contra-

Philip offers him Battle, ibid.

He accepts it.

Philip *retires.* Mezerai.

The Reasons of it.

Contradictions among the Hiſtorians. It ſeems however that on this Occaſion it is not likely that *Edward*, who had paſſed the *Schelde* in order to encounter *Philip*, ſhould retire for fear of fighting. But *Philip*'s Reaſons for not hazarding a Battle are very ſtrong. The Honour of a King or General, conſiſts not in Fighting every Time an Opportunity offers, but in doing it only at a proper Seaſon, and in not venturing the Loſs of a Kingdom without extreme Neceſſity. Be this as it will, the firſt Campaign ended without any Bloodſhed, except in *Guienne*, where the two Parties warred againſt one another. But as nothing very remarkable happened there, I ſhall not ſtay to relate the Particulars. 1339.

It was not poſſible for *Edward* to return to *England* ſo ſoon as he deſired, being detained in the *Low-Countries* by a troubleſome Affair which had been managed by underhand Practices. The King of *France*, who beheld with Regret the Advantages his Enemy reaped by his Alliance with the *Flemings*, had found Means, by the Help of his Emiſſaries, to raiſe in the Cities of *Flanders* a Scruple for having taken up Arms againſt their Sovereign Lord. This Scruple, inflamed by the *Eccleſiaſticks*, who for the moſt Part were in the Intereſts of *France*, had already made a deep Impreſſion on the Minds of the People. Perhaps it would have cauſed in *Flanders* ſome *Revolution* prejudicial to *England*, had not *James d' Arteville* found a ready Expedient, by adviſing *Edward* to aſſume the Title of *King of France*. This Propoſal having been debated in the King's *Council*, it was approved of as a proper Means to keep the *Flemings* in the League. And indeed *Edward* reaped from it the Advantage he was made to expect. Purſuant to this Advice he ſtiled himſelf *King of France*, and quartered with his own Arms the *Flower-de-luces* of *France*. He added this *Motto*, *DIEU ET MON DROIT*, * declaring thereby that he put his whole Confidence in God and the Juſtice of his Cauſe. This new Title was not much to be wondered at, ſince all his foregoing Proceed- 1340. Edward *takes the Title of King of* France. Act. Pub. IV. 158. *His Motto.*

* i. e. *God and my Right.*

1340. ings were clear Evidences enough of his Design. Some Time after, he refused *Philip* the Title of King, and forbad all his *Ministers* to give him any other but that of *Earl of Valois*. Besides, he had constituted the Duke of *Brabant* his Lieutenant General in *France*, and by that, had sufficiently shown he looked upon himself as the true King: But he had not yet ventured to take the Name. As soon as he had broke the Ice, on the Score of the *Flemings*, he made no Scruple to use the Title of *King of France* in all *Publick Acts*, and to mark this Year as the first of his new Reign. At the same Time he published a Declaration, notifying to the *French*, that the Kingdom of *France* being devolved to him by the Death of *Charles the Fair*, according to God's Will, which he would not oppose, he was resolved to assume the Government of it. He promised his new Subjects all that was usually promised on the like Occasions, and offered his Protection to such as, after the Example of the *Flemings*, would own him for their Sovereign. The same Day he published a *Manifesto*, containing a particular Account of the Injuries he pretended to have received from *Philip de Valois*, and the Offers of Peace he himself had made, that they might unite their Forces against the *Infidels*.

He publishes a Declaration addressed to the French, Act. Pub. IV. 154.

and a Manifesto *against* Philip.

Though *Edward* had entered into Engagements with the Duke of *Brabant*, whereby he was obliged to stay in the *Low-Countries* till the War should be over, it was not possible for him to stand to his Word. His Affairs necessarily called him into *England*. But to satisfy the Duke, he left him in Hostage four *English* Lords of the highest Rank, besides his Queen and the new-born Prince, who continued at *Antwerp* for Pledges of his Return. After this Affair was thus settled, he passed over into *England*, where he arrived in *February*. Presently after he summoned a Parliament, which, upon granting him a considerable *Subsidy*, obtained from him the Confirmation of *Magna Charta*. Before they broke up, the *Lords* and *Commons* presented an *Address*, praying that the Title of *King of France*, which he used in *Publick Acts*, might have no Influence on the Affairs relating to *England*. This Request

He goes into England

Calls a Parliament.

was

was too reaſonable not to be immediately granted. Although he had not yet one Foot of Land in *France*, this new Title was not diſpleaſing to the *Engliſh*, who fancied their King was become the Greater for it. But Pope *Benedict* was not pleaſed with it at all. He uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to perſwade the King to quit the Title, affirming he had no manner of Right by Reaſon of the *Salick-Law*, concerning which *Philip* had taken Care to inſtruct him to his Advantage. But his Exhortations were to no Purpoſe. 1340.

The Pope exhorts him to quit the Title of King of France. Act. Pub. V. 173.

Although the firſt Campaign had produced no conſiderable Event, *Edward*'s Preparations were a plain Indication that he expected greater Matters from the ſecond. He had increaſed his Fleet to three Hundred Sail of Ships fit for War, and his Army was much more numerous than the former. Every Thing being ready about *Midſummer*, he embarked in order for *Flanders*, though he had Intelligence that the *French* Fleet, conſiſting of four Hundred Sail, waited for him in the way to *Sluys*. His eager Deſire of acquiring Fame, cauſing him to receive the News with more Joy than Surprize, he reſolved to fight his Way through the Enemy, notwithſtanding their Superiority. He met them on the Coaſt of *Flanders* as he had expected, and without Heſitation began the Engagement. This was the greateſt and moſt memorable that had been yet ſeen in thoſe Seas, and the firſt wherein the King of *England* commanded in Perſon. The Ships for the moſt Part grappling one another, both Sides fought without ſtirring, juſt as if they had been at Land, from eight a Clock in the Morning till ſeven at Night. If *Edward*'s Valour filled the Soldiers with Admiration, his Conduct raiſed no leſs Wonder in the Mariners, who were amazed to ſee him give ſuch proper Orders, and with ſo great Foreſight, that one would have thought he had commanded *at Sea* all his Life. The Preſence and Reſolution of the King, who appeared where-ever was the greateſt Danger, encouraged his Men to ſuch a Degree that they fought with an aſtoniſhing Bravery. The *French* behaved on their Part with a great deal of Courage, but after having

Great Preparation in England.

Edward *gains a Victory at Sea.* Act. Pub. V. 195.

1340. France *suffers a great Loss.* ing for several Hours bore the Onsets of the *English*, they saw themselves at last constrained to leap into the Sea to avoid the Sword of their Enemies. Of the whole *French* Fleet but thirty Ships escaped, the Rest being either taken or sunk. So that *Edward*'s Victory could not be more Compleat. The *English* affirm that the *French* lost thirty Thousand Men. It was a good while before *Philip* knew any Thing of this terrible Blow, not a Soul durst carry him the News, till his *Buffoon*, by an unlucky Jest, gave him Room to guess the Matter.

Edward *besieges* Tournay. Act. Pub. V. 197. *Edward*'s good Success in this Engagement, afforded him an Opportunity of landing his Troops peaceably in *Flanders*, where he drew together the finest Army any King of *England* had ever commanded. It consisted of one Hundred and fifty Thousand Men, *English*, *Germans*, *Flemings*, or *Gascons*. With these numerous Forces he went and laid Siege to *Tournay*, after he had detached fifty Thousand Men, under the Conduct of *Robert d' Artois*, who went and posted himself near St. *Omer* to favour the Siege. These last Troops were chiefly made up of the *Militia* of *Flanders*, who knowing nothing of *Military Discipline*, went one Day in a disorderly manner, to the Number of eighteen Thousand, to attack the Suburbs of St. *Omer* with Design to plunder. The Duke of *Burgundy*, who had thrown himself into that Place, not being able to bear this Bravado, sallied out upon them, and slew above three Thousand. This would have been nothing, had it not been attended with a fatal Effect. The same Night, the *Flemish* Troops seized with a *panick* Fear, quitted their Camp in great Disorder, and shamefully retired, some to their own Homes, and others into *Edward*'s Camp. Some have assured us that there was on this Occasion a Battle, wherein *Robert d' Artois* was entirely routed by the Duke of *Burgundy*. But *Froissard*, a Cotemporary Writer, who relates this Event in the manner abovementioned, seems to me more worthy of Credit than those that have wrote since.

Defeat of the Flemings.

Philip *approaches* Tournay. In the mean Time *Philip*, at the Head of an Army much stronger than *Edward*'s, was advancing to the Relief of

of *Tournay*. He was accompanied by the Kings of *Navarre* and *Bohemia*, and attended by all the Nobility of his Kingdom. His Deſign was not however to engage but only to harraſs the Beſiegers, in order to oblige them to raiſe the Siege. *Edward* having quickly perceived *Philip*'s Intent, was very ſenſible how difficult it would be for him to take the Town whilſt the *French* Army ſhould be ſo near him. Accordingly, to oblige his Enemy to alter his Purpoſe, he ſent a *Herald* with a Letter, challenging him to ſingle Combat, or offering to decide their Quarrel by a Hundred againſt a Hundred, or elſe by a Battle between the two Armies. The Letter was directed, *To Philip de Valois*, without any other Title. *Philip* anſwered him, that he had ſeen a Letter addreſſed to one *Philip de Valois*, and as it was not for him, he returned no Anſwer to the Contents; that nevertheleſs he took this Occaſion to let him know, that with God's Help he hoped to drive him in a ſhort Time out of his Territories. 1340. Edward *challenges him.* *His Anſwer.* Act. Pub. V. 198. 199.

It was a hard Matter to make any great Progreſs in the Siege of *Tournay*, by Reaſon of the *French* Army, which never ceaſed Night and Day to harraſs the Beſiegers. *Edward* was three Months before the Town without being much the nearer: Nevertheleſs he could not bear the Thoughts of raiſing the Siege, though he had little Proſpect of ſucceeding. He was in great Perplexity; but was freed from it by *Joanna de Valois* his Mother-in-law, Siſter of the King of *France* and Widow of the late Earl of *Hainault*. This Princeſs, who had retired to the Abbey of *Fontenelle* after the Death of her Husband, came from her Retreat on this Occaſion, in Order to try to accommodate Matters between the two Monarchs, of whom one was her Brother, and the other her Son-in-law. She managed Matters ſo well, that at lenghth ſhe got them to conſent to a Truce, which was to laſt from the 20th of *September* to the 25th of *June* the next Year. It was afterwards prolonged for two Years by the Pope's Mediation. As ſoon as the Truce was ſigned, *Edward* ſet out for *England* with his Queen, who had ſojourned three Years in the *Low-Countries*. She had been delivered there Edward *in great Perplexity.* *Truce between the two Kings.* Edward *returns into* England.

1340. there of two Princes, namely, *Lionnel* [at *Antwerp*], and *John* at *Ghent*, known afterwards by the Name of the Duke of *Lancaster*.

It was a great Mortification to *Edward* to see himself obliged by the Necessity of his Affairs to make a Truce against his Inclination, and which effectually broke all his Measures. Three very urgent Reasons compelled him to take this Step, which seemed so little conformable to his vast Designs. First, the Defection of the Emperor and Duke of *Brabant*, who had both receeded from the League. Secondly, the excessive Charge he must needs have been at in maintaining so numerous an Army, for which the Money that came from *England*, in less Sums then he expected, could not suffice. Lastly, it was only a Truce, which might in some Measure save him the Shame of quitting the Siege he had taken in Hand. These Reasons were not only sufficient to induce him to sign the Truce, but also they indispensably ingaged him to procure some Respite, that he might be able to remedy the Inconveniencies happened by the Fickleness of his Allies, and the Exhausting of his Treasure. As for the Duke of *Brabant*, he decoyed him some Time with the Hopes of the Marriage before-mentioned. He even demanded the Pope's Dispensation for it. But this Affair, whether obstructed by the King himself, or by the Court of *Rome*, came to nothing. Whereupon the Duke of *Brabant* finding himself fooled, withdrew his Troops without breaking however openly with the King. As to the Emperor, the Assistance *Edward* had received from him, was so inconsiderable, that his Falling off would have been no great Loss. But by making a private Peace with *France*, on Pretence that *Edward* had concluded a Truce with *Philip*, he had at the same Time, revoked the *Patent* by which he had appointed *Edward* Vicar General of the Empire. This unexpected Accident, which caused some of the *German* Princes to fall off, obliged *Edward* to take other Measures.

The Emperor and Duke of Brabant *fall off.*

The Emperor revokes his Grant of Vicar General.

But *Edward*'s main Business was to consider how to pay his Debts, which were grown very considerable. Moreover there was a Necessity of finding Means to continue

tinue the War when the Truce ſhould be expired, without running the hazard of falling again into the like Inconveniencies. When he left *England* he had ſettled his Affairs in ſuch a Manner, that he did not queſtion in the leaſt but to receive punctually the Money he had occaſion for to pay his numerous Army. But he was no ſooner ingaged in the Siege of *Tournay*, but contrary to his Expectation he was in Want of Money, and by that Means found himſelf in great Straits. Upon his Arrival at *London*, he openly complained of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, whom he had made his *Prime Miniſter* in his Abſence. He accuſed him of having maliciouſly obſtructed the levying of the *Subſidy* granted by the Parliament, though it was by his Advice and by his Inſtances that he had engaged in the Undertaking. Moreover he complained, that having begun the Siege of *Tournay* upon the Aſſurances which the Archbiſhop had given him that nothing ſhould be wanting, he ſaw himſelf left in the Lurch when he ſtood moſt in need of Aſſiſtance. That the Archbiſhop had not only broke his Word, but had likewiſe oppoſed all the Expedients which had been offered to raiſe Money. In a Word, that he was the ſole Cauſe of the Length and ill Succeſs of the Siege of *Tournay*. The Archbiſhop ſeeing himſelf thus expoſed to the King's Reſentment, who not content with threatening him, had reſolved to puſh him Home, attempted in his Turn to vex him. He complained of an extraordinary Levy of Money made ſince the King's Return, contrary to the Liberties of *Magna Charta*, and threatened the Collectors employed by the King with *Excommunication*. His Aim was to raiſe a Commotion among the People. In all Likelihood he would have carried his Revenge farther, if he had not perceived that the Parliament diſapproved of his Proceedings. As he was afraid of being abandoned, he choſe, though ſomewhat of the lateſt, to caſt himſelf upon the King's Mercy. *Edward* very willingly received his Submiſſions, for fear of engaging in a Quarrel which could not but be prejudicial to him, by Reaſon of the frequent Need he ſtood in of the *Clergy*'s Aſſiſtance.

1340.

Quarrel between the King and Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

1341.

The Archbiſhop ſubmits.

Some

1341. Benedict XII *partial to* France. *He puts* Flanders *under an* Interdict.

Some have imagined that the Archbishop had suffered himself to be gained by the Pope, who was not pleased with the War, and who was very much biassed in Favour of *France*. There appeared quickly after a sensible Proof of the Pope's Partiality in his putting all *Flanders* under an *Interdict*, because the *Flemings* had sided against the King of *France* their Sovereign Lord. The *Flemish Clergy* observed the *Interdict* so strictly, that People were obliged to send into *England* for less scrupulous Priests to celebrate *Divine Service*. The *Flemings* received these *Ecclesiasticks* without any Difficulty, and pretended to evade the Pope's *Censures*, by affirming they were built upon a wrong Foundation, seeing *Edward* was the real King of *France*, and *Philip* an Usurper.

Negotiation for a Peace between the two Kings. Act. Pub. V. 260.

The War *Edward* had undertaken against *France*, had succeeded so ill, that all the Expence he had been at had not acquired him one Foot of Land in the Kingdom he had taken upon him to conquer. After so great, though fruitless Endeavours, there was no Appearance of his ever being able to exert the like. Consequently it was probable he would drop his Design. Besides, the Truce affording his Enemy Leisure to prepare himself, he could have no Prospect of surprizing him. But after all it is hard to judge, whether the Negotiations set on Foot for a Peace during the Truce were sincere on his Part, or whether he intended only to amuse his Enemy. Be this as it will, if he really designed to make Peace, he did not keep long in that Mind. The Advantages he had a Glimpse of from the Posture of Affairs in the Dutchy of *Bretaign* soon made him resolve to lay hold of so favourable a Juncture. The Share *England* had in the Quarrel which arose about the Succession of that Dukedom, obliges me to give some Account of that Case; for the better Understanding of what shall be related hereafter.

ARTHUR

1341.

ARTHUR II. Duke of *Bretaign.*

1. Wife — 2. Wife.

John II.	Guy	Peter	John
D. of *Bret.*	E. of	d. without	E. of *Monfort.*
d. 1341.	*Pentebria*	Iſſue.	

Joanna
Charles de *Blois.*

Affairs of Bretaign. Argentre *Hiſt. de Bret.*

Arthur II. Duke of *Bretaign,* had left three Sons by his firſt Wife; namely, *John* II, who ſucceeded him, *Guy* Earl of *Pentebria,* and *Peter.* By a ſecond Wife he had left a fourth Son called *John,* who was Earl of *Monfort* by Right of his Mother. *John* II and *Peter* had no Iſſue. *Guy,* who died in 1330, left a Daughter named *Joanna,* who was given by her Uncle *John* in Marriage to *Charles de Chatillon* Brother of *Lewis* Earl of *Blois.* He was generally called *Charles de Blois.* *John* II dying in 1341 there remained two of the Family, *John* Earl of *Monfort,* and *Joanna* his Niece, Wife of *Charles de Blois.* They both laid Claim to the Dukedom. *Joanna* by Right of *Repreſentation,* as Daughter of *Guy* eldeſt Brother of *John de Monfort,* and this laſt as Brother of the late Duke, and conſequently one Degree nearer than his Niece. He pleaded likewiſe the Advantage of his Sex; a Reaſon of little Weight, ſince *Bretaign* owned not the Authority of the *Salick-Law.* But *Charles* had a great Advantage over his Competitor. Which was, his being Nephew to *Philip de Valois* who was to decide the Affair. On the other Hand, the Earl of *Monfort* had ſo well laid his Meaſures that immediately after the Death of the Duke his Brother, he had got Poſſeſſion of *Bretaign,* and cauſed the greateſt Part of his Subjects to ſwear Fealty to him. He was even gone to *England,* where he had privately done Homage to *Edward,* acknowledging him for King of *France,* and had made an Alliance with him. This Proceeding, of which *Philip* was informed, quite loſt him the

Diſpute between John de Monfort *and* Charles de Blois.

1341. *They are both cited before the* Peers.

Favour of that Monarch, who had no great Kindneſs for him before. However *Philip*, willing to obſerve the cuſtomary *Formalities*, ordered the two Claimants to be ſummoned before the Court of *Peers*, to defend their Rights and receive Judgement. *Monfort* was ſo unwiſe as to come to *Paris*, imagining that what he had done in *England* was ſtill a Secret. But at the firſt *Audience* he found what he was to expect from the King, who told him roundly, that he had no Pretenſions to *Bretaign*, and reproached him for having done Homage to the King of *England*. *Monfort* confeſſed he had been in *England* to ſee his Friends; but denied that he had done Homage. But *Philip* knowing more of the Matter than he imagined, forbad him to ſtir from *Paris*, and appointed a Day for the Tryal of the Cauſe. It was no hard Matter for *Monfort* to ſee what Danger both his Suit and Perſon were in. So that coming to a Reſolution on a Sudden, he made his Eſcape from *Paris* in a Merchant's Habit, and repaired to *Bretaign*. This did not hinder but that in his Abſence the Affair was decided in Favour of *Charles de Blois*, who was declared Duke of *Bretaign*, and forthwith admitted to Homage. It is affirmed that in this Judgement the *Peers* obſerved not all the *Forms* requiſite in *Cauſes* of this Nature, and that their Proceedings were not altogether regular. As to the Main of the Affair, though this Deciſion was directly contrary to that which had been given in the Caſe of the Earl of *Artois*, they pretended that the Diverſity of the Cuſtoms of the two Countries was the Reaſon of it, in *Bretaign* Repreſentation taking Place, but not in *Artois*. Be that as it will, *Philip* being highly provoked with the Earl of *Monfort* on the Score of the Homage he had done the King of *England*, confiſcated his Eſtate of *Monfort*; but to make up his Loſs, *Edward* gave him in *England* the Earldom of *Richmond*. Shortly after *John*, eldeſt Son of *Philip de Valois*, being ordered to put the *Decree* given in Favour of *Charles de Blois* in Execution, entered *Bretaign* at the Head of a powerful Army, and *Monfort* ſhut himſelf up in *Nantes*, where he was immediately beſieged. Quickly after the City being taken, and *Monfort* made Priſoner,

Monfort *withdraws from* Paris.

Bretaign *adjudged to* Charles de Blois.

Philip *confiſcates the Earldom of* Monfort.

The Earl of Monfort *taken Priſoner.*

Priſoner, he was conducted to *Paris*, and committed to the great Tower of the *Louvre*. 1341.

This Event would doubtleſs have put an End to the Quarrel between the two Rivals; but *Margaret of Flanders*, Wife of *John de Monfort* took upon her to ſupport her Husband's Intereſts, in ſpite of the ill Situation his Affairs were in. She came to *London* with her Son, a Child of four Years old, and renewed the Alliance the Earl her Husband had made with *Edward*. By this new Treaty, ſhe poſitively engaged to put into the Hands of the *Engliſh* all the Places ſhe had ſtill in her Power; and for the better ſecuring the Aſſiſtance of *England*, ſhe concluded a Marriage between her Son, and one of *Edward*'s Daughters, and left the young Prince at the *Engliſh* Court to be brought up, or rather to be for Hoſtage. This Treaty procuring *Edward* an Entrance into *Bretaign*, and conſequently the Means to attack *Philip* from that Quarter, he forthwith diſpatched *Robert d' Artois* thither. *Robert* quickly became Maſter of *Vannes*, and then ordered *Rennes* to be beſieged. Whilſt his Troops were employed in the Siege, the Heads of the other Party knowing he ſtaid at *Vannes* with a Handful of Men, inveſted the Town, and carried it by Storm. *Robert* being mortally wounded, had much ado to get to *Hennebond* where he died of his Wounds. *Edward* received the News of his Death with Grief. He ſwore to revenge it, and kept his Oath but too punctually. *Robert d' Artois*'s Expedition into *Bretaign*, gave *Philip* a Handle to complain that *Edward* had broke the Truce, and to be even with him, he cauſed Hoſtilities to be renewed in *Guienne*. Thus the two Monarchs prepared again for War, by mutually accuſing one another of violating the Truce.

His Wife manages his Affairs.

She renews the Treaty with Edward.

1342. Edward *ſends* Robert de Artois *into* Bretaign,

where he is killed.

The Earl of *Northampton*, who had taken the Command of the *Engliſh* Troops in *Bretaign*, after the Death of *Robert d' Artois*, was not in a Condition to make any great Progreſs with ſo ſmall an Army. In the mean Time it was of great Moment to *Edward* to become Maſter of that Dutchy. For which Reaſon he reſolved to go thither in Perſon with more Forces. Upon his Arrival he

Edward. *goes in Perſon to* Bretaign, *and beſieges four Towns;*

1342. caused Siege to be laid at once to *Nantes*, *Rennes*, *Vannes*, and *Guingamp*. *Philip* well knowing how prejudicial to him the Settlement of the *English* in *Bretaign* might be, resolved to drive them from thence at any Rate. To that End he raised an Army of fifty Thousand Men, under the Command of the Duke of *Normandy* his eldest Son.

The Duke of Normandy *caused him to raise the Siege.*

The young Prince having marched with the utmost Expedition, had the good Luck to enter *Bretaign* before any of the Places besieged were taken. His Approach obliged the King of *England* to raise all his Sieges, that he might draw his Troops together, which notwithstanding were still inferiour to the *French*. The two Armies remained the best Part of the Winter encamped near to one another, but so well intrenched, that neither Side showed any Inclination to ingage. The Duke of *Normandy* was unwilling to run any Hazard, because having done what he wanted, he was in Hopes of starving his Enemies. *Edward* cared as little to venture a Battle against an Army much stronger then his own, unless he should be forced to it. Whilst these two Princes lay thus encamped, two *Legates* from *Clement* VI the new Pope, had Time to come to them, and negotiate between the two Crowns a Truce for two Years, wherein all the Allies on both Sides were included. They made the two Kings likewise promise to send Ambassadors to *Avignon* to treat of a Peace by the Pope's Mediation.

1343. *Truce for two Years.*

Affairs of Scotland.

Whilst *Edward* had been taken up in his Wars with *France*, the *Scots* had laid hold of the Opportunity to try to recover their Liberty. Ever since *Edward* had quitted *Scotland*, King *David*'s Adherents had gained great Advantages over *Baliol* who commanded the *English* Army, but who had not Forces enough to stop their Progress. *Robert Stuart*, Regent of *Scotland* for King *David*, maintained by his Valour and Conduct the Interests of the young exiled Prince. He was bravely seconded by *William Douglass* and some other Lords who still retained an inviolable Fidelity for their lawful Sovereign. Though a Body commanded by *Douglass* had received a fatal Blow, *Robert* continued to keep his Ground all along. He even saw

Progress of the Scots, *since* 1339. Robert Stuart *besieges and takes* Perth *in* 1339.

ſaw himſelf ſhortly after in a Condition to beſiege *Perth*, or St. *Johnſton*, which was the ſtrongeſt Place the *Engliſh* had in *Scotland*. The Siege laſted three Months, by Reaſon of the great want of Ammunition the Beſiegers were in. But a ſeaſonable Relief from *France* enabled him at length to take the Place. This Loſs obliged *Baliol* to quit the Center of the Kingdom, and retire to the Borders, where he ſheltered himſelf by Means of the Places he had reſigned to the *Engliſh*. The Truce concluded before *Tournay*, wherein *Scotland* was included, conſtrained *Stuart* to lay down his Arms for ſome Time. But no ſooner was the Truce broken by the Affairs of *Bretaign*, but the *Scots* came together and beſieged *Sterling*, of which they became Maſters, after numberleſs Aſſaults which gave the Beſieged not a Moment's Reſpite. 1342. *and* Sterling *in* 1340.

This Progreſs having made *Edward* ſenſible that he was miſtaken in imagining that Kingdom was diſabled from giving him any more Trouble, he reſolved to invade it once more by Sea and Land. To that Purpoſe he repaired to the Frontiers, where he waited for his Fleet which was to join him at *Newcaſtle*. But a violent Storm, which laſted ſeveral Days, rendered his Ships unfit for Service during the reſt of that Year. This unlucky Accident hindered him from entering *Scotland*, being deſtitute of Proviſions and Ammunition, which his Fleet was bringing to him. He could not expect to find any in the Enemies Country, becauſe the *Scots* themſelves had laid waſte every Thing on purpoſe to deprive his Army of the Means of ſubſiſting. However, their Ignorance of the State he was in, brought him off at this Time. As they ſaw themſelves no Match for that Prince, who threatened their Country with utter Deſtruction, they choſe to ſue in a very humble manner for a Truce which they thought themſelves very happy in obtaining. *Edward* took Care not to deny them: But however, taking the Advantage of their Terrour, he would not grant it but upon this Condition: That they ſhould own him for *Sovereign of Scotland*, and renounce their Allegiance to King *David*, in Caſe that Prince came not in Perſon into that Kingdom before

Edward *marches againſt* Scotland, *in* 1341.

His Fleet ſuffers by a Storm.

He grants the Scots *a Truce.*

1342. before *May* next enſuing, with an Army ſtrong enough to give Battle. This Condition put the King of *France* under the Neceſſity of aſſiſting his Ally better than he had hitherto done, leaſt he ſhould be deprived of the Benefit which he reaped from the frequent Diverſions of the *Scots*.

David *returns into* Scotland, With this View, he furniſhed King *David* with Men and Money, and ſent him into *Scotland* where he levied a very conſiderable Army, conſiſting as 'tis ſaid, of ſixty Thouſand Men, *Scots*, *French*, *Danes*, and *Norwegians*. With theſe Troops he marched towards the Frontiers of *England*, and penetrated as far as *Durham* which he beſieged.

takes Durham, *and retires*; In a few Days, he took the Town and put all the Inhabitants to the Sword. He would have puſhed Matters further, but upon Advice that *Edward* was haſtening to give him Battle, he reſolved to retire, his Generals having repreſented to him that he could not ſtay any longer in *England* without expoſing himſelf to the Hazard of a Battle which might endanger again the Loſs of his Kingdom.

is repulſed at Werk. Whilſt he was upon the March back to *Scotland*, the Garriſon of *Werk*-Caſtle belonging to the Counteſs of *Saliſbury* having fallen upon ſome of his Troops which had ſtayed behind, he was ſo incenſed at it, that he reſolved to take the Caſtle. He ſtormed it ſeveral Times; but was bravely repulſed by the Counteſſes People, who was her ſelf on the Spot. This Reſiſtance and the News of *Edward*'s Approach, made him give over his Attempt. He went off in the very Nick of Time, ſeeing *Edward* came that very Day to the Caſtle. He paid a Viſit to the Counteſs of *Salisbury*, which has given Occaſion to ſome Hiſtorians to affirm that he fell deſperately in Love with her. It would be an eaſy Matter to confute what they have advanced without Grounds: But as his Love, whether true or falſe, was attended with no remarkable Event, it will be needleſs to ſay any Thing of it. Next Day *Edward* continued his March in queſt of the Enemy; but being informed that the *Scots* were retired to *Gedeor*'s Foreſt, he left off purſuing them. As his Affairs were not in a good Poſture in *Scotland*, and as the War was to him very unſeaſonable with regard to the Meaſures he was to take to

Edward *viſits the Counteſs of* Saliſbury.

continue That he was engaged in with *France*, he ſent *David* an Offer of a two Year's Truce, which was accepted with *Philip*'s Conſent. This Truce procured the King of *Scotland* an Opportunity to fix himſelf more firmly in his Throne, and gave the King of *England* Leiſure to think of his other Affairs. 1342. *He concludes a Truce for two Years with* David.

Edward's Thoughts had for many Years been ſo wholly engroſſed by Military Matters, that he had not been able to find Time to redreſs ſeveral *Grievances* which the People complained of, and which very well deſerved a particular Attention. As ſoon as the Truce with *France* and *Scotland* had afforded him ſome Reſpite, he called a Parliament to conſult about the Means of ſecuring the Welfare and Tranquillity of the Nation. During this *Seſſions* which laſted good Part of the Winter, the Parliament made it their chief Buſineſs to enact divers Regulations which were very beneficial to the People, and to which they met with no Oppoſition from the King. On the contrary, *Edward* confirmed in a very ſolemn Manner all the *Liberties* contained in the *Magna Charta*, thereby making appear, that he had no leſs at Heart the Good of his People, than his own or that of his Succeſſours. Among the ſeveral *Acts* which were paſſed in this Parliament, one of the moſt important was *the Statute of Proviſors*, that is, an *Act* againſt thoſe who brought *Proviſions* from the Court of *Rome* for *Benefices*. The former Popes had made a very ill Uſe of the Power they had aſſumed, to diſpoſe of the *Benefices* of the Kingdom. Oftentimes, without ſo much as ſtaying till they became *vacant*, they conferred them on Perſons who were to take Poſſeſſion upon the Death of the preſent *Incumbents*, the which raiſed loud Complaints from the Patrons of ſuch *Livings*. *Clement* VI having carried this Matter farther then any of his Predeceſſors, the Parliament had been forced to complain of it to him, but to no manner of Purpoſe. Inſtead of reforming this Abuſe, which was ſo much the more intolerable as all the *Benefices* were beſtowed upon *Foreigners*, the Pope had exhorted the King in a Letter, to withdraw the Complaints made againſt the *Proviſions*, which in his Opinion, 1343. Edward *calls a Parliament.* Statute of Proviſors.

1343. pinion, were an undeniable Prerogative of the *Holy See*. This Letter having discovered that it was in vain to expect any Redress from the Pope, the Parliament resolved to provide against this Evil by their own Authority. To that End, the *Statute* before-mentioned was passed, whereby it was Death * for any Person to bring for the future the like *Provisions* into the Kingdom. Though this *Statute* nettled the Pope to the last Degree, he thought fit to make no Noise about it, being informed that the King and Parliament had resolved to stand by what they had done, and to contemn his *Censures* in Case he should have Recourse to them. However, not to let his pretended Right entirely drop, he chose to make as if he never minded the *Statute*. But although he granted afterwards from Time to Time, several *Provisions*, it was with so much Caution that the Abuse of them was considerably lessened during this whole Reign. On the other Hand, the King, who had no Mind to break entirely with the Court of *Rome*, was content with leaving the *Statute* in Force, without vigorously putting it in Execution. But in Process of Time, in the Reigns of *Edward*'s Successours, the Popes being returned to their former Courses, there was a Necessity frequently to renew this *Statute*, which was called the *Statute* of *Præmunire*, and wherein besides the Prohibition of *Provisions*, several other Cases are included relating to the Contests *England* had with the Popes *1.

Prince Edward *created Prince of* Wales.

In this Parliament the King created *Edward* his eldest Son *Prince of Wales*, and invested him with that Principality, by an *open Crown* on his Head, and a Gold Ring on his Finger. The Prince was then thirteen Years old, and gave great Hopes of what he would one Day prove.

Whilst

* The *Act* makes it not *Death*, but in Case any Person was convicted he was to abide in Prison till he had made *Fine* and *Ransom* to the King at his Will, and Satisfaction to the Party that should feel himself aggrieved, and likewise find sufficient Surety not to do the like in Time to come. 25 *Ed.* 3.

*1 See the Notes in the *State of the Church* at the End of this Volume.

Whilſt *Edward* ſeemed wholly taken up with *domeſtick*, he neglected not *Foreign* Affairs. His Mind was continually on the Rack to find Means to renew the War with *France* the Moment the Truce was expired. He appeared however inclinable to Peace, and kept on at the Court of *Rome* Negotiations, which daily met with freſh Obſtacles. But whether his View was only to amuſe his Enemy by theſe Negotiations, or whether he expected no Good from them, he omitted nothing to prepare for War. He had ſo bad an Opinion of the Alliances which he had made with the Princes of *Germany* and the *Low-Countries*, who had made him ſpend ſuch immenſe Sums to no Purpoſe, that he reſolved to go another way to work. To that End he diſpatched into the *Low-Countries* and *Germany* Agents, with Power to treat with all Sorts of Perſons that ſhould be willing to furniſh him with Men or Money. Beſides, that all theſe Succours, when drawn together, would produce the ſame Effect with much leſs Expence, he was in Hopes he ſhould be able to diſpoſe of his Troops more at his Pleaſure than he had done thoſe of the Princes. Moreover his Aim was to render more difficult the ſecret Practices of *Philip*, whereby he was perpetually endeavouring to corrupt his Allies. The better to ſucceed in his Deſign, and to draw into his Kingdom Multitudes of foreign Lords, with whom he might in Perſon negotiate, he bethought himſelf of an Expedient which could not fail of Succeſs, becauſe it was entirely conformable to the Taſte of that Age. He ordered *Tournaments* to be publiſhed, and gave an honourable Reception to all Perſons of Diſtinction who had a Mind to be preſent at them, careſſing them in ſuch a manner that they could never be weary of admiring his Politeneſs, Magnificence, and Liberality. To render theſe Entertainments the more ſolemn, and to free himſelf at the ſame Time from the *Ceremonies* which the Difference of Rank and Condition would have obliged him to, he cauſed a circular Hall of Boards to be run up at *Windſor*, two Hundred Foot in Diameter. There it was that he feaſted all the *Knights* at one Table, which was called the *Round Table*, in Memory of the famous *Arthur*, who as

1343. Edward *prepares for War with* France.

Act. Pub. V. 409.

The Windſor Tournaments.

The Round Table.

Deſign of the Tournaments.

1343. it is affirmed, instituted an *Order* of *Knights* of the *Round Table*. Next Year he caused a more solid Building to be erected, that he might continue yearly the same Diversions. During that Time, he treated severally with these Lords about the Succours which each could furnish him with, in Proportion to his Forces. The *Collection of Publick Acts* is full of Treaties with private Persons, which he managed either by himself or by his *Agents*. *Philip* could not see without Jealousy, *Spaniards*, *Italians*, *Germans*, *Flemings*, and *Frenchmen* themselves, flock in Crouds to *England* to assist at the *Tournaments*. He very much questioned whether there was not some hidden Design in these Entertainments; and therefore in Order to break *Edward*'s Measures, he caused the like to be published in his Dominions. This Way of opposing his Enemy had nothing in it but what was just and honourable; but soon after, he made use of other Means which were not so generally approved, and which were attended with great Consequences. It is affirmed, that having drawn to *Paris*, under Colour of a *Tournament*, *Oliver de Cliſſon*, and ten or twelve other Lords of *Bretaign* who attended *Charles de Blois* thither, he commanded their Heads to be cut off without any Forms of Justice. But it appears by a Letter from *Edward* to the Pope upon this Occasion, that *Philip* did not allure these Lords to *Paris*, but had them apprehended in *Bretaign*. As this Action was the Cause of breaking the Truce, it will be necessary to clear up this Matter, because there is no other way of knowing who was Author of the Rupture. *Oliver de Cliſſon* a Lord of *Bretaign*, having served *Charles de Blois* during the War, was taken Prisoner by *Edward*, who, having in all Probability gained him to his Side, consented that he should be exchanged for an *Engliſhman*. Whether *Philip* had Proof of his having changed Sides, or whether he only suspected it, he ordered him to be apprehended in *Bretaign*, with ten or twelve Lords and Gentlemen, and conducted to *Paris*, where their Heads were struck off. I believe I may venture to affirm, that these Lords were apprehended in *Bretaign*, because the Pope in his Answer to *Edward*'s Letter, and

Philip publiſhes the like.

He beheads ſeveral Lords of Bretaign.

Explanation of this Affair.

and in his vindicating of *Philip*, which he did to the utmoſt of his Power, ſaid not a Word which tended to the contrary. But perhaps ſome of theſe Lords or Gentlemen were ſeized at *Paris*, and the reſt in *Bretaign*, by Order of the King. What makes it ſo difficult to give a right Judgement of this Action of *Philip*'s, is, that according to *Froiſſard*, *Argentre*, and all the *French* Hiſtorians, theſe Lords had all along eſpouſed the Quarrel of *Charles de Blois*, and yet *Edward* in his Letter to the Pope ſays, they were of the Number of his Friends *. They muſt needs therefore have changed Sides either publickly or privately after the Truce, and this is what is very hard to know for certain. It ſeems however that *Edward* would have had no Reaſon to make ſuch a Stir about this Affair, if theſe Lords had only been his Partiſans in private, whilſt outwardly they continued all along attached to the Intereſts of *France*. This added to *Edward*'s Letter to the Pope, ſeems to prove that at leaſt ſome of theſe Lords had openly declared for the Earl of *Monfort*. Upon this Suppoſition, there is no diſpute but that *Philip* had violated the Truce, in commanding them to be ſeized in *Britaign*. But, on the other Hand, if we ſuppoſe that theſe Lords were only become *Edward*'s ſecret Friends ſince the Concluſion of the Truce, we may put the two following Queſtions. Firſt, Whether *Philip* had a Right to cauſe them to be ſeized in *Bretaign* during the Truce? Secondly, Whether as Sovereign Lord of *Bretaign*, he might exerciſe ſuch a Power over theſe Lords, eſpecially conſidering that in putting them to Death in ſo illegal a Manner, it was rather a Murder than an Act of Juſtice? Be this as it will, *Edward* maintained that by this Action the Truce was broken, and *Philip* aſſerted that *Edward* made uſe of this wrong Pretence to violate it. 1343.

Edward was ſo enraged at the tragical Death of the Lords of *Bretaign*, that he was upon the Point of beheading the *Bretaign*-Priſoners of *Philip*'s Party which he had in his 1344. Edward *ſends Word to the King of* France *that the Truce is broken.*

* *Quorundam nobilium, nobis Adhærentium, captorum in Britannia.* Act. Pub. V. p. 453.

1344. Act. Pub. V. 448. p. 450. Power. But upon the Remonſtrances of *Henry of Lancaſter*, he altered his Reſolution. However, he ſent for *Henry de Leon*, one of the ſaid Priſoners, and told him with a great deal of Emotion, that although the Death of his Countrymen beheaded at *Paris*, was a ſufficient Reaſon to ſerve him in the ſame Kind, he was unwilling to follow ſo bad an Example, or to revenge himſelf on the Innocent, but that his Intention was to puniſh the Author himſelf of that Barbarity. Then he told him, that notwithſtanding he might demand of him a Ranſom of thirty or forty Thouſand Crowns, he would releaſe him for ten Thouſand, provided he would go in his Name and defy *Philip*, and declare to him that having violated the Truce by this baſe Action, he had nothing to do but prepare for War.

He ſends a Defiance to Philip. Theſe Menaces were not in vain. Reſolved as *Edward* was to puſh the War with more Vigour than ever, he ordered a Commiſſion to be drawn up, conſtituting the Earl of *Northampton* his Lieutenant-General in *France*, commanding him at the ſame Time to defy *Philip* in his Name, and to declare War againſt him by Sea and Land. Shortly after he ſent into *Guienne Henry* of *Lancaſter* Earl of *Derby* to begin Hoſtilities, till he ſhould be able to go thither himſelf, deſigning to exert himſelf moſt in that Province. In the mean Time, he ſent for *John de Monfort* into *England*, who had made his Eſcape from *Paris*, and received his Homage for *Bretaign*. He received likewiſe the Homage of *Geoffrey de Harcourt* *, for his Lands in *Normandy* confiſcated by *Philip*, and obliged himſelf by *Letters Patents* either to get him his Eſtate again, or to give him an Equivalent in *France* or *England*. Shortly after he publiſhed a *Manifeſto* ſetting forth the many Injuries he had received from *Philip de Valois*. After which, he invited the *French* to own him for Sovereign, promiſing to exempt them from Taxes, and to govern them according to the Laws and Cuſtoms obſerved in *France* in the Reign of St. *Lewis*

The Earl of Derby *begins the War in* Guienne.

Edward receives the Homage of Monfort *and* Harcourt. Argentre. Act. Pub. V. 452. ibid. p. 460. ibid. p. 465.

* Or rather *Godfrey*, Brother of the Earl of *Harcourt*, who upon ſeizing of the *Bretaign* Lords had fled to *England*.

Lewis his Predeceſſor. He omitted not to write to the Pope, to inform him of the Reaſons he had to renew the War. But the Pope's Anſwer plainly ſhowed him to be a partial Mediator. He not only excuſed what *Philip* had done with regard to the Lords of *Bretaign*, and charged *Edward* with having broke the Truce firſt, but likewiſe threatened to exert his *Apoſtolick* Authority againſt him. This was enough to convince *Edward* that he could expect no Favour from the Pope. Accordingly he addreſſed himſelf to him no more but merely for Form's Sake, and to keep up a Decorum. 1344.

Whilſt theſe Things were tranſacting, *Philip* was trying to bring off the *Flemings* from the Intereſt of *England*. *Edward* having notice of his underhand Practices, ſuddenly paſſed over into *Flanders*, where he ſtayed three Weeks. At his Return, he pretended he had prevented the Miſchiefs he had Reaſon to fear from the Inconſtancy of the *Flemings*. But the Sequel made appear, that he had flattered himſelf too much, or the People had impoſed upon him, ſince it is certain he never received any Succours from thence. 1345. Edward *goes into* Flanders. ibid. *p.* 472. *p.* 474.

In the mean Time the Earl of *Derby* made a very conſiderable Progreſs in *Guienne*, where he carried by Storm the Town of *Bergerac*, which was given up to be plundered. Hiſtory ought not to omit making honourable mention of the Generoſity of that General, ſeldom imitated by thoſe of our Days. Whilſt the *Engliſh* were buſy in plundering the Town, a *Welſh* Knight happened by Chance to light upon the *Receiver*'s Office. He found there ſuch a Quantity of Money, that he thought himſelf obliged to acquaint his General with it, imagining that ſo great a Booty naturally belonged to him. But he was agreeably ſurprized, when the Earl told him with a pleaſant Countenance, that he wiſhed him Joy of his good Fortune, and that he did not make the keeping his Word to depend upon the great or little Value of the Thing he had promiſed. *Progreſs of the Earl of* Derby. *Generous Act of his.*

This Year the *Scots* at the Inſtigation of the King of *France* made an Inroad into the Borders of *England*, but were

1345. were repulsed by the Troops *Edward* had on Foot in the *Northern* Counties.

John de Monfort, who took the Title of Duke of *Bretaign*, died in *September*, leaving to the King of *England* the Guardianship of his Son, and to *Margaret* his Wife the Management of a very important War.

1346. *The Duke of* Normandy *makes great Progress in* Guienne.

Whilst these Things passed, *Edward* had lost the Assistance of a powerful Ally, by the Death of *James de Arteville*, who was torn in Pieces by the *Flemings*. His Death having entirely changed the Face of Affairs in the *Low-Countries*, it was by no Means proper to attack *France* from that Quarter. For this Reason *Edward* had resolved to carry the Brunt of the War into *Guienne*. The Duke of *Normandy* had already entered that Province at the Head of sixty Thousand Men, to stop the Progress of the Earl of *Derby*, and to compleat the Conquest of it. Upon the Approach of this formidable Army, the Earl had left the Field and was retired to *Bourdeaux*. His Retreat having given the Duke of *Normandy* an Opportunity of retaking several Places, he was at length engaged in the Siege of the Castle of *Aiguillon*, seated upon the Confluence of the *Gironne* and *Lot*. This Siege was very remarkable as well for the vigorous Assaults of the Besiegers, who for a whole Week together stormed the Town three Times every Day, as for the brave Defence of the Besieged, who were not to be disheartened by so frequent Assaults. To relieve these brave Men *Edward* hastened his Preparations, being determined to go in Person and oppose the Progress of the Duke of *Normandy*.

The famous Siege of Aiguillon.

1347. Edward *imbarks for* Guienne. Act. Pub. V. 517.

Every Thing being ready for his Departure, he came to *Southampton*, bringing along with him the Prince of *Wales* his eldest Son, about sixteen Years old, who was to make his first Campaign. Before the Troops were embarked he assembled his principal Officers, and exhorted them to behave in such a Manner as should render them worthy of his Esteem, and of the Rewards he designed for those that discharged their Duty. He declared that his Intention was to send back his Ships the Moment he should arrive in *Guienne*, and that therefore it would be

in

in vain to hope to ſee their own Country again, unleſs they returned victorious. He added, that if any Perſon found his Heart fail, he need only ſpeak freely and he ſhould inſtantly have his Leave to ſtay behind. This Speech having been ſpread among the Army, the Soldiers cried out with one Voice, they were ready to follow their King wherever he was pleaſed to lead them. So ſudden and ſo univerſal a Reſolution, having inſpired him with great Hopes, he imbarked his Troops with Deſign to ſteer for *Gnienne*: But the Wind proving contrary, he ſaw himſelf obliged to put back twice. *Geoffery de Harcourt*, who attended him, made uſe of this Juncture to perſwade him to make a Deſcent into *Normandy*, a Country extremely fertile, which for a long Time had not felt the Calamities of a War. *Edward* having followed his Advice, landed at *la Hogue* in *le Cotentin*, where he was by no Means expected. 1347. *He puts back twice.* *He lands in* Normandy.

Immediately after he had ſet Foot on Shore, he knighted the Prince of *Wales* his Son, and ſeveral other young Lords; which done, he headed his Army conſiſting of thirty Thouſand *Foot*, and two Thouſand five Hundred *Horſe*. He divided his Troops into three Bodies, who marched a-part in the Day, but commonly joined in the Evening again in order to encamp all together. In their firſt Marches they revenged in a terrible manner the Death of the Lords beheaded at *Paris*. *Valogne*, St. *Lo*, *Carentan*, *Harfleur*, were the firſt Towns which felt the Fury of the *Engliſh* Arms. *Ralph* Earl of *Eu* Conſtable of *France*, who was then at *Caen*, offering to make Head againſt the *Engliſh* with the *Militia* of the Country, ſerved only, by his being defeated and made Priſoner, for a happy Preſage of their future Victories. After the Defeat of the Conſtable, *Edward* continued his March through the Biſhopricks of *Liſieux* and *Evreux*, burning and plundering whatever came in his way. He halted not till he was come to *Poiſſi*, where he ſtayed ſome Days, in Order to get *Philip* to ingage. He ſent a *Herald* to him with a Challenge, which was not accepted. *Philip* had another Deſign in View; and that was to ſhut him up between the *Seine* *He knights the Prince of* Wales, *and ravages the Country.* Mezeray. *Advances to* Poiſſi. Philip *tries to incloſe him between two Rivers.*

1347. *Seine* and the *Oyse*. If this Project had took, the *English* Army must have perished without Redemption. But *Edward* having perceived his Intent, though somewhat of the latest, broke up his Camp at *Poissi*, with Design to pass the *Somme* and take Shelter in *Ponthieu*, knowing his Enemy was advancing with an Army of a Hundred Thousand Men. He marched down the *Somme* a good way without finding ever a Pass. At length he was so lucky as to discover the Ford of *Blanquetarque*, by Means of a Prisoner who was perfectly well acquainted with the Country. Though this Discovery seemed at first Sight of great Advantage to him, he quickly found that the Difficulties of his Retreat where not much lessened. *Philip*, who had foreseen that the Enemy might take that Rout to retire, had detached *Gondemar du Fay* with a Body of twelve Thousand Men to guard that Pass, on which depended the Success of his Designs. *Edward* saw himself therefore under the Necessity either of forcing the Pass, or of fighting under a great Disadvantage his Enemy who was close at his Heels. Having resolved what to do, he ordered his Troops to advance, who being animated by the Presence of their King, cast themselves into the River with such Intrepidity, that they began to vanquish their Enemies before they came to Charge. One may easily imagine the Difficulties which occur in such a Passage, in the Face of the Enemy, for an Army which cannot enlarge its Front but just the Breadth of the Ford, and which is obliged to march through the Water and handle their Arms at the same Time. But all this was not capable of stopping the *English*, who, in the Sight of their King, Witness of all their Actions, marched through all these Obstacles as to a certain Victory. It was not possible for the *French* to sustain so furious an Attack. After some Endeavours to repulse the *English*, they found themselves constrained to quit that important Pass, through which *Edward* immediately marched his whole Army. That very Evening he went and encamped at *Cressy*, whilst *Philip* passed the *Somme* at *Abveville*, which is but three Leagues from thence.

Edward *retires into* Ponthieu.

He forces a Pass defended by the French.

Edward

Edward ſeeing himſelf ſo cloſely purſued, and plainly perceiving it would be impoſſible to avoid a Battle, ſtopped ſhort to ſtay for his Enemies, and pitched upon an advantagious Piece of Ground where he drew up his Army in Battalia. *Philip* being perſwaded that *Edward*'s Retreat was the Effect of his Fear, did not queſtion but if he could come up with him, he ſhould quickly vanquiſh him. Accordingly, not to afford him Time to retire any further, he ſet out next Day from *Abbeville* with Deſign to attack him. The *Engliſh* Army was divided into three Bodies, of which the Prince of *Wales* commanded the Firſt. The Second was led by the Earls of *Northampton* and *Arundel* and the Lord *Roſs*. The King kept at ſome Diſtance with the Third, that he might ſuccour thoſe that ſhould want it. *Philip* could not come in Sight of the Enemy till three a Clock in the Afternoon, having marched that Day three Leagues, ſo that it was almoſt four a Clock when the Battle began. He had likewiſe divided his Army into three Bodies, of which the firſt was made up of *Genoeſe* *, commanded by *Antonio Doria* and *Carolo Grimoldi*. As the chief Strength of his *Infantry* lay in theſe Troops, he would have them charge firſt. Juſt as the Battle was about to begin, a great and ſudden Shower having ſlackened the Strings of the *Genoeſe* Croſs-Bows, they became unſerviceable. However as they were already too far advanced, they ſaw themſelves expoſed to a Cloud of *Engliſh* Arrows, which made them give Ground. *Charles* Earl of *Alenſon*, Brother of the King, who was behind them with a great Body of *Horſe*, ſeeing them give way, without knowing the Reaſon, imagined there was ſome Treachery in the Caſe, and immediately ordered the *Cavalry* to ride over them, by which raſh Action he began to put the *French* Army in Diſorder (*a*). In the

1346. *He ſtays for* Philip *at* Creſſy.

Battle of Creſſy.

* It is ſaid there were no leſs than 12000 *Genoeſe*.

(*a*) In this manner the *French* Hiſtorians ſpeak of the Beginning of this Engagement. It muſt be that the Strings of the *Genoeſe* Croſs-Bows were of a different Nature from thoſe of the *Engliſh*, ſince the Rain had no Effect of theſe laſt.

1346. *The Body commanded by* Alenſon *defeated.*

mean Time the Earl never troubling himſelf about the *Genoeſe*, nor minding what was doing behind him, attacked the Vanguard of the *Engliſh* commanded by the Prince of *Wales*, and was received with a Firmneſs he little expected. He continued however his Endeavours, which tended only to make him loſe his Life, fighting valiantly. His Death was the Occaſion that the Body he commanded began by degrees to ſtagger, and as they could not be ſpeedily enough ſupported by Reaſon of the Diſorder which they themſelves cauſed among the *Genoeſe* Troops, they were at length put to Flight.

The Prince of *Wales* having gained ſo great an Advantage in this firſt Onſet, *Philip* ordered a numerous Body of *Horſe* to advance, that they might repair the Diſorder cauſed by the Defeat of the Firſt. Thus the *French* had always the Superiority in Number, notwithſtanding the *Engliſh* ſtill kept their Ground. In all appearance the young Prince, who fought with an heroick Courage determined to conquer or dye upon the Spot, would have been overpowered by Numbers, if the Earls of *Northampton* and *Arundel* had not run to his Aſſiſtance. Their Approach drew thither more *French* Troops, the ſmall Extent of the Field of Battle not permitting the two Armies to engage all at once. So that the Fight was very obſtinate. The Valour of the Prince of *Wales*, which filled the *Engliſh* Generals with Admiration, made them at the ſame Time extremely uneaſy with regard to his Perſon, on account of the Superiority of the Enemy's Numbers. In the Apprehenſion they were in that ſome Misfortune might happen to him in the End, they ſent Word with all Speed to the King, that it was Time to come to the Relief of the Prince, who was like to be oppreſſed by Numbers. Very far from being moved at this Meſſage, *Edward* demanded whether his Son was ſtill alive; and upon his being told he was not only alive, but that he fought with an aſtoniſhing Valour, he replied to the Officer which had been diſpatched to him: *Tell my Generals that as long as my Son is alive, let them not ſend to me for Succours, for the Honour of the Action ſhall be all his own,*

The Prince of Wales *performs Wonders.*

The King leaves the Honour of the Day to his Son.

and

and he muſt this Day merit his Spurs. This Anſwer brought back to the Prince, having inſpired him with freſh Courage, he broke through his Enemies who were ready to ſurround him. His Troops imitating his Heroic Bravery, backed him ſo well, that the *French* began to loſe Ground, and at length to be diſperſed in Confuſion. 1346.

Philip had one Body ſtill left which had not engaged, at the Head whereof he was himſelf. Towards theſe Troops the Prince of *Wales* directed his Steps, after he had routed the reſt, and in this laſt Action it was that he acquired the greateſt Honour. *Philip*, inraged to ſee his two Bodies routed and diſperſed, exerted himſelf to a Wonder, to ſnatch the Victory from the young *Heroe* before it ſhould be compleat. The King of *Bohemia*, who, blind as he was, would be preſent in the Battle, having cauſed his Horſe to be tied by the Reins to thoſe of two brave Knights, was ſlain according to his Wiſh, in fighting for *France*. His Standard, on which were imbroiderd in Gold *Oſtrich Feathers* with theſe Words, *ICH DIEN*, that is, *I SERVE*, was taken and brought to the Prince of *Wales*, who, in Memory of that Day, bore three *Oſtrich Feathers* for the *Creſt* of his *Arms* *, with the ſame *Motto*. *The King of Bohemia ſlain and his Banner taken.*

In the mean Time *Edward*, who ſtood with his Troops on a riſing Ground, watched the proper Time to charge, being unwilling however to make too much haſte, for fear of robbing the Prince his Son of Part of his Glory. But though he thus ſtood unactive, he failed not to ſtrike Terrour into the *French*, who beheld him ready to fall upon them with Advantage. *Philip* for his Part after many fruitleſs Attempts to repulſe the *Engliſh*, rallied ſome of his *Nobles* and Men of Arms, and threw himſelf into the midſt of the Battle, in order to animate his Troops by his Example. It muſt be confeſſed that on this Occaſion he gave ſignal Proofs of his undaunted Valour. It was not till after he had been twice diſmounted, and wounded in his Neck and Thigh, that he ſuffered himſelf to be led, though with extreme Pain, out of the Field of Battle. His reti- Philip *ſignalizes himſelf.*

* Or rather in his *Coronet*.

1346. *The* English *gain a compleat Victory.* *Cannon first used by the* English. ing having quite disheartened such of his Men as still maintained the Fight, they were entirely routed with the rest of the Army. Then it was that a dreadful Slaughter ensued of the Flying Troops who were pursued till the Night was far advanced. It is affirmed that in this memorable Battle, the *English* began for the first Time to make use of *Cannon*, a Thing then unheard of in *France*. Four Pieces, which were placed on a little Hill, did great Execution among the *French* Troops, and struck them with such a Dread, that the Success of this Day is in Part ascribed to the Surprize the *French* were in at this Novelty. *France* lost in this Battle the King of *Bohemia*, the Earl of *Alenson* Brother of the King, the Duke of *Lorrain*, the Earl of *Flanders*, the Earl of *Blois*, fifteen other great Lords of the Kingdom, twelve Hundred *Knights*, and above fourscore Standards.

Edward *praises his Son.* As soon as *Edward* found by the hasty Flight of the Enemies, that his Victory was compleat, he advanced towards his Son to show him Marks of his extreme Satisfaction. *My dear Son*, said he, embracing him in his Arms, *you have nobly discharged your Duty this Day, and have rendered your self well worthy of the Crown for which you have fought.* *Modesty of the Prince.* The young Prince, out of Countenance at the Commendations the King gave him, with a modest Silence fell on his Knees and asked his Father's Blessing, according to the Custom practised in *England*. The Night which followed this glorious Day was spent by the *English* in Rejoycings. But the King published in the Camp express Orders not to insult over the Misfortune of the Vanquished, exhorting his Army to return God Thanks for the Victory he had been pleased to give them. *Another Loss on the Side of* France. On the Morrow some Troops, which had been sent to pursue the flying Enemy, having encountered a Body of *Militia*, who not knowing what had happened the Day before were coming to *Philip*'s Camp, slew seven Thousand Men. It is said that the Loss *France* sustained on the second Day was greater than that of the Battle, as well by the Defeat of the *Militia*, as by the Slaughter or taking of the Soldiers

diers who were ſcattered up and down the Country in their Flight. 1346.

Edward continued ſome Days near the Field of Battle, to bury the Dead and take Care of the Wounded, as well thoſe of the Enemy as his own. After which marching through *Boulonnois*, he approached *Calis* in Order to beſiege it. This Place, which was exceeding ſtrong, was no leſs incommodious to the *Engliſh*, than *Dunkirk* has been in our Days. In becoming Maſter of it he not only would free himſelf from a very troubleſome Neighbourhood, but would open a Way into *France*. He inveſted it on the 8th of *September*, and ſummoned the Governour to ſurrender, threatning in caſe he refuſed, to put the Garriſon and Inhabitants all to the Sword. *John de Vienna* the Governour made Anſwer, that he owned no other King of *France* but him that had committed to him the Cuſtody of the Town, in whoſe Service he was reſolved to live and dye. Edward *beſieges* Calis.

The King having taken an exact View of the Fortifications of *Calis*, found it would be a very hard Matter to carry the Town by Storm. So that he reſolved to reduce the Place by Famine. To that Purpoſe he cauſed *Lines of Circumvallation* to be made all round fortified with Redoubts, reſolutely bent not to give over his Enterprize till he had carried his Point. The Governour who ſaw the Preparations going forward, perceiving the Siege would be of a great Length, had the Forecaſt to ſend away all uſeleſs Mouths, that he might not be expoſed to the Danger of wanting Proviſions. Though, according to the Maxims of War, *Edward* was not obliged to take Pity of theſe miſerable Wretches who were to the Number of ſeventeen Hundred, he received them however into the Camp, and gave them leave afterwards to go where they pleaſed.

In the mean Time *Philip*, who was very uneaſy about this Siege, ſought all poſſible Means to raiſe it: He ſaw but two proper to that End. The firſt, which was to attack the *Lines* of the Beſiegers, could not be put in Practice ſpeedily enough, there being no Hopes of the Town's holding out till he ſhould be in a Condition to relieve it. 1347. *The King of* Scotland *enters* England.

The

1347. The ſecond was to make a Diverſion in *England* by the Arms of the *Scots*. This latter having been deemed the readieſt, he got the King of *Scotland* to make an Inroad into *England*. He did not queſtion in the leaſt but it would be attended with good Succeſs, by Reaſon all the *Engliſh* Forces were employed in *France*. It was to be preſumed that the Alarm this Invaſion would cauſe in *England*, would raiſe ſuch Commotions there, that *Edward* would be forced to quit the Siege he had taken in Hand. *David*, looking upon the Intereſt of *France* as his own, and following without Heſitation, what was ſuggeſted to him by *Philip*, put himſelf at the Head of thirty Thouſand Men *, and advanced as far as *Durham*, This unexpected Invaſion at ſuch a Juncture alarmed the *Engliſh*, but however was not capable of diſheartening them. Young *Lionel*, whom the King his Father had left Guardian of the Realm, not being old enough to command an Army, Queen *Philippa* took upon her to repulſe the Enemy. To that End, putting herſelf at the Head of the Troops which had been drawn together from all Parts with wonderful Expedition, ſhe marched directly to the *Scots* and offered them Battle. *David* was no leſs impatient to come to an Engagement. He imagined nothing would be more eaſy than to put to Flight a parcel of *Militia* commanded by a Woman. But the Iſſue did not anſwer his Expectation. He had not only the Mortification to loſe the Day, but likewiſe to ſee himſelf a Priſoner in the Hands of the *Engliſh* *'.

He is defeated and made Priſoner by the Queen.

Fortune

* 62000 Men. *Speed.*

*' The *Scotch* King, though he had two Spears hanging in his Body, his Leg almoſt incurably wounded, and his Sword beat out of his Hand, diſdaining Captivity, provoked the *Engliſh* by opprobrious Language to kill him; and when *John Copland* Governour of *Roxborough-Caſtle* adviſed him to yield, he ſtruck him on the Face with his Gantlet ſo fiercely, that he knocked out two of his Teeth. But however *Copland* conveyed him away out of the Field a Priſoner. Upon his refuſing to deliver him up to the Queen (who ſtayed at *Newcaſtle* during the Battle.) The King ſent for him to *Calis*, where he excuſed his Refuſal ſo handſomely, that the

Fortune was never weary of favouring *Edward*. As his Arms had been victorious in *France* and *England*, ſo were they likewiſe in *Bretaign*. Sir *Thomas Dagworth*, who commanded the *Engliſh* Troops in thoſe Parts, gave *Charles de Blois* two Overthrows, and took him Priſoner in the laſt Battle which was fought near *la Roche de Rien*. 1347. Charles de Blois *defeated and taken*, Argentre. Mezerai.

In the mean Time the Siege or rather Blockade of *Calais* was continued by Sea and Land. *Edward* had ſent for ſeven Hundred Ships to guard the Sea, by which Means as nothing could be brought into the Town, it was at laſt reduced to Extremity. The King coming to the Knowledge of the wretched Condition of the Beſieged by an intercepted Letter, ſent it immediately to *Philip*, and withal bid the Meſſenger tell him, that he had no Time to loſe if he had a mind to relieve the Place. *Philip* purſuant to this Intelligence, haſtened to take the Field, and approached the *Engliſh* Camp with an Army of one Hundred and fifty Thouſand Men. He was in Hopes he ſhould be able to draw the Enemy out of his Intrenchments, by offering him Battle at ſeveral Times. But *Edward* knew better Things than to run any Hazard, well knowing how impoſſible it was to force his *Lines*. Beſides he had good Reaſon to expect that the Town would quickly ſurrender at Diſcretion. So that without being moved at all theſe Defiances, he anſwered with Reſolution, that his Buſineſs there was to take *Calais*, and if *Philip* thought fit to hinder him, he had nothing to do but to take ſuch Meaſures as to him ſhould ſeem moſt proper. *Philip* ſeeing he could not without manifeſt Danger attack him in his Intrenchments, nor get him to take the Field, ſent two Cardinals to him with Propoſals of Peace. He offered him *Guienne*, the Earldom of *Ponthieu*, and a Match between their Children. *Edward* made a Jeſt of theſe Offers. He replied that *Guienne* and *Ponthieu* belonged to him, that he ſhould quickly be Maſter of *Calais*, and therefore he had nothing

Philip *tries in vain to relieve* Calais. Froiſſard. Mezeray. Knighton. Walſing.

He offers Battle but Edward *refuſes.*

He makes him Propoſals of Peace which are rejected.

the King ſent him back with the Reward of 500 *l.* a Year in Land, where he himſelf ſhould chuſe it near his own Dwelling, and made him a Knight Banneret. Act. Pub. V. p. 542.

1347. *He sends him a Challenge, which is not accepted.*

nothing to do with his liberal Offers. This Project not succeeding, *Philip* proposed to him by a *Herald* to decide their Quarrel by a Combat of six on each Side. The *Herald* having added that the King of *France* would appoint the Time and Place, the Earl of *Derby* made Answer, *That must be* Edward *then, since he is the true King of* France. This Pretension alone was enough to quash the Proposal, to which it is certain *Edward* had no manner of Inclination, as Matters stood. His sole Aim was to take *Calais*, from which he would not be diverted upon any Account. A few Days after he received a Reinforcement of seventeen Thousand Men, which his Queen brought him from *England*. If we may believe some *English* Historians, these Recruits came very opportunely, to enable him to serve *Philip* in his own Kind. It is affirmed that he offered to fight him in open Field, to fill up his Trenches himself, and demolish his Works, provided he might have sufficient Security given him that nothing should be put into *Calais* till after the Battle. It is added that *Philip* having refused to consent to this, chose to retire. Thus much is certain, he did not think proper to attack *Edward* in his Intrenchments. So that the Besieged seeing there was no Hopes of being relieved, offered at length to capitulate. A Capitulation drove off till the last Extremity, could not be of any great Advantage. Accordingly *Edward* refused the Besieged all manner of Terms but that of their Lives, which he was willing to grant both to the Soldiers and the Inhabitants. However he excepted out of the last, six of the principal Burghers, to sacrifice them to his Vengeance, leaving the Inhabitants to chuse the Victims themselves. It was no easy Matter to make choice of these six Persons, and yet there was no Time to lose. History ought not to pass over in Silence the generous Action of *Eustace de St. Peerre* one of the chief Inhabitants of the Town. This brave Burgher seeing Fear and Despair painted on the Faces of his Countrymen, voluntarily offered himself to be one of the six. A Generosity so uncommon affected the rest to such a Degree that five more were quickly found, who after his Example, devoted themselves

Edward *receives a Reinforcement.*

Philip *retires.*

Calais *surrenders.*

Edward *resolves to sacrifice six of the chief Burghers.*

A generous Act of a Burgher.

ſelves for the Preſervation of their Fellow-Citizens. Theſe ſix illuſtrious Burghers, fully bent to appeaſe the Rage of the Conqueror by the Sacrifice of their Lives, went out bare-footed, in their Shirts, with Halters about their Necks, and came and preſented to him the Keys of the Town. They found him ſo highly incenſed, that notwithſtanding the Interceſſion of the Prince of *Wales*, and of the great Men about him, he commanded them to be led to Execution. But if he had Reſolution enough to refuſe that Favour to the preſſing Inſtances of his Son, he could not find in his Heart the ſame Inſenſibility for the Queen. The good Princeſs, moved with the Misfortune of theſe miſerable Men, caſting herſelf at his Feet, intreated him with Tears in her Eyes, to pardon them for *Chriſt*'s Sake. How reſolved ſoever he might be, he could not behold at his Feet his Royal Conſort whom he ſo tenderly loved, without feeling his Heart relent, and in ſpite of the Reſolution he had armed himſelf with, he ſuffered himſelf to be overcome by her Intreaties. The Queen not content with having ſaved the Lives of theſe unfortunate Men, ordered Cloaths to be brought them; and after ſhe had given them an Entertainment in her own Tent, diſmiſſed them with a Preſent of ſix Pieces of Gold to each. An Action which did then, and ever will, redound to the Honour of that generous Princeſs. 1347.

The Queen obtains the Pardon of the ſix Burghers.

Thus the important Town of *Calais* became ſubject to the Dominion of the *Engliſh*, after having held out a Year's Siege.

A few Days after *Edward* had made his Entry into *Calais*, he turned out all the Inhabitants in order to plant an *Engliſh* Colony in their Room. In all Probability this Precaution was the Means of *England*'s keeping that Place for the Space of two Hundred Years. The Siege had been ſo long and ſo harraſſing that *Edward* thought himſelf obliged to give his Troops ſome Reſt by conſenting to a Year's Truce which was propoſed to him. Which done, he left a good Garriſon in *Calais*, and returned in Triumph to *England*.

Edward *turns the* French *out of* Calais, *and puts in an* Engliſh *Colony.*

1347. *Flouriſhing Condition of* England.

Never had the *Engliſh* Name been more illuſtrious than it was at this Time, and never had *England* enjoyed a more compleat Happineſs. If the Valour, Wiſdom, and good Fortune of the King gave an extraordinary Luſtre to the Realm, the rare Endowments of the brave Prince of *Wales*, Heir Apparent to the Crown, afforded no leſs glorious Proſpect for the Time to come. The prodigious Plenty which immediately followed *Edward*'s Victories, ſeemed further to demonſtrate that *England* was the peculiar Object of *Heaven*'s Care.

1348. Edward *refuſes the Imperial Dignity.* Act. Pub. V. 622.

To add ſtill a freſh Luſtre to *Edward*'s Glory, Ambaſſadors from *Germany* arrived the next Year, with Offers of the *Imperial* Dignity. The Election of *Charles* IV, who had cauſed himſelf to be crowned at *Bonn*, not having been agreeable to all the *Electoral* Princes; ſome of them had reſolved to make a new Choice. To that End they had caſt their Eyes on the King of *England*, whom the Battle of *Creſſy* and taking of *Calais* had rendered very famous. But *Edward*, who was not ignorant how much the accepting the ſame Offer at a like Juncture, had coſt *Richard* Brother of *Henry* III, was too wiſe to fall into the ſame Snare. Beſides he had need of all his Forces and Endeavours to acquire the Crown of *France*, which to him ſeemed a more ſubſtantial Good. On theſe Accounts, he refuſed the Honour which the *German* Princes would have done him, and declined taking ſo great a Burden upon him.

1349. *Corruption of Manners in* England. Knighton Walſing.

During the Proſperity the *Engliſh* enjoyed, it is no wonder that Eaſe and Plenty begot a Looſeneſs of Manners, the uſual Conſequence of them. All the Hiſtorians unanimouſly affirm, that an unbridled Corruption of Morals prevailed throughout the Kingdom at this Time, and that the Women laying aſide their Modeſty, the great Ornament of their Sex, ſeemed to glory in the Loſs of their Virtue. Nothing was more common then to ſee them running in Troops to the *Tournaments* dreſſed like Cavaliers with Swords by their Sides, and mounting their Steeds adorned with rich Trappings, without any Regard to their Honour or Reputation. The Mens Exceſſes were

no leſs ſcandulous. God permitted not theſe diſorderly doings to go long unpuniſhed. A terrible Plague, which after having raged in *Aſia* and ſome Parts of *Europe*, had penetrated into *France*, paſſed from thence into *England*. It made ſuch dreadful Havock there, that one half of the Nation periſhed by it. *London* eſpecially felt the Effects of its Fury, where it is related that in a Year's Space above fifty Thouſand Perſons were buried in one Church-Yard belonging to the *Ciſtercians* *. 1349. *A terrible Plague in* England.

Though this terrible Scourge had fallen no leſs heavy on *France*, *Philip* was making great Preparations to renew the War, with Deſign to exert his utmoſt Endeavours to recover *Calais*. The Loſs of that Place bore hard upon his Mind, becauſe he plainly foreſaw the fatal Conſequences of it. However, as he rightly judged, that it would be very difficult to retake the Town by Force of Arms, he reſolved to make uſe of a more certain Way, by bribing the Governour. The Lords of *Montmorency* and *Charny* undertook the Execution of this Project, and very willingly took upon them the Ignominy of this Action, to pleaſe their Maſter. But it is not at all likely, that according to *Mezerai*, they thought it no Crime to ſurprize the Town during the Truce. In all appearance, their Ignorance was not ſo great as that comes to. Be this as it will, they contrived to hold a ſecret Correſpondence with *Aymeri de Pavia* the Governour, who promiſed to deliver up the Place for twenty Thouſand Crowns. This Sum being remitted to him, he found Means to introduce by Degrees into the Town a Hundred Men of Arms, and twelve *French* Knights, whom he concealed in the Caſtle. On the Day appointed for the Performance of his Promiſe, the Lords of *Charny* and *Ribaumont* lay in Ambuſh near the two Gates of the Town, in order to ruſh in, as ſoon as they ſhould be opened. So well were their Meaſures laid, that they thought themſelves ſure of Succeſs. But they did not know all that had paſſed. A little before, *Edward* having received ſome Intelligence of the Plot, had

Philip *corrupts the Governour of* Calais. Froiſſard. Mezerai.

Edward *has notice of it.*

* The *Charter-Houſe*.

1349. sent for the Governour to *London*, and promised him his Pardon, on Condition he would betray the *French*. The Villain, perceiving himself entirely ruined, if he refused to comply with the King, had given him perfect Information of all Circumstances, and told him the Day which had been agreed upon to let the Enemies into the Town.

He comes to Calais, By this Means *Edward* being fully informed how Matters stood, ordered it so that he came the Evening before to *Calais*, attended by the Prince of *Wales* and eight Hundred Men of Arms.

and attacks the French. On the Morrow by break of Day, he sallied out of one Gate, and the Prince of *Wales* at the other, to attack the *French*, who little expected any such Thing. The King, who was pleased to fight on Foot under the Banner of the Lord *Walter de Manny*, ingaged in a single Combat with *Eustace de Ribaumont* a Knight of *Picardy*, who made such fierce Blows at him, that he struck him down twice on his Knees. The speedy Relief he received from his own Men, freed him from this Danger. He even defeated *Ribaumont*'s Troops and took him Prisoner.

Whilst the King was thus employed, the Prince of *Wales* vigorously charged the Lord *Charny*, who after a long Resistance, was at length worsted and taken Prisoner by the Prince. The *French* lost six Hundred Men on this Occasion, besides a good Number of Prisoners, who with their two Leaders were brought into the Town, which a few Hours before they hoped to be Masters of. Though the Means they had thought fit to make use of were very far from being Honourable, *Edward* considering they had done nothing but in Obedience to their Sovereign's Command, treated them with great Civility. That very Evening he entertained the chief among them with a splendid Supper, and was even pleased to come and see them whilst they were at Table. He could not forbear upbraiding *Charny* with the infamous Means he had used, to take from him by Treachery and during the Truce, a Place which had cost him so dear, and which he had fairly won.

Edward's Generosity to Ribaumont. Then addressing himself to *Ribaumont*, he greatly commended his Valour, and made him a Present of a String of Pearls

Pearls of great Value, which he wore in his Cap, for a Teſtimony of the Eſteem he had for him. He added, that knowing from good Hands, that he was a great Admirer of the Ladies, he deſired him to wear it in their Company, telling him, they would not look upon him the leſs for that. After ſeveral other obliging Words, he gave him his Liberty without a Farthing of Ranſom. Before he left *Calais*, he made *Henry de Beauchamp* * Governour, not thinking it prudent to truſt any longer the Cuſtody of that important Place in the Hands of a *Lombard* who had ſuffered himſelf to be bribed. But this was not all the Puniſhment which this Traitor received for his double Treachery. The next Year he had the Misfortune to fall into the Hands of the *French*, who cauſed him to be torn in Pieces with four Horſes. 1349.

The Attempt upon *Calais* having failed contrary to the Expectation of the *French*, *Philip* diſowned the having any Hand in it. As *Edward* was not in a Readineſs to renew the War, he was contented to take up with that ſlight Satisfaction; ſo that the Truce ſtill ſubſiſted, notwithſtanding the juſt Cauſe *Philip* had given to break it.

Edward having nothing more to do at *Calais*, returned to *England*, where ſoon after he inſtituted the famous *Order of the Garter*. According to the common Opinion, this *Order* owes its Origin to an Accident in it ſelf of no Importance, but with regard to its Conſequences very remarkable, if it be true that it gave Birth to the Inſtitution of this *Order of Knighthood*. It is affirmed that *Edward* being at a *Ball*, where the Counteſs of *Salisbury* chanced to drop her Garter as ſhe was dancing, he ſtooped down to take it up: that the Lady imagining he had ſome other Deſign, and ſhowing her Surprize at it, he ſaid to her to clear himſelf, *Honi ſoit qui Mal y Penſe*, that is, *Evil to him that Evil thinks*. It is added, that in Memory of this Accident he inſtituted the *Order of the Garter*, to which he gave for *Motto*, the Words he had ſpoken to the Counteſs.

Inſtitution of the Order of the Garter. Walſingh. Aſhmole.

* *John de Beauchamp* younger Son of *Guy de Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*. Dugdale Vol. I. p. 231.

1349. teſs. An Origin which appears ſo little worthy of the Luſtre wherewith this *Order* has all along ſhone ſince its firſt Inſtitution, ſtrikes a Man at firſt Sight with ſomething diſagreeable, the which has ſet ſeveral ingenious Heads at Work to find out one more honourable. Some affirm, that the Reaſon which induced *Edward* to found this *Order*, was, becauſe on the Battle of *Creſſi* he had given *Garter* for the *Word*. Others ſay, it was becauſe on that Day he had ordered his Garter to be fixed at the End of a Lance to give the ſignal of Battle. Laſtly, there are
Cambden. ſome who have advanced that *Edward* only revived and formed into an *Order of Knighthood*, what King *Richard* I had begun at the Siege of *Acres* in *Paleſtin*. They ſay, that King *Richard* having reſolved to ſtorm the Town, had diſtributed to ſome of his principal Officers certain Leather-Strings to be tied about their Legs, that he might be able to diſtinguiſh them during the Aſſault, and that it was in Memory of that Event, that *Edward* inſtituted the *Order of the Garter*. But all this is ſaid without any ſufficient Proof. Beſides, what Endeavours ſoever may have been uſed to give this *Order* a different Origin from the firſt above-mentioned, nothing has hitherto been found out which affords a ſatisfactory Reaſon of the *Motto*, *HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE*. This *Motto* agrees well enough with the firſt Circumſtance; but has no manner of Connexion with thoſe they would ſubſtitute in its Room. It is no leſs uncertain why the *Knights* wear the *Garter* on their left Leg rather then on their Right, or wherefore the Founder choſe to put the *Order* under the Protection of St. *George*. But thus much we may be aſſured of, that the Intent of this great Prince was to induce thoſe that had then, and thoſe that were to have in Time to come, the Honour of being admitted into this Society, to diſtinguiſh themſelves by their Courage and Virtue. This of all the like *Orders* has beſt kept to the Rules of its firſt Inſtitution. More antient than thoſe of the *Golden-Fleece*, and *Holy Ghoſt*, it has never degenerated as to the Number, which has all along been Twenty ſix, including *the Sovereign of the Order*, who is always the Perſon

Perſon that wears the Crown of *England*. The Kings and other Sovereign Princes, who have been and ſtill are deſirous of being admitted into this moſt *noble Order*, are a clear Evidence of the great Repute it bears throughout all *Europe*. * 1349.

How great ſoever might be the Glory which *Edward* had acquired hitherto, he diſdained not to hazard his Reputation, in an Affair which ſeemed below his Notice. But the Greatneſs of his Courage would not ſuffer him to weigh too nicely ſuch ſort of Conſiderations. The Merchants having brought Complaints to him about certain *Spaniſh* Ships which infeſted the Coaſts of *England* and did them much Damage, he promiſed to clear the Sea of them. To that End, having got together ſuch of his Ships of War as were ſooneſt ready, he reſolved to go himſelf and give Chace to the Corſairs. He fought and defeated them, took Twenty of their Ships, ſunk many more, and diſperſed the reſt. This Action, though in it ſelf of no great Importance, appeared to him ſo glorious, that he cauſed a Gold Coin to be minted, whereon he was repreſented on Board a Ship with his Cutlaſs in his Hand, in Order to perpetuate the Memory of it. Edward *fights the* Spaniſh *Corſairs.* Act. Pub. V. 961.

Philip de Valois lived not to ſee the End of the Truce he had made with *Edward*. He died the 22d of *Auguſt* 1350, leaving for Succeſſor *John* his Son, who renewed the Truce till *Whitſontide* 1354. But it was ill kept on both 1350. *Death of* Philip de Valois. John *ſucceeds.*

* *Cambden* reckons in his Time 22 Kings, beſides the Kings of *England*, and as many Foreign Dukes and Princes. He has likewiſe given us a Liſt of the firſt ſix and Twenty *Knights* who are called the *Founders of the Order*, namely, *Edward* III King of *England*; *Edward* his Son Prince of *Wales*; *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*; *Thomas* Earl of *Warwick*; *Ralph* Earl of *Stafford*; *William Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*; *Roger Mortimer* Earl of *March*; *Capdall de Buche*; *John l' Iſle*; *Bartholomew Burgwaſh*; *John Beauchamp*; *John de Mohun*; *Hugh Courtney*; *Thomas Holland*; *John Grey*; *Richard Fitz-Simon*; *Miles Stapleton*; *Thomas Walle*; *Hugh Wriotheſley*; *Niel Loring*; *John Chandos*; *James de Audley*; *Otho Holland*; *Henry Eme*; *Zanchet Dabridgecourt*; *William Paynel*. The Counteſs of *Salisbury*, who it ſeems gave Occaſion for the Founding this *Order*, was the Wonder of her Time for Shape and Beauty.

1350. both Sides. In *Bretaign*, *Gascoign*, *Picardy*, frequent Hostilities were committed, which occasioned mutual Complaints and even Reprisals, each Party throwing the Blame on his Enemy. The Earl of *Derby*, who had been honoured with the Title of Duke of *Lancaster* *, was sent to *Calais* with an Army as if it had been open War. He made Inroads into the *French* Territories, and ravaged the Country from *Calais* to *Terouenne*. The greatest Advantage *Edward* reaped from the Non-Observance of the Truce, was the getting the Town of *Guisnes* which the Governour sold to him. When King *John* complained of it, *Edward* replied, that *Philip* his Father by attempting to surprize *Calais*, had taught him that Truces were vendible, and that the Purchase of a Place was no Violation of them.

1351. *The Duke of* Lancaster *makes Inroads into* France. Froissard. Mezerai.

The Flemings *fall off from* Edward. This Advantage however did not balance the Loss *Edward* sustained in *Flanders*, by the entire Defection of the *Flemings*. Hitherto they had kept fair with him; but some Time since, the Face of Affairs was entirely changed in that Country. After the Death of the Earl of *Flanders*, slain at the Battle of *Cressy*, the *Flemings* had sent Deputies to *Philip de Valois*, to demand the Son of their deceased Sovereign, under Colour of putting him in Possession of his Father's Inheritance. *Philip* having consented to their Request, as soon as they had the young Prince in their Power, they contracted him to one of *Edward*'s Daughters. This Accident would doubtless have been very prejudicial to *Philip*, if the Earl himself had not helped him out at this Pinch. The young Prince, whose Education had wholly attached him to the Interests of *France*, not being able to bear the Thoughts of marrying into the Family of his Sovereign's Enemy, privately withdrew and cast himself again into his Arms. From thence-

1352.

forward

* Son of *Henry* Brother of *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaster* beheaded in the Reign of *Edward* II, who was Son of *Edmund* younger Son of *Henry* III. This *Henry* for his Merits was advanced by the King's special *Charter*, dated the 6th of *March*, 25 of *Edward*, to the Title of Duke of *Lancaster*, being the second that bore that Title in *England*.

forward the *Flemings* began by Degrees to fall off from *England*. They even approved of the Match which *Philip* made between their Earl and the Duke of *Brabant*'s Daughter, who had broke with *Edward*. Their Ficklenes was the Cauſe that the *Staple* * *of* Engliſh *Wooll*, which had been ſet up in their Country, was removed into *England*, to their great Damage, but to the Benefit of the *Engliſh*. 1352. 1353.

The new King of *France* ſeemed to be extremely deſirous that the Truce might be changed into a firm and laſting Peace, to which *Edward* was not averſe. In the Negotiations on this Occaſion, *John* offered to give up to the King of *England Guienne*, with the Earldoms of *Artois* and *Guiſnes*, to hold them in full Sovereignity without doing Homage to the Crown of *France*. But quickly after, to his own as well as to his Kingdom's Misfortune, he abruptly broke off the Negotiation, which ended only in prolonging the Truce till *April* the Year following. 1354. *Project of Peace between the two Crowns.* Walſing.

It was not difficult to perceive that the King of *France* ſought only to gain Time, the better to enable himſelf to maintain the War. *Edward* was very ſenſible of this; but he had himſelf need of ſome Reſpite, in order to ſettle ſome very important Affairs at Home. The Obſtinacy of the *Scots* to ſtand by their King, though a Priſoner, had fully convinced him that it would be a hard Matter to reduce *Scotland*, as long as he was at war with *France*. This Conſideration led him to patch up a Peace with the *Scots* till a more favourable Opportunity ſhould offer to renew the War. But this Peace could not be brought about without their King's obtaining his Liberty. So firmly did they inſiſt upon that Article. To ſettle this Af-

* *Staple* ſignifies this or that Town, whither the Merchants of *England* were by Act of Parliament to carry their *Wooll*, *Cloth*, *Lead* and *Tin*, for the ſelling them by the *Great*. What were the *Staple Commodities* of this Realm may be ſeen in the *Statute of* 14 *Richard* II. c. 1. as *Wooll*, *Leather*, *Wood-fells*, *Lead*, *Tin*, &c. The *Staple of Wooll* was removed to *Weſtminſter*, *Canterbury*, *Chicheſter*, *Briſtol*, *Lincoln* and *Hull*.

1354. *Treaty about the King of* Scotland's *Liberty.* Act. Pub. V. 793. 799.

fair, *Edward* had appointed *Commissioners* to treat with the *Scots* concerning King *David*'s Liberty. This Negotiation, which went on slowly, ended at length in a Treaty which was concluded at *Newcastle*, *July* the 13th 1354, whereby *Edward* obliged himself to set *David* free for a Ransom of fourscore Thousand Marks of Silver. This Treaty was ratified a little after by the Prince of *Wales* his Son, but it was not executed for Reasons I shall mention hereafter. So that *David* continued a Prisoner till 1357.

Edward *gives* Guienne *to the Prince of* Wales.

As soon as this Treaty was concluded, *Edward* considering from henceforth the Affairs of *Scotland* as of little Moment, bent his Thoughts chiefly upon *France*. The Truce being about to expire, he invested the Prince of *Wales* his Son with the Dutchy of *Guienne*; and having sent him thither, commanded him to renew the Hostilities. Some affirm, that King *John* had already invested the Dauphin *Charles* his Son with that Dutchy, and that his so doing was the Cause of breaking the Truce. But there is no mention of this Circumstance either in the *French* Histories or in the *Collection of Publick Acts*. Besides it is certain that the War began not again till after the Truce was expired. Whilst the Prince of *Wales* was preparing to renew the War in *Guienne*, the King his Father having landed at *Calais*, ravaged *Boulonnois* and *Artois* without meeting any Opposition. Upon News of this, the King of *France* drew his Forces together with all speed. At the same Time he sent *Edward* a Challenge to fight him in single Combat, or at the Head of their Armies. At least this is what the *French* Historians affirm. They add, that *Edward* declined it, and knowing that *John* was approaching in Order to give him Battle, retired into *England*. The *English* on the contrary maintain, that *Edward* sent the Challenge, and that *John* would not accept it. What is surprizing is, that the *Collection of Publick Acts* makes no mention of this Expedition of *Edward*'s, though whenever the Kings of *England* had Occasion to go beyond Sea, we seldom fail to find there a Memorandum of the Day both of their Departure and of their

He goes into France *and commits some Ravages.*

their Return. But ſince the Hiſtorians of both Nations ſpeak of *Edward*'s going to *Calais*, a bare negative Proof is not ſufficient to invalidate their Teſtimony. Be this as it will, if *Edward* came over ſo haſtily into his Kingdom, it is certain that very important Reaſons called him back. The *Scots* having taken *Berwick* by Surprize, it was very dangerous to let them have in their Hands a Place of that Importance, which opened them at all Times a Way into *England*. To retake this Town was the Occaſion of *Edward*'s haſtening his Return. 1354. *The* Scots *ſurprize* Berwick.

Immediately after his Arrival he called a Parliament, before whom he ſet forth the Treachery of the *Scots*, who after a Treaty concluded and ratified, had abuſed his Sincerity, and ſuffered themſelves to be ſeduced by the King of *France*. The Parliament knowing the Neceſſity of recovering *Berwick*, and the King's Occaſion for Money to continue the War with *France*, granted him a Tax of fifty Shillings upon every Sack of Wooll ſold in the Kingdom. It is affirmed that this *Subſidy* amounted to more than three Hundred and fifty Thouſand Marks a Year, ſo conſiderable was the Woollen Trade in thoſe Days. With this Aid the King quickly raiſed an Army, at the Head of which he marched towards the Borders of *Scotland*. Upon his Approach the *Scots* quitted *Berwick*, after having demoliſhed the Fortifications, the which he revenged by ravaging their Country. The unexpected Rupture of the *Scots* had ſurprized him the more, by Reaſon he had juſt made a Treaty with them, for reſtoring their King to his Liberty, and ſtayed only for the Payment of the Ranſom agreed upon. This Proceeding of that Nation quite altered the King's Mind as to Peace, and cauſed him to take a new Courſe with reſpect to the Affairs of *Scotland*. Edward *retakes* Berwick. Hect. Boeth.

Ever ſince *Baliol* had been expelled that Kingdom, he had kept the Title of King, but without any real Power, and in ſo ſervile a Dependence on the King of *England*, that he was looked upon only as a Subject. It is true indeed, *Edward* had left him the Command of his Troops; but they were ſo few that he never had it in his Power to 1355. *Condition of* Baliol.

1355. make any Progreſs. So that he ſpent his Days in a melancholly manner, with a Penſion of five Marks a Day, which *Edward* allowed him, and ſome Preſents for his extraordinary Expences. There are manifeſt Proofs of his great Dependance in the *Collection of Publick Acts*, particularly in the frequent Pardons *Edward* granted him for hunting in his Foreſts. He was therefore but the Shadow of a King, made uſe of by *Edward* hitherto as a Tool to compaſs his Ends. It was needleſs for the King to wear the Mask any longer, all his Proceedings having plainly ſhowed that he had been labouring more for himſelf than for *Baliol*. Setting aſide therefore the Scruples which had till then reſtrained him, or rather throwing off the Cloak under which he had concealed his Intentions, he cauſed that Prince to make over to him all his Right to *Scotland* for the yearly Penſion of two Thouſand Pounds *Sterling*. This was a ſmall Recompence for a Crown, had it not been an *imaginary* One, which *Baliol* was not very unwilling to part with. This Reſignation proved fatal to *David*. By that Means, he had the Mortification to ſee himſelf more cloſely confined, and to loſe at the ſame Time the Hopes he had entertained of recovering his Liberty.

Act. Pub. V. 832. 833, 834, 835, &c. ibid. 838. 852.

Charles de Blois *releaſed*. ibid. p. 862.

Charles de Blois Priſoner in *England*, ever ſince the Battle of *la Roche de Rien*, was more fortunate than the King of *Scotland*, at leaſt with regard to his Liberty, though it was ſold him at a very dear Rate. He bound himſelf by Articles with *Edward* to pay ſeven Hundred Thouſand Crowns for his Ranſom, and left his two Sons in Hoſtage for ſecurity of Payment *.

1356. *The Prince of* Wales *ravages* Languedoc. Mezeray.

Whilſt *Edward* was taken up at Home, the Prince of *Wales* ravaged the *Southern* Provinces of *France*, and particularly *Languedoc*. He had made into that Province a ſudden Irruption, which rendered him Maſter of *Carcaſſone* and

* *Edward* forgave him half the Sum on Condition he would pay the other half punctually at the Days agreed on. The *Act* for this Purpoſe is dated at *Weſtminſter* the 10th of *Auguſt* 1356. Act. Pub. V. 863.

and *Narbonne*, from whence he carried off a very great Booty, which done, he was gone back to *Bourdeaux*. His Retreat having cauſed the Meaſures which were taking to oppoſe his Invaſion, to be neglected, he thought he might ſafely venture to make a ſecond Inroad. As ſoon as he had refreſhed his Troops a little, he marched again at the Head of twelve Thouſand Men, whereof not above three Thouſand were Natives of *England*. He paſſed through *Perigord* and *Limoaſin*, entered *Berry*, and appeared before the Gates of *Bourges*. But upon News that the King of *France* was advancing with an Army of ſixty Thouſand Men, he ſtayed not to beſiege that Place, but took a Compaſs in order to retire to *Bourdeaux*. *John*, who had foreſeen his Deſign, marched with ſuch Expedion that he came up with him near *Poictiers*. It being impoſſible for the Prince to retreat, he reſolved to intrench himſelf at *Maupertuis* in a Poſt encumbered with Vines and Hedges, and of a very difficult Approach. Two *Legates* whom the Pope had ſent to the two Princes to perſwade them to Peace, uſed their utmoſt Endeavours to prevent the two Armies from coming to a Battle. They even brought the Prince of *Wales* to promiſe that he would repair all the Damage he had done in his Incurſion, and be obliged not to bear Arms againſt *France* for ſeven Years. The Superiority *John* ſaw himſelf in, having made him reject theſe Offers, he expected that the Prince with his whole Army ſhould ſurrender at Diſcretion. This Condition was not at all reliſhed by the Prince. He generouſly replied, that he would chuſe rather to dye Sword in Hand, than do any Thing repugnant to his Honour, and the Glory of the *Engliſh* Name.

1356.

The King follows him with a great Army.

Offers of the Prince are rejected

All Proſpect of an Accommodation being vaniſhed, the Prince of *Wales* made a ſhort Speech to his Troops, telling them, that Victory depended not on Numbers, but on Bravery: That for his own Part, he was determined to conquer or dye, and that he would not expoſe his Country to the Diſgrace of paying his Ranſom. All King *John*'s Generals unanimouſly adviſed him to ſtarve this little Army which was cooped up in the middle of the

Battle of Poictiers.

1356. the Enemy's Country, where it would quickly be in Want of all Neceſſaries. This Advice appeared to him too wary and too inconſiſtent with his Impatience. And therefore full of the pleaſing Proſpect of obtaining an eaſy Victory, and of revenging his Subjects, he reſolved without Delay to attack the Enemies. He committed at firſt a very great Errour, by cauſing his *Cavalry* to diſmount and begin the Fight. The *Horſe*, little accuſtomed to charge on Foot, were not able to break through the *Engliſh* who had the Advantage of the Ground, in a Country full of Hedges, through which there was a Neceſſity to paſs in order to force their Intrenchments. The *unhorſed* Cavalry being beaten back with great Loſs, the *Infantry* ſupplied their Place, and met the ſame Reſiſtance, in ſpite of the King's Endeavours, who maintained the Fight for the Space of four Hours, animating his Troops by his Voice and Example, without fearing to expoſe his Perſon to the moſt imminent Dangers. How much ſoever he might exert himſelf, it was not poſſible for him to rout this handful of *Engliſh*, whom the Neceſſity of coming off Conquerors cauſed to fight deſperately, being moreover encouraged by the Example of the Prince, who performed that Day Acts of Wiſdom and Valour comparable to thoſe of the moſt renowned Generals. Of four Sons which the King of *France* had with him, the three eldeſt having made off betimes with eight Hundred Spearmen, their Retreat did not a little contribute to the diſcouraging the reſt of the Army. In the mean Time King *John* ſpurred on by Deſpair, ſignalized himſelf in all Places where was the moſt Danger, and drew upon him the braveſt of his Enemies. Though he found himſelf deſerted by his Men, he failed not however to ſtrike Terrour into the moſt Daring. But in all Appearance he would at length have ſunk under the Multitude of Enemies which ſurrounded him on all Sides, and took from him all hopes of ſaving his Life, if *Denis de Morbeck*, a Knight of *Artois*, after having diſperſed thoſe who preſſed him the moſt vigorouſly, had not earneſtly perſwaded him to yield himſelf a Priſoner. He would very fain have delivered

John *is taken Priſoner.*

his Sword to none but the Prince of *Wales*, but as the Prince was at too great a Diſtance, he was forced to ſurrender himſelf into the Hands of *Morbeck*, with *Philip* his fourth Son about thirteen Years old, who had all along fought by his Side. In this unlucky Action ſo fatal to *France*, there were not above ſix Thouſand Men ſlain; but among that Number were eight Hundred *Nobles*, the Duke of *Bourbon* a Prince of the *Blood*, the Duke of *Athens* Conſtable of *France*, the Marſhal *de Neſle*, and above fifty other great Lords of the Kingdom. 1356.

Moderation and Modeſty of the Prince of Wales. Froiſſard. Walſing.

If the victorious Prince diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his Conduct and Bravery in this glorious Day, he was no leſs admired after his Victory, for his modeſt and generous Behaviour towards his Priſoner. The Evening after the Battle, the King ſupping in the Prince of *Wales*'s Tent, earneſtly intreated him to ſit at Table with him; but he very civily deſired to be excuſed, and ſtood near him all the while to entertain him with Diſcourſe. As the King, whoſe Thoughts were wholly employed with the Conſideration of his preſent unfortunate Condition, was complaining of his hard Fate, the Prince ſaid to him in a free, though modeſt and unaffected manner, "*That* he had one "great Reaſon to be comforted, that the Battle was not "loſt by his Fault: *That* the *Engliſh* had experienced to "their Coſt that he was the braveſt of Princes; but that "God alone had diſpoſed of the Victory according to "his Will. And, *continued he*, if your ill Fortune has "thrown you into your preſent Diſgrace, you may at "leaſt reſt aſſured that an inviolable Regard ſhall be pre-"ſerved for your Perſon, and that you ſhall find in me "a very reſpectful Relation, if I may be allowed to glory "in that Title." As ſoon as *John* had recovered himſelf a little, he turned to the Prince and ſaid to him with an Air of Satisfaction, "That ſince it was his Deſtiny "to be vanquiſhed and taken, he found great Comfort "in his Misfortune, that no Man could reproach him "for having done any Thing unbecoming his Character, "and that he was fallen into the Hands of the moſt va-"liant and generous Prince alive." On the Morrow

ſolemn

1356. solemn Thanks and Praises were returned to God in the *English* Camp for this great Victory. The Prince thanked his victorious Troops in such Terms as ascribed to them the Honour of the Day, without the least mention of himself. After this he set out for *Bourdeaux* laden with an inestimable Booty, and clogged with so great a Number of Prisoners, that it would have been a hard Matter for the *English* to defend themselves in Case they had been attacked *.

1357. Froissard. Pol. Virg. One may easily conceive the Joy which this News spread over all *England*, and how great *Edward*'s Satisfaction was in particular. The Protection God had granted to the Prince of *Wales* being too visible not to be regarded, the King ordered publick Thanksgivings for this signal Victory to be offered up to God for eight Days together in all the Churches of the Kingdom. The Prince of *Wales* spent the Winter at *Bourdeaux*, where two *Legates* from the Pope came to him, and were so urgent with him, that he consented, with the Approbation of the King his Father, to a Truce for two Years, in which were included all the Allies of both Crowns. In *April* following, he came into *England*, bringing his Prisoners along with him. He was received there with excessive Joy, but he constantly refused all the Honours they would have done him, and was very well satisfied with those that were paid to the King his Prisoner. When they made their Entry into *London*, the Prince of *Wales* rode on a little black Pad by the King of *France*'s Side, who was mounted on a fine white Courser, adorned with stately Trappings. One would have thought that all the Pomp *' which

Truce for two Years.

The King conducted to London. Act. Pub. V.

He is received in an honourable manner.

was

* This Battle was fought on the 19th of *September*, 1356. There were above six *Frenchmen* to one *Englishman*. The Prisoners are said to be more in Number than the *English* Army.

*' He was received by *Henry Picard* the Lord Mayor (the same that afterwards so magnificently entertained at one Time the four Kings, of *England*, *France*, *Scotland*, and *Cyprus*) with the Aldermen, *&c.* in all their *Formalities*, with the City *Pageants*; and in the Streets as he passed to *Westminster*, the Citizens hung out all their *Plate*, *Tapestry*, and *Armour*, so that the like had never been seen before in the Memory of Man. *Barnes*, p. 526.

was displayed upon this Occasion was intended purely to do Honour to the captive King, so great Care had been taken to avoid every Thing that might put him in Mind of his Misfortune, or be offensive to his Eyes. Though *Edward* disputed with him the Title of *King of France*, he treated him however in all Respects as a King. The Sight of the captive Prince presenting to his Mind the Instability of human Grandour, he received him with as cordial Embraces, as if he had been his own Brother, or as if he was come on purpose to pay him a Visit. It was in this noble and generous Manner that the Father and Son strove to out-do one another in comforting the unfortunate King, by all the Marks of Respect due to a Great Prince, in what State soever Fortune may have placed him. It is said that when *Edward* received the News of the Victory of *Poictiers*, he told those that were about him, that his Satisfaction at so glorious a Success, was not comparable to the Pleasure which the generous Behaviour of the Prince gave him. King *John* and Prince *Philip* his Son were lodged together in the Palace of the *Savoy* *, with all the honourable Freedom they could desire. The other Captive Lords met with the same Treatment and Civilities. 1358.

Edward enjoyed then a so much greater Glory, as it was very uncommon, I mean, the Glory of having in his Power his two most potent Enemies, the King of *France* at *London*, and the King of *Scotland* at *Odiam* [in *Hampshire*.] King *David* should have had his Liberty long since, pursuant to the Articles agreed upon three Years before. But for the Reasons above mentioned, he saw himself still detained in Captivity. However, when he had the least Reason to expect any Favour from a victorious Enemy, who had just reduced *Scotland* to the lowest Ebb, *Edward* was prevailed with by the pressing Instances of

The King of Scotland set at Liberty. Act. Pub. V. 65--68.

* So called from *Peter* Earl of *Savoy* who lived in it. *Eleanor* Wife of *Henry* III bought it of the Fraternity of *Mountjoy* and gave it to her Son *Edmund* Earl of *Lancaster*, and it was now in Possession of *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*.

1358. the ~~Queen~~ his Sister, and agreed to renew the Treaty made in 1354. To that End he granted Passports to Ambassadors from *Scotland*, who during a short Truce, obtained their King's Liberty upon much the same Terms as in the first Treaty. They obliged themselves to pay for his Ransom a hundred Thousand Marks *Sterling*, namely, ten Thousand every Year till the whole should be paid; for Security of the Payment whereof the King of *Scotland* gave twenty Hostages. At the same Time, a Truce for ten Years was concluded between *England* and *Scotland*. *David* was released upon these Conditions, which he took Care to ratify as soon as he was returned into his Kingdom, after an eleven Years Captivity. It seems that *Edward*, wholly taken up then with the vast Projects he had formed with regard to *France*, had dropped all Thoughts of becoming Master of *Scotland*. At least he thought proper to defer the Execution of that Design till a better Opportunity.

Magnificent Turnament at Windsor. Froissard. Walsing.

The Truces *Edward* had lately signed with *France* and *Scotland*, having freed him from the Trouble of Foreign Affairs, he confined his Thoughts to the Government of his Kingdom. But as nothing extraordinary passed, he spent part of his Time in Diversions, in which the King of *France* and the other chief Prisoners had always a Share. The Turnament he held at *Windsor* on the 23d of *April* 1358 being St. *George*'s Day, Patron of the *Order of the Garter*, was the most sumptuous and magnificent that had ever been seen in *England*. The Duke of *Brabant* with several other sovereign Princes, and an infinite Number of *Knights* of all Nations were present, and were entertained in a splendid manner.

Queen Isabella *dies.*

This Diversion was followed by the Funeral of Queen *Isabella* the King's Mother. She died at the Castle of *Rising* [in *Norfolk*,] aged sixty three Years, after a twenty-eight Years Confinement. If the Marriage of this Queen was fatal to the King her Husband, it was no less so to *France*, since it proved the Occasion of a long and bloody War, which brought that Kingdom to the very Brink of Destruction.

Geoffery

Geoffery d' Harcourt, mentioned above on account of the King's Deſcent at *la Hogue*, and who ſerved the King of *Navarre* in *Normandy*, was there ſlain about this Time. As he had by *Will* made the King of *England* his ſole Heir, and as his Lands belonged to the *Demeſns* which the King of *Navarre* held in *Normandy*, *Edward* took Poſſeſſion of them and gave them to the Lord *Holland*. 1358. *Earl of* Harcourt *makes* Edward *his Heir.*

Whilſt *Edward* enjoyed profound Tranquillity, *France* was in extreme Deſolation, by Means of the Inteſtine Troubles occaſioned by the King's Impriſonment. *Charles* the Dauphin, *John*'s eldeſt Son, held the Reins of the Government, by the Title of *Lieutenant-General*, which was afterwards changed into that of *Regent*. His Regency was ſo embroiled by the Cabals of ſome factious People, who found their Account in putting Affairs in Confuſion, that it was not poſſible to think to any Purpoſe of freeing their King. The Affairs of *France* were at that Time in a deplorable State. *Charles the Bad*, King of *Navarre*, though deſcended from the Family Royal of *France* (*a*), daily ſtirred up Commotions and Tumults in *Paris* where he had a powerful Party. By that Means the Authority of the *Dauphin* was ſo abridged, that, although a Prince of great Abilities, he knew not what Courſe to take in order to govern ſo diſtracted a *State*. Amidſt this Confuſion, the *French* lived in a Sort of *Anarchy*. The *Nobles* and Officers of the Army oppreſſed the meaner Sort of People, eſpecially the Peaſants, to whom they gave the Nick-Name of *Jaques Bon homme* *. Rallery joined with Oppreſſion, having drove theſe poor Wretches to Deſpair, they came together in great Troops, in the Country of *Beauvoiſin*, reſolutely bent to extirpate all the *Nobles*. In a little Time, their Number being conſiderably increaſed, they became ſo formidable, that there was a Neceſſity of drawing together all the Forces of the Kingdom, to diſperſe the Army of *Ruſticks* which grew ſtronger every Day. This War, which was called *The Jaquery*, *Great Troubles in* France. *The* Jaquery-War.

(*a*) From the Branch of *Evreux*.
* Or *James Goodman*.

1358. created the Regent no small Trouble. It was one of the principal Causes which hindered him from taking Measures to oppose the Invasion threatened by the *English* as soon as the Truce should be expired.

Treaty between the two Kings rejected by the States of France.

During all these Disturbances, King *John*, who was heartily tired of his Confinement in *England* how easily soever it was made to him, treated himself with *Edward* concerning his Liberty. He could not obtain it without yielding to the Terms the Conqueror should be pleased to impose upon him. But however, as he was fully informed of the Disturbances in *France*, he believed he could not purchase too dearly a Freedom, which might put it in his Power to restore Peace in his Kingdom. For which Reason, he agreed with *Edward* upon a Treaty very disadvantagious to *France*, whereby he gave up several Provinces to the Crown of *England*. The General Assembly of the *States* being met upon this Occasion in 1359, found the Conditions so hard, that they could not be brought to ratify the Treaty. By this Refusal, the captive King saw all his Hopes vanish. Mean while the *States* plainly perceiving they had given a Handle to renew the War, offered the Regent all necessary Assistance to procure better Terms, by Force of Arms. But they promised more than they performed. *Edward* loudly complained of having been imposed upon, and altering on a sudden his Carriage to King *John*, he confined him in the Castle of *Sommerton*, from whence he afterwards had him removed to the *Tower of London*. Without doubt he did not think it prudent to leave that Prince at *London* upon his *Parole* as he was before, whilst he himself should be in the Heart of *France*, where he was resolved to carry the War.

1359. Edward *resolves to carry the War into* France. Act. Pub. VI. 134.

1360. *He goes over to* Calais *with a great Army.*

The Preparations for this fresh Expedition were prodigious. An Army of a hundred Thousand Men, which he transported to *Calais*, was a plain Indication that his Design was to make a powerful Effort to subdue *France*, whilst the Troubles of that Kingdom offered him so fair an Opportunity. As soon as his Forces were landed at *Calais*, he divided them into three Bodies. The first was commanded

commanded by the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who had lately given his only Daughter in Marriage to *John of Gant* third Son of the King *. The Prince of *Wales* headed the ſecond, and the King himſelf commanded the laſt. With theſe numerous Troops, conducted by the three moſt renowned Generals then in *Europe*. *Edward* marched into *France* without any Oppoſition. The Dauphin not being ſtrong enough to take the Field, was contented with ſtoring the principal Towns with all Things neceſſary for their Defence, without caring to hazard a Battle with Forces ſo unequal to thoſe of the Enemy. 1360.

He ravages France to the very Gates of Paris.

In the mean Time *Edward* having traverſed *Artois*, entered *Champagne*, and approached *Rhimes* in order to ſurprize the City, where ſome affirm, though upon little or no Grounds, that he deſigned to be crowned. But miſſing his Aim, he fell upon *Sens*, which he took without much Difficulty. The Duke of *Burgundy* perceiving he was not in a Condition to ſave his Country from being ravaged, obtained a ſeparate Truce for three Years, upon paying down two Hundred Thouſand Florins, and engaging to furniſh the *Engliſh* Army with Proviſions. *Nivernois* followed the Example of *Burgundy*; but *Brie* and *Gatinois* were plundered. *Edward*'s Aim being to induce the *French* to come to a Battle, he did all he could to provoke them to it. With this View, he went about the latter End of Lent, and encamped within ſeven Leagues of *Paris*, between *Chartres* and *Mont le Herry*. His Approach not having been capable to draw the Dauphin out of *Paris*, he advanced to the very Gates of the City, without being able to attain his Ends. Though one might ſee from the Walls the Smoak of the Villages ſet on Fire by the *Engliſh*. The Dauphin, to whom was afterwards ibid. p. 161.

* Then Earl of *Richmond*. The Duke of *Lancaſter* had two Daughters *Maud* and *Blanch*. *Maud*, after ſhe had been married firſt to *Ralph* Son and Heir to the Lord *Stafford*, and after his Death, to *William* Duke of *Zealand*, died without Iſſue in 1363, by which Means the whole Eſtate fell to her Siſter *Blanch*, who was married to the Earl of *Richmond* in 1360, who upon the Death of his Father-in-law was made Duke of *Lancaſter*. Dugdale.

1360. terwards given the Sirname of *the Wise*, was in Effect too prudent to run any Hazard on this Occasion. Warned by the fatal Examples of the Kings his Father and Grandfather, he took Care not to venture the Crown upon the Decision of a Battle, wherein he had scarce any Prospect of Success. As he knew that *Paris* was able to hold out a long Siege, he kept himself shut up in the City, and all *Edward*'s Bravadoes could not make him alter his Resolution. He tried however to deliver *France* from the impending Danger, by offering certain Proposals to his Enemy, but they were scornfully rejected. *Edward* looked upon himself as in a Condition to prescribe what Terms he pleased himself. He seemed at first to have formed the Design of besieging *Paris*. But afterwards finding it would be too difficult a Task, he turned back towards *Beauce*. Cardinal *de Langres* the Pope's Legate, attended him every where, and pressed him continually to set Bounds to his Ambition; but all he could say was to no Purpose at that Time. *Edward* stayed some Time in *Beauce*, from whence he designed to lead his Troops towards the *Loire*. In the mean while, though his Army had all along marched through very plentiful Countries, he lost daily a great many Men by Sickness. It was doubtless a great Mortification to that Monarch, to see that with so numerous an Army, he had made so little Progress. Although he was in the very Heart of *France*, he could not flatter himself with having made any one certain Conquest. This perhaps was one Reason of his giving Ear at length to the Legate's Sollicitations. However, his doing so is ascribed to another Cause. One Day whilst he lay encamped near *Chartres*, on a sudden a dreadful Storm arose accompanied with Thunder and Hail of a prodigious Bigness, which killed six Thousand Horses and a Thousand Men. So extraordinary an Accident was deemed by the Troops as a Sign of God's Wrath. The King himself seemed to be possessed with the same Opinion. It may be he was very glad that this Event furnished him with an Opportunity to show his Willingness to grant a Peace to *France* from a pure Motive of Generosity,

The Dauphin's Proposals rejected.

Reasons which induced Edward *to a Peace.*

An Extraordinary Accident induces him to it.

rosity, and to colour over by that Means the Disgrace of not having been able, with so fine an Army, to do any Thing more than destroy the open Country. Be that as it will, in the midst of the Storm, he turned his Face towards the Church of *Chartres* which he saw at a Distance, and [falling on his Knees] made a Vow to consent to a Peace upon equitable Terms. The Legate improving this Disposition, earnestly pressed him to put his generous Design in Execution, and got him to send Plenipotentiaries to *Bretigny* a Village near *Chartres*, to treat there about a Peace. Here it was the *Dauphin* and his chief Counsellors appeared for *France*; and for *England*, the Prince of *Wales*, with such Assistance as the King his Father had appointed. In a few Days, a Treaty was concluded which gave some Intermission to the Calamities of *France*. This Peace which anulled all former Treaties, and which served for Foundation to new Rights, makes a very considerable *Epocha* in the *English* History, with regard to the Differences between the two Crowns. So that there is no understanding the Relation of the Events which ensued, without a perfect Knowledge of the Articles of this Treaty. It is therefore absolutely necessary to insert them here, abridging them however as much as possible without rendering them obscure, 1360.

TREATY of *BRETIGNY*.

Signed *May* the 8th 1360.

I. *Imprimis*, IT is agreed, that the King of *England*, besides what he holds already in *Guienne* and *Gascoign*, shall have for himself and his Heirs and Successors, and shall hold in the same manner as the King of *France* and his eldest Son, or their Ancestors Kings of *France* have held, namely, what is in Sovereignty, in Sovereignty, and what is in Demesn, in Demesn, the following Particulars. Act. Publ. VI. 178, &c.

Poictiers

1360. *Poictiers* and the whole Earldom of *Picton*, with the *Fiefs* of *Thouars* and *Belleville*.

Xaintes and all *Xaintonge*, on both Sides of the *Charente*.

Agen and all *Agenois*.

Perigueux and all *Limosin*.

Cahors and all *Quercy*.

Tarbe and all the Country of *Bigorre*.

The Earldom of *Gaur*.

Angoulême and all *Angoumois*.

Rhodez and all *Rovergne*.

That all the *Lords* whose Lands lye within the above-said Territories, as the Earls of *Foix*, *Armagnac*, the Isle of *Perigord*, the Vicount of *Limoges*, and all others whatsoever, shall do Homage to the King of *England*.

II. That the King of *England* shall have *Montreuil* and its Territories.

III *Item*. The Earldom of *Ponthieu* and its Dependencies.

IV *Item*. *Calais*, Town, and Castle, and Territory, with the Lordships of *Merch*, *Sangate*, *Couloigne*, *Homes*, *Wall*, and *Oye*.

V *Item*. The City and Earldom of *Guisnes*, in like manner as the late Earl held them.

VI *Item*. All the Isles adjacent to the above-named Countries.

VII. It is also agreed that the King of *France* and the *Dauphin* his eldest Son, shall make over to the King of *England* within a Year after *Michaelmas* next ensuing, all the *Honours*, *Obediencies*, *Homages*, *Allegiances*, *Rights*, *Dominion mere* and *mixt*, and all other Kinds of *Jurisdictions*, *High* and *Low*, *Resorts*, *Safeguards*, *Patronages of Churches*, and all manner of *Lordships* and *Sovereignties*, with all the Rights which they had or might have had under any Title or Colour of Right whatever, vested in them or in the Crown of *France*, to the aforesaid Places, and their Dependencies, without reserving any Thing for them or their Successors. That they shall enjoin by their Letters-Patent, all Prelates, Earls, Viscounts, Barons, Nobles, and Burghers, to obey the King of *England*, in like manner as they obeyed the Kings of *France*, and shall re-

leale

leaſe them from all *Homages*, *Fealties*, *Obligations*, *Oaths*, *Subjections*, performed by any of them to the Kings of *France*, or to the Crown, in what manner ſoever. 1360.

VIII. That the King of *England* ſhall have all the aforeſaid Places, with all their Appurtenancies, and Dependencies, to hold them, himſelf and Succeſſors, by Inheritance for ever; namely, in *Demeſn*, what the King of *France* held in *Demeſn*; in *Fee*, *Service*, *Sovereignity*, and *Reſort*, what the King of *France* held in that Manner; and that all Alienations made by the Kings of *France* within the Seventy Years paſt, that the Kings of *England* were diſpoſſeſſed of them, ſhall be annulled and made void.

IX. That the King of *England* ſhall hold in all the aforeſaid Places what did not belong to his Predeceſſors, in the ſame manner as the Kings of *France* did or do now hold them.

X. That if within the Limits of the Lands aforeſaid, there are any which belonged not to the Kings of *England*, but were in Poſſeſſion of the King of *France* on the Day of the Battle of *Poictiers*, *September* the 19th 1356, they ſhall remain to the King of *England* in the Manner aforeſaid.

XI. That the King of *France* and the Prince his eldeſt Son, for them and for their Succeſſours, ſhall make over to the King of *England*, within a Year after *Michaelmas* next, all manner of *Right*, *Lordſhip*, and *Sovereignty* over the aforeſaid Places; and that all the Subjects of the ſaid Countries ſhall become *Liege-Men* and Subjects of the Kings of *England* and their Succeſſors and Heirs, who ſhall hold the ſaid Lands, as Liege-Sovereigns and as Neighbours of the Kingdom of *France*, without recognizing any Sovereignity, or paying any *Obedience*, *Homage*, *Reſort*, or *Subjection*, and without being liable at any Time hereafter to any *Recognizance* or *Service*, to the Crown of *France*.

XII. That the King of *France* and his eldeſt Son ſhall expreſſly renounce the ſaid *Reſorts* and *Sovereignties*, and all the Rights which they have or may have over all the Countries which by the preſent Treaty are to belong to

1360. the King of *England*. That the King of *England* and his eldeſt Son on their Part, ſhall expreſſly renounce all Things to which the preſent Treaty gives them not a Right, and all other Demands which they made before to the King of *France*, particularly the Right and Title of the Crown of *France*: The *Homage* and *Sovereignty* of the Dutchies of *Normandy* and *Touraine*, and of the Earldoms of *Anjou* and *Maine*; the *Homage* and *Sovereignty* of *Bretaign*; the *Homage* and *Sovereignty* of the Earldom of *Flanders*, and in general all other Demands. That the two Kings ſhall reciprocally and for ever renounce and quit Claim to all Things not ſpecified in the preſent Treaty, and ſhall agree together at *Calais* upon the Day and Place, that the ſaid *Renunciations* ſhall be made.

XIII. That in Order to execute the preſent Treaty, the King of *England* ſhall cauſe the King of *France* to be conducted to *Calais* within three Weeks after *Midſummer-Day* next, at the Expence of the King of *England*, the Charges of the King of *France*'s Houſehold only excepted.

XIV. That the King of *France* ſhall pay to the King of *England* three Millions of Crowns of Gold, two of which make a *Noble*, namely, ſix Hundred Thouſand Crowns at *Calais*, four Months after the King of *France*'s Arrival there; and four Hundred Thouſand every Year afterwards, till the whole four Millions are paid.

XV. That the King of *France* having paid within the ſaid Term of four Months the firſt ſix Hundred Thouſand Crowns, delivered the Hoſtages here under-named, and put into the Hands of the King of *England* the Town of *Rochel* and Earldom of *Guiſnes*, he ſhall be ſet at Liberty, and ſhall be free to go from *Calais* into his own Kingdom, provided he ſhall not make War againſt the King of *England* till the Treaty is fully executed.

The Hoſtages to be delivered to the King of *England*, as well thoſe that were taken Priſoners at the Battle of *Poictiers* as others, are as follow:

Names of the Hoſtages,

Lewis Earl, [afterwards Duke] of *Anjou*. } Both Sons
John Earl of *Poictiers*, [afterwards Duke of *Berry*.] } to K. *John*

Philip

Philip Duke of *Orleans* [Brother to King *John*.] 1360.
The Duke of *Bourbon*.
The Earl of *Blois*, or his Brother.
The Earl of *Alenſon*, or *Peter* his Brother.
The Earl of St. *Pol*.
The Earl of *Harcourt*.
The Earl of *Portien*.
The Earl of *Valentinois*.
The Earl of *Brenne*.
The Earl of *Vaudemont*.
The Earl of *Forez*.
The Viſcount of *Beaumont*.
The Lord of *Coucy*.
The Lord of *Fiennes*.
The Lord of *Preaux*.
The Lord of St. *Venant*.
The Lord of *Garentieres*.
The Dauphin of *Auvergne*.
The Lord of *Hangeſt*.
The Lord of *Montmorency*.
The Lord *William* of *Craon*.
The Lord *Lewis* of *Harcourt*.
The Lord *John de Ligny*.

Priſoners who are to be Hoſtages.

Philip of *France*, [who was afterwards Duke of *Burgundy*, King *John*'s Son.]
The Earl of *Eu*.
The Earl of *Longueville*.
The Earl of *Ponthieu*.
The Earl of *Tancarville*.
The Earl of *Joigny*.
The Earl of *Sancerre*.
The Earl of *Dammartin*.
The Earl of *Ventadour*.
The Earl of *Salbruch*.
The Earl of *Ancœurs*.
The Earl of *Vendome*.
The Lord of *Craon*.

1360. The Lord of *Deval*.
The Marſhall of *Denham*.
The Lord *D' Aubigny*.

XVI. That theſe ſixteen Priſoners which are to be Hoſtages, ſhall no longer be deemed Priſoners, but be diſcharged without any Ranſom, unleſs they have already agreed to pay one before the 3d of *May*. But in Caſe any one of them comes not to *Calais* within three Weeks after *Midſummer-Day*, he ſhall ſtill be reckoned a Priſoner, and conſtrained by the King of *France* to return into *England* as ſuch.

XVII. If any of the Hoſtages go out of *England* without Leave, the King of *France* ſhall be obliged to ſend others of the ſame Rank, four Months after the Bailiff of *Amiens*, or the Mayor of St. *Omer* ſhall be certified thereof by the King of *England*. The King of *France* at his Departure from *Calais*, may take along with him Ten of the Hoſtages, ſuch as the two Kings ſhall agree upon; to which ſaid Hoſtages the King of *England* ſhall give abſolute Leave to go away.

XVIII. Within three Months after the Departure of the King of *France* from *Calais*, he ſhall deliver as Hoſtages to the King of *England*, four of the moſt ſubſtantial Burghers of *Paris*, and two of each of the Towns here underwritten.

Paris	4	*Chalons*	2
Roan	2	*Troyes*	2
St. Omer	2	*Chartres*	2
Arras	2	*Toulouſe*	2
Amiens	2	*Lyons*	2
Beauvais	2	*Orleans*	2
L' Iſle	2	*Compiegne*	2
Douay	2	*Caen*	2
Tournay	2	*Tours*	2
Rheims	2	*Bourges*	2

XIX.

XIX. The King of *France* ſhall be conducted to *Calais*, and ſhall ſtay there four Months, the firſt Month at the King of *England*'s Expence, and the other three at his own Charges. 1360.

XX. Within a Year after his Departue from *Calais* he ſhall reſtore to *John* Earl of *Montfort*, his Land of *Montfort*, for which the ſaid Earl ſhall do him *Liege-Homage*.

XXI. Moreover it is agreed, that as to what relates to the Diſpute about the Dutchy of *Bretaign*, between *Charles de Blois* and *John de Montfort*, the two Kings or their Commiſſioners ſhall endeavour to ſettle it as ſoon as poſſible. That in Caſe they do it not in a Twelvemonth, the common Friends of both Parties ſhall try to accommodate Matters. That in Caſe the common Friends of the Parties cannot ſucceed in ſix Months, they ſhall bring their Informations to the two Kings, who, by themſelves, or by their Commiſſioners, ſhall uſe their Endeavours to determine the Suit between the two Claimants. That if the Affair cannot be decided in ſix Months, then the Parties ſhall do as they think fit, without the two Kings interpoſing. And the Friends of the ſaid Claimants may aſſiſt them, without incurring for ſo doing any Blame, Reproach, or Detriment. That if one of the Parties refuſes to appear before the two Kings or their Commiſſioners, or if the two Kings having given Judgement, one of the Parties refuſes to acquieſce in it, the two Kings ſhall ſtill do their Endeavour to make them agree, without any Force. That the Homage of *Bretaign* ſhall remain to the King of *France*.

XXII. The Poſſeſſion of the Lands reciprocally given up by this Treaty, ſhall be confirmed every Time that one of the two Kings ſhall require it.

XXIII. The King of *France* ſhall reſtore within the Space of a Year to *Philip* of *Navarre*, whatever belongs to him, as well in his own as in his Wife's Right, in the Kingdom of *France*. And he and his Adherents ſhall have ſufficient *Letters* of Pardon.

XXIV. The King of *England* may, for this Time only, diſpoſe of the Eſtate of *Geoffery d' Harcourt*, on Condition

1360. tion that the Poſſeſſor ſhall hold it of the Duke of *Normandy*, or of ſuch other Lord to whom *Relief* of the ſaid Eſtate is due.

XXV. No Perſon, or Country which have been Subject to one of the two Kings, and who by the preſent Treaty are to be ſubject to either of them, ſhall be moleſted for any Thing paſt.

XXVI. All the Lands confiſcated on the Score of the War between the two Kings, ſhall be reſtored to the Proprietors. The Baniſhed ſhall be reſtored to their Eſtates and Honours, within a Year after King *John*'s Departure from *Calais*, the Lords of *Fronſac* and *Galhard* excepted.

XXVII. Within a Year after his going from *Calais*, the King of *France* ſhall cauſe to be delivered to the King of *England*, all the Lands given up by the preſent Treaty.

XXVIII. It is likewiſe agreed that as ſoon as the King of *France* ſhall have delivered up the Lands here ſpecified, with the neceſſary Renunciations and Mandates, namely, *Ponthieu*, *Montfort*, *Saintonge*, and *Angoumois*, the King of *England*, at his own Charges, ſhall put him in Poſſeſſion of all that himſelf or his Allies hold in *Touraine*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, *Berry*, *Auvergne*, *Burgundy*, *Champagne*, *Picardy*, *Normandy*, and the *Iſle of France*, *Bretaign* expreſſly excepted, as well as all the Lands which by the preſent Treaty are to belong to the King of *England*.

XXIX. The King of *France* ſhall at his Expence put the King of *England* in Poſſeſſion of all that is to be yielded up to him. If any Subjects prove rebellious and diſobedient, the King of *France* ſhall compel them to ſubmit at his own Charge, and the King of *England* ſhall be obliged to do the ſame on his Part. And the two Kings ſhall be bound to aſſiſt one another to that End when required, at the Expence of the Party requiring.

XXX. The *Clergy* ſhall be ſubject to that King of whom they hold their *Temporalities*. If they hold Lands of both Kings, they ſhall be ſubject to both.

XXXI. There ſhall be good Friendſhip and Alliance between the two Kings, notwithſtanding any other Alliances, eſpecially with *Scotland* and *Flanders*.

XXXII.

XXXII. The King of *France* and his eldeſt Son ſhall renounce all Alliance with the *Scots*, and ſhall promiſe not to aſſiſt them againſt the King of *England*, who on his Part ſhall be obliged to the ſame Thing with reſpect to the *Flemings*. 1360.

XXXIII. The two Kings ſhall cauſe the preſent Treaty to be ratified by the Pope, and confirmed by *Oaths*, *Cenſures*, &c. in the ſtrongeſt Manner. The two Kings ſhall procure each for himſelf, all the *Diſpenſations*, and *Abſolutions* requiſite to get the preſent Treaty fully executed.

XXXIV. It is alſo agreed, that the *Collations* to *Benefices*, made during the War, ſhall be valid and ſtand as they are.

XXXV. The Subjects of both Kings may come and ſtudy in the two Kingdoms, and ſhall enjoy the Privileges of the *Univerſities*.

XXXVI. And that the preſent Treaty be well and duly executed, the two Kings ſhall mutually give one another the following Securities. Letters under their *Great Seals*: The Oaths of the two Kings, of all the Princes of their Blood, and of Twenty of the moſt conſiderable Lords of each Kingdom. If there are any Perſons who refuſe to obey, all proper Methods ſhall be taken to compel them to it. The two Kings ſhall renounce all violent Ways and Hoſtilities in Caſe of Non-performance. If through the Diſobedience of ſome Perſons, any of the aforeſaid Articles cannot be executed, the two Kings ſhall not for that Reaſon go to War, but ſhall endeavour to bring the ſaid Perſons to Reaſon.

XXXVII *Item*. It is agreed by the preſent Treaty, that all former Treaties ſhall be null and void, and that neither of the two Kings ſhall make any uſe of them.

XXXVIII. The preſent Treaty ſhall be ſworn to at *Calais* by the two Kings perſonally, and within a Month after the King of *France*'s Departure from *Calais*, they ſhall interchangeably ſend their *Letters-Patent* confirming the ſaid Treaty.

XXXIX.

1360. XXXIX. Neither of the two Kings shall procure, by himself or by another, any Innovations or Obstacles from the Court of *Rome* against the present Treaty. If it should happen that the Pope should go about to make any Alteration, the two Kings shall oppose it to the utmost of their Power.

XL. As to the ten Hostages which the King of *England* is to deliver up to the King of *France*, the two Kings shall agree at *Calais* upon the Manner and Time of their Delivery.

Remarks on the Treaty of Bretaigny.

After reading this Treaty, the Conditions whereof appear so hard for *France*, one can scarcely help representing to one's Mind a triumphant King treading upon the Neck of his vanquished Enemy, and obliging him to receive without Examination what Terms he is pleased to impose upon him. Indeed this Idea is just enough, provided it is not carried too far. But if a Man should add, That of an unjust Conqueror exacting from his Enemy Conditions entirely repugnant to Reason and Equity, he would doubtless frame to himself a wrong Idea of this famous Treaty, the Terms whereof are more moderate than they appear to be at first Blush. For the better Understanding this, it must be remembered that almost all the Provinces which *France* gave up to *England*, belonged formerly to *Edward*'s Predecessors. It was neither by Conquest, nor Treaties extorted by Violence, that they had acquired these Provinces, but by Right of *Inheritance* which they had received from their Ancestors Time out of Mind. Never were the King's of *France* heard to complain that the Dukes of *Guienne*, or the Earls of *Poictiers* had wrested these Countries from them by Force. On the contrary, we have seen in the History of the preceeding Kings, that *Philip Augustus* and St. *Lewis* dispossessed by Force of Arms *John Lackland* and *Henry* III, not only of the Provinces in dispute, but likewise of *Anjou*, *Touraine*, *Maine*, and *Normandy*. Moreover the Treaty by which they were given up to *France*, was made whilst *Henry* III was detained in Captivity by the Earl of *Leicester*. These Things being considered, it is easy to perceive

ceive the Foundation of this Treaty. *Edward*, taking the Advantage of ſo favourable a Juncture, aimed at recovering what *France* had before wreſted from his Anceſtors. It is true he exacted moreover *Calais*, the Earldom of *Guiſnes*, and the *Sovereignty* of the Provinces he recovered. To clear up this Article, it muſt be obſerved that *Edward* had a Right to demand whatever had been in Poſſeſſion of his Predeceſſors, not to mention now his Claim to the Crown it ſelf. In this Belief, he was of Opinion that in leaving *France*, *Normandy*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, *Touraine*, with the Homage of *Bretaign*, he gave an Equivalent for *Guiſnes* and *Calais*, and the Sovereignty of *Guienne*. And if to this be added his Title to the Crown of *France*, which no doubt he deemed very plauſible, ſince he made it the Ground of the War, I don't know whether there will be any great Cauſe to exclaim againſt the Unreaſonableneſs of this Treaty. We cannot therefore blame *Edward* for being willing to recover *Guienne* and its Dependencies, whilſt we condemn not at the ſame Time *Philip Auguſtus* and St. *Lewis*, who forcibly took the greateſt Part of that Province from his Anceſtors, and *Philip de Valois*, who ſeized the reſt before the War was declared, upon a very frivolous Pretence; which was that *Edward* had refuſed to obey an Order, whereby *Philip* forbad all his Subjects and *Vaſſals* to harbour *Robert d' Artois*. If *Edward* had ſheltered that Prince at *Bourdeaux*, there would have been ſomething to object againſt him; but his being *Vaſſal* for *Guienne* could not rob him of the Privilege of acting as King of *England*. In fine, will any one affirm, that the Kings of *France* above-mentioned had a Right to annex to the Crown again Provinces which had been Part of the Kingdom under the *ſecond Race*? But *Hugh Capet* had granted them in *Fee* to Lords, from whom they were devolved to the Kings of *England* by lawful Succeſſion. Wherefore it can only be pretended that *Philip Auguſtus* had good Cauſe to confiſcate *Normandy*, *Poictou*, *Maine*, *Anjou*, *Touraine*, and that *Guienne* was juſtly forfeited by *Edward* III. But all this is much eaſier ſaid than proved. If a *Preſcription* of ſeventy Years 1360.

1360. is alledged in Favour of *France*, one of a much longer ſtanding may be pleaded in behalf of *England*, at the Time when theſe Countries were taken from them.

Finally, If any one ſtill imagines that *Edward* performed not his Vow, which he made to conclude a Peace upon equitable Terms, let him add to the foregoing Remarks, the Conſideration of the State the Affairs of *France* were in at the Time of the Treaty of *Bretigny*. King *John* was Priſoner at *London*, and the *Dauphin* ſhut up in *Paris*, from whence he durſt not ſtir. An Army of a Hundred Thouſand *Engliſhmen* was got into the very Heart of the Kingdom, to which no conſiderable Body of Troops could be oppoſed, *Edward* was Maſter of Abundance of Places which he himſelf, or his Generals had taken ſince his Invaſion. In fine, an univerſal Conſternation was ſpread over all the Kingdom, from whence the Inteſtine Commotions took away all Proſpect of ever being able to drive the *Engliſh*. Theſe were very ſubſtantial Advantages which *Edward* actually enjoyed. He might therefore very well flatter himſelf with the Hopes of becoming Maſter of all *France*, and attaining the Aim he propoſed to himſelf in beginning the War. What was it then which prevented him from laying hold of ſo favourable a Juncture? Certainly it could be nothing elſe but his Willingneſs to take up with a Part, when he might have expected the Whole; and with a Part which he might with Juſtice ſnatch from *France*, by whom it was unjuſtly acquired. It is Time now to return to the Occurrences which followed the Peace of *Bretigny*.

John is conducted to Calais. This famous Treaty, which was negotiated in eight Days, was approved by both the Kings: *John* was conducted to *Calais* in *July*, and ſtayed there four Months, according to the Agreement. At his firſt Meal he was waited upon by *Edward*'s four Sons, who ſhowed him all poſſible Reſpect purſuant to the King their Father's Orders. The four Months were ſpent in drawing up all the neceſſary *Acts*, as well for the explaining as for the confirming and executing the Treaty; that they might all be ſigned the ſame Day. It was not till the 24th of *October*

ber that the two Kings ſigned and ſwore to the Treaty at *Calais*, whither *Edward* was repaired ſome Days before. 1360.

All Matters relating to the Treaty being finiſhed, King *John* was ſet at Liberty on the 26th of the ſame Month. Juſt before his Departure, *Edward* gave him a ſenſible Mark of Friendſhip, in permitting him to take along with him Prince *Philip* his Son, made Priſoner at the Battle of *Poictiers*. Of all his Children this was his greateſt Favourite. Although of all the Hoſtages in *Edward*'s Hands, this was the chief, by Reaſon of the great Affection his Father had for him, he very readily conſented that he ſhould be one of the Ten which were to have their Freedom by the XXII Article of the Peace of *Bretigny*. The two Monarchs upon Parting gave one another mutual Tokens of Eſteem and hearty Friendſhip.

and is ſet at Liberty, after ſwearing to the Treaty.

As ſoon as *John* was arrived at St. *Omer*, he ratified by his *Letters Patent*, and voluntarily ſwore to all the Articles of the Treaty of *Bretigny*. By that he made appear that no Compulſion had been uſed to oblige him to ſwear to it at *Calais*. The reſt of his Behaviour was anſwerable to this firſt Step. He ſhowed upon all Occaſions that his Intention was to perform his Engagements, and at length gave the moſt ſenſible Proof of his Sincerity, by putting *Edward* in Poſſeſſion of the Countries which had been made over to him. There was only ſome Difficulty relating to the Earldom of *Gaure* in *Gaſcoign*, and the Territory of *Belville* in *Poictou*, about which the two Kings could not agree.

He ratifies the Treaty when in France.

The Peace between the two Crowns appearing to be thus firmly eſtabliſhed, *Edward* ſent [Sir *John*] *Chandos* into *France* to command there in his Name, in the Countries belonging to him, with the Title of *Lieutenant-General*. He could not make a better choice. *Chandos* was one of the moſt accompliſhed Lords then in *England*: The which is no ſmall Commendation with reſpect to that Time. As Affable and Temperate in Peace as he was Brave in War, he was a Subject every way qualified for ſo great an Employ. As the King deſigned to gain the Affections of his new Subjects, he had taken Care to

1361. John Chandos.

1361. ſend them for Governour, a Perſon whoſe Prudence was exceeding proper to produce that Effect. Moreover he had ſettled upon him a very conſiderable Salary, which enabled him to keep a ſplendid Court at *Niort* in *Poictou*, where he reſided; and had inveſted him with Power to Pardon all Sorts of Crimes, that both by his outward Luſtre, and by the Diſtribution of his Favours, he might be able to procure for his Maſter the Good-Will and Love of the People lately conquered.

Edward *reſtores to the* Priories *their Lands.*

As ſoon as *Edward* ſaw he was like to enjoy a laſting Peace, he reſtored to the *Alien Priours* * the Lands which he had taken from them Twenty Years before to ſupply the Charges of the War. A Thing very uncommon, to ſee Princes make Reſtitution of their own Accord of what they have once got in their Hands.

Death of the Duke of Lancaſter.

The Plague ſtill raged in *England* this Year. Among the reſt it deprived the Kingdom of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, the moſt eſteemed of all the *Engliſh* Lords. He was commonly called the *Good Duke*. Accordingly his Death was extremely lamented. He founded the *Collegiate*-Church of *Leiceſter*, and in the ſame Place an *Hoſpital* for three Hundred poor Men, which ſtill ſubſiſts at this Day *1.

Marriage of the Prince of Wales.

The Prince of *Wales*, who had never thought of marrying during the War, took this Time of Tranquillity to eſpouſe *Joanna of Kent* his Couſin, who was Counteſs Dowager

* There were two Sorts of *Priories*, ſuch as were independent like the Abbies, and ſuch as depended upon ſome great *Abbey*, from which they received their *Prior*. When the *Convent* to which any *Priory* belonged was beyond Sea, it was ſtiled an *Alien Priory*.

*1 He and his Father both lye buried in this Church. He ſtiles himſelf in his Will, Duke of *Lancaſter*, Earl of *Derby*, *Lincoln* and *Leiceſter*, &c. *Knighton*, who lived in that Age ſays: Henry *Duke of* Lancaſter *was the firſt Founder of the Collegiate Church and Hoſpital without* South-gate *at* Liceſter, *in which he placed a Dean and* 12 *Canons Prebendaries, as many Vicars and other Miniſters,* 100 *Poor and weak Men, and ten able Women to aſſiſt the ſick and weak, and ſufficiently endowed the Hoſpital.* It ſtill in ſome Meaſure ſubſiſts by certatn *Stipends* paid out of the *Dutchy* of *Lancaſter*, together with divers new Charities. *Camb.* in *Leiceſt.*

Dowager of *Holland*. This Princeſs was Daughter of *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, beheaded in the Beginning of this Reign, by the Intrigues of Queen *Iſabella* and *Mortimer*. She was called *Joanna the Fair*, by Reaſon of her great Beauty. 1361.

The next Year, the King being pleaſed to give publick Marks of his Eſteem and Affection for the Prince his eldeſt Son, who had raiſed to ſo great a Height the Glory of the *Engliſh* Name, erected for him the Dutchy of *Guienne* into a Principality, under the Name of the *Principality of Aquitaine*. Which done, he ſolemnly inveſted the Prince with it, obliging him only to pay Yearly, in Lieu of all Service, an Ounce of Gold to the Crown of *England* *. 1362. Edward *makes* Guienne *a Principality*. Act. Pub. VI. 384.

Edward ſpent the Reſidue of this Year in making ſeveral wiſe Regulations with his Parliament concerning Home Affairs. Such for Example was the decreeing that for the Time to come, in the Courts of Juſtice and in all *Publick Acts*, the *Engliſh* Language ſhould be uſed inſtead of the *French* or *Norman*, which had been in uſe ever ſince *William the Conqueror*. *Publick Acts to be in* Engliſh.

In this Parliament the King declared that being come to his Fiftieth Year, he would have it ſolemnized as a Sort of *Jubilee*. To that End, he granted a general Pardon to all Offenders for all Crimes whatſoever, Treaſon it ſelf not excepted *1. He confirmed alſo a new *Magna Charta*, which was confirmed ten ſeveral Times in this Reign. *A General Pardon.*

After *Edward* had done what he thought neceſſary for the *Publick*, he was pleaſed likewiſe to do ſome Thing for his Family, by creating *Lionel* his ſecond Son Duke of *Clarence*; *John of Gant* his third Son, Duke of *Lancaſter*; Edward *confers Titles on his Sons.*

* So that he was Prince of *Wales*, and of *Aquitaine*, Duke of *Cornwal*, and Earl of *Cheſter* and *Kent*; this laſt in Right of his Wife.

*1 It is likewiſe ſaid that the Cuſtom of our Kings who upon *Maunday Thurſday* waſh, feed, and cloath as many Poor as they are Years old, had its Riſe from this *Jubilee* of King *Edward*'s. Pol. Virg. lib. 19.

1362. *caſter*; and the fourth, whoſe Name was *Edward*, Earl of *Cambridge*. In fine, after having eſtabliſhed a *Staple* for Wooll at *Calais*, he was pleaſed to ſpend the reſt of the Winter in Entertainments and Diverſions. He took a Progreſs into ſeveral *Counties*, attended by the principal Noblemen and *French* Hoſtages, who partook of all the Recreations which the People ſtrove in Emulation of one another to divert their Sovereign with.

1363. *The Prince of* Wales *goes and keeps his Court at* Bourdeaux

In the beginning of the Year 1363 the Prince of *Wales* ſet out for his Government of *Aquitaine*. He reſided at *Bourdeaux* where he kept a Royal Court, beloved and reſpected by all his Subjects, who were very happy by being governed by ſo great a Prince.

King John *returns to* England. Act. Pub. VI. 240. *Pretended Reaſons of his Return.* Froiſſard. Mezerai.

This ſame Year was remarkable for King *John*'s Return into *England*, where it is pretended he came to yield himſelf a Priſoner again, in Order to atone for the Fault the Duke of *Anjou* his ſecond Son had committed in withdrawing from *Calais* without Leave. At leaſt that is the Reaſon which is generally given of this extraordinary Proceeding. Some add, that he had a Mind to confer in Perſon with *Edward* about the *Cruſado*, whereof the Pope had declared him *General*. There are ſome Hiſtorians who have made no Scruple to aſſert a much leſs honourable Motive of his Return. They pretend that the Paſſion he had entertained during his Captivity for the Counteſs of *Salisbury*, was the real Cauſe of his Journey, to which other Motives ſerved only for a Blind. But this is a *romantick* Notion without any Grounds. What Enquiry ſoever has been hitherto made, the real Occaſion of this Prince's Return is ſtill a Secret. That of *Love* is the moſt unlikely, and that of repairing the Fault of the Duke of *Anjou*, though adopted by the Generality of Hiſtorians, ſeems to me without Foundation. To clear up this Matter, it will be neceſſary to relate ſome Particulars which belong to the Hiſtory, and which I have reſerved for this Place, though they were tranſacted between the Treaty of *Bretigny* and the Time I am now ſpeaking of.

Among the thirty Hoſtages in the Hands of *Edward*, beſides the Burghers of ſeveral Cities, there were four

Princes

Princes of the Blood, namely, *Philip* Duke of *Orleans* Brother to King *John*, *Lewis* Duke of *Anjou*, *John* Earl of *Poictiers*, afterwards Duke of *Berry*, and the Duke of *Bourbon*. These four Princes, who were commonly ſtiled, *The Lords of the Flower-de-Luce*, being quite tired of *England*, ſought all poſſible Means to return into their own Country. This however was no eaſy Matter to do, ſeeing upon theſe four Hoſtages *Edward* chiefly relied for the full Performance of the Treaty of *Bretigny*, and particularly for the Payment of King *John*'s Ranſom. Nevertheleſs, by Dint of Intreaties, they got him to agree, that they ſhould have their Liberty upon the following Terms. I. That the King ſhould releaſe theſe four Princes, provided that before the firſt of *November* the Territory of *Belville* and Earldom of *Gaure* were delivered up to him, with the Sum of two Hundred Thouſand *Flornis*. II. That before the Departure of the Princes, certain Lands in *Poictou* ſhould be put into his Hands as a Pledge. III. That in Caſe the firſt Article was not executed by the Time agreed on, the Lands given in Pledge ſhould remain to the King for ever, and that the four Princes ſhould ſurrender themſelves again for Hoſtages as before. There were ſome other Articles, but of no Uſe in clearing up the Matter in Hand. *John* ratified this Agreement, and the four Hoſtages were conducted to *Calais*, where they continued upon their *Parole*, till the firſt Article ſhould be executed. They had the Liberty to go out of the Town whenever they pleaſed, and even to ſtay away three Days, provided they came and lodged within the Walls on the Fourth. It appears by *Edward*'s Letter to the Prince of *Wales*, inſerted in the *Collection of Publick Acts*, that this Agreement was not executed, and by that Means the Princes deſpaired of recovering their Liberty ſo ſoon (*a*). The Duke of *Anjou* more impatient and leſs ſcrupulous than the reſt, took Advantage of the Liberty he had to go out of *Calais*, went clear off, and returned no more. Four others leſs 1363.

(*a*) *P. Daniel* ſays, the *Dauphin* hindred theſe Articles of Agreement from being executed.

1363. leſs conſiderable Hoſtages followed his ill Example. This is the Foundation on which it is aſſerted that King *John* came and ſurrendered himſelf a Priſoner at *London*; namely, that he might make amends for the Fault of the Prince his Son. But as nothing in the *Collection of Publick Acts* gives us the leaſt Hint that this was the Motive of his Voyage, their is great Reaſon to queſtion it. Beſides King *John* was by no Means obliged to take this Step, no, not if all the Hoſtages had made their Eſcape; what he was bound to was to ſend the ſame Hoſtages, or others of the ſame Quality in their Room (*b*). Now it is not ſaid that the Duke of *Anjou* abſented himſelf from his Father's Court, and conſequently it was eaſy to ſend him back again. In fine, if *John* returned to *London* as a Priſoner, he would by that Means have freed all the Hoſtages, ſince they were detained at preſent only as Pledges for the Payment of his Ranſom. All the reſt of the Articles of the Treaty of *Bretigny* were executed. That relating to *Gaure* and *Belville* excepted, which required not ſo great Security. And yet during the three Months *John* was at *London*, there was never any Talk of letting the Hoſtages go. *Froiſſard*, whoſe Teſtimony is cried up, does not ſay that *John* caſt himſelf into Captivity again, but only that one of the Motives of his Voyage was to *excuſe* and not to *repair* the Duke of *Anjou*'s Fault. Theſe are the Hiſtorian's own Words: *I was then informed, and true it was, that King* John *reſolved and was bent to go and ſee King* Edward *his Brother in* England, *and no Body could make him alter his Mind, taking it for granted that he was ſufficiently adviſed to the contrary: And ſeveral Barons and Prelates told him, that he was going to commit a great Indiſcretion. But he replied, That he had found ſo much Honour in the King of* England *and his Sons, that he did not at all queſtion but they would prove true and faithful Friends to him in all Things; and moreover he had a Mind to excuſe the Duke of* Anjou *his Son, who was returned into* France. Here is nothing which imports that *John* went back

(*b*) See Article XVII of the Treaty of *Bretigny*.

back to *England* to yield himself a Prisoner, and therefore it is plain that Historians have asserted it without any Grounds. As for the third Motive, namely, his being desirous to confer with *Edward* about the *Crusado*, it is by much the most probable. But after all it is only a Conjecture, which one cannot entirely depend upon. 1363.

As soon as *Edward* had notice that *John* was landed at *Dover*, he sent thither the Princes his Sons, with a great Retinue of Nobles, to receive him and conduct him to *London*, where he paid all the Respect due to his Rank and Merit. The Kings of *Scotland* and *Cyprus* who were then in *England*, made his Reception the more splendid. The former was come to pay *Edward* a Visit, and the latter to desire his Aid against the *Infidels*. Upon so uncommon an Occasion *Edward* took a Pleasure in Entertaining his illustrious Guests with all possible Magnificence; and in giving them all the Diversions he could think of. The Mayor of *London* made a splendid Entertainment for the four Kings on the City's Account. The Sumptuousness of [Sir *Henry Picard*] Citizen and Wine-Merchant ought not to be passed over in Silence. He invited all the four Kings with their Retinues to a Feast which he made then at his own House, where they were magnificently entertained. King *John* lodged in the Palace of the *Savoy* as before, and was all along treated at the King's Expence. About the middle of *March*, three Months after his Arrival at *London*, he was seized with a Fit of Sickness which carried him off on the 8th of *Apiril* 1364, to *Edward*'s great Grief, who had a singular Esteem for his Virtue. There is ascribed to this Prince a *Saying* worthy to be had in eternal Remembrance by Posterity: *Though Faith and Truth were banished from the Rest of the World, they ought nevertheless to be preserved in the Mouth of Kings.* It is pretended that this was said upon the Occasion of his returning to *England*: but it may, with much more likelihood, be attributed to his keeping his Word in the Execution of the Treaty of *Bretigny*, in spite of the Obstacles which were thrown in his Way by some of his Counsellors.

John *is honourably received in* England.

Sumptuousness of a Wine-Merchant.

1364. *Death of King* John.

1364. lors *. *Charles* V who succeeded him trod not in his Steps.

Battle of Avray, *which put* Montfort *in Poſſeſſion of* Bretaign.

Edward's good Fortune not only ſhed its Influence on himſelf and his Subjects, but alſo on his Allies. This ſame Year, *John de Montfort* his Son-in-law won the famous Battle of *Avray* againſt *Charles de Blois* his Competitor, who was ſlain. This Victory decided the Quarrel between the two *Houſes*, who were contending for the Dutchy of *Bretaign*, and produced the Treaty of *Guerande*, whereby *Bretaign* was aſſigned to *John de Montfort*, who did Homage for it to the King of *France*. *Bertrand de Gueſclin*, who ſerved *Charles de Blois*, and became afterwards very famous, was taken in this Battle by Sir *John Chandos* General of the *Engliſh* Troops which were in *Montfort*'s Service.

1365. *Exploits of ſome Engliſhmen in the* Eaſt.

The *Engliſh* Name was then famous in all Parts of the World. Some gallant *Engliſhmen* who had attended [*Guy de Luſignan*] King of *Cyprus* into the *Eaſt*, performed Wonders, and returned loaded with Honours and Riches which they had taken from the *Infidels*. At the ſame Time one *Thomas Hackwood* an *Engliſhman*, who went from *England* a Journy-man Taylor, having afterwards taken to Arms, ſignalized himſelf in the Wars in *Italy*, by his Valour and Conduct, which raiſed him to the higheſt Poſts. He gained ſo great Honour and Reputation for having reſtored in thoſe Parts *Military Diſcipline* which was almoſt entirely loſt, that after his Death the *Florentines* erected in their City a black Marble *Statue*, as an Acknowledgement for the Services he had done them. *John Chandos* and *Robert Knolles* diſtinguiſhed themſelves likewiſe

Fortune of Thomas Hackwood.

* Mr. *Barnes* ſays, King *John* on his Death-bed confeſſed to *Edward* that he had Confederates in *London* and elſe where, who ſecretly collected the fineſt Gold of the Kingdom, made it into Plates, and ſent it in Barrels to *France*, with Bows and Arrows, *&c.* and that he had unjuſtly withheld the Crown of *France* from him, till the Peace of *Bretigny*. For all which, upon his Requeſt *Edward* entirely forgave him, and cauſed the *Gold* and *Arms* to be ſeized. But this does not agree with the Character *Rapin* gives of *John*. His Body was carried into *France* at St. *Denys*.

wiſe in a very ſingular manner in all the Wars *Edward* had in *France*. The Fame of the *Engliſh* not only reached over the *Alps*, but alſo beyond the *Pyrenæan* Mountains, as we ſhall ſee preſently. 1365.

The great Acquiſitions *Edward* had made in *France*, put it into the Head of Pope *Urban* VI, that the preſent Juncture was very proper to demand the Tribute which King *John Lackland* had bound himſelf to pay to the *Roman Church*, and of which the Arrears were due for Thirty Years. In this Belief, he was pleaſed to require the Payment, but with ſo much Haughtineſs, that he nominated even beforehand Commiſſioners to ſummon *Edward* before him in Caſe of Refuſal. The King's great Spirit not brooking ſuch haughty Proceedings, he cauſed the Pope's Demand to be laid before the Parliament, wherein it was declared, *That* the King of *England* had not Power to bring his Realm under ſuch Servitude and Subjection without the Conſent of his Parliament: *That* if Neceſſity had drove King *John* to do ſo, his Engagement was *Null*, as being contrary to his *Coronation-Oath*. That Auguſt Aſſembly not content with ſo particular a Deciſion, came alſo to this vigorous Reſolution: That if the Pope ſhould attempt by any Means whatſoever, to aſſert his unjuſt Pretenſions, the whole Nation ſhould with all their Force oppoſe the ſame. The Firmneſs of the Parliament cauſed the Pope to ſtop ſhort, and had not only a preſent Effect, but prevented the King's of *England* from being ever after troubled upon that Score.

1366. Urban VI, *proudly Demands the Arrears of his Tribute.*

The Parliament declares King John's *Engagement to be void.* Rot. Parl.

The Prince of *Wales* lived three Years in *Guienne* without exerciſing his Valour, and even without any Proſpect of doing it a good while. On a ſudden he was drawn out of this State of Tranquillity by the Sollicitations of *Peter* King of *Caſtile*, ſirnamed the *Cruel*, who was lately outed of his Dominions. Never did Prince give his People greater Cauſe of Diſcontent. Cruel to Exceſs, and of an unbounded Avarice, he put to Death his great Men upon no lawful Account, and with the ſole View of Confiſcating their Eſtates. He minded nothing but the gratifying his Paſſions, without any Regard to Honour or

Affairs of Caſtile. Froiſſard. Mezerai.

1366. Conſcience. His Barbarity was grown to that Height, that he had put to Death *Blanch de Bourbon* his Wife, Siſter of the Queen of *France*, that he might marry *Maria de Padilla*, whom he had long kept as his Miſtreſs. Of five Baſtard-Brothers which he had, the eldeſt had lately been ſacrificed to his Suſpicions, and the other four were not ſafe. *Henry* Earl of *Tranſtamare*, one of them, ſeeing himſelf every Moment threatened with the ſame Fate, rebelled againſt *Peter*, and got the King of *Arragon* to engage in his Quarrel, together with the principal *Caſtilian* Lords, who could no longer bear the Tyranny of their Sovereign. His Enterprize not meeting with Succeſs at firſt, he was repulſed by the Tyrant, and forced to fly for Refuge to the King of *France* who promiſed him Aid. Beſides the Deſire *Charles* had to Revenge the Death of the Queen his Siſter-in-law, he was very glad to find Employment for abundance of idle Soldiers who ſwarmed in *France* ſince the late Peace, and committed great Diſorders. With this View he raiſed for *Henry*'s Aſſiſtance an Army, the Command of which he gave to *John de Bourbon* Earl of *March* the Queen's Couſin-German, and was pleaſed that *du Gueſclin*, whoſe Ranſom he paid to *Chandos*, ſhould make one in this Expedition.

Peter *the* Cruel *expelled his Dominions*

With theſe Troops, and the Aſſiſtance of the *Caſtilians*, *Henry* marched through *Arragon* into *Caſtile*, where the Tyrant ſaw himſelf in a Moment deſerted by all his Nobles, except one ſingle *Knight*. This Defection putting it out of his Power to withſtand his Brother, he would have retired into *Portugal*; but was denied Entrance. In this Perplexity, he choſe to go out of *Spain* by *Bayonne*, from whence he repaired to *Bourdeaux*, in order to implore the Aid and Protection of the Prince of *Wales*. If the young Heroe had reflected on the Unworthineſs of the Prince who deſired his Aſſiſtance, he would doubtleſs have refuſed his Requeſt. But conſidering on this Occaſion only the Honour of reſtoring a *depoſed* King, and perhaps tired with a tedious Idleneſs, he undertook to replace him on the Throne. To that End he levied an Army of Thirty Thouſand Men, and marched at the Head of them towards

He Deſires the Aid of the Prince of Wales. *who undertakes to reſtore him.*

towards *Spain*, loaded with Promiſes from the *Caſtilian*, and big with the Hopes of gathering freſh Laurels. As he had no other Way to enter *Caſtile* but through *Navarre*, he had taken Care to make ſure of a Paſſage by a Treaty with the King of that Country. So that he marched without Oppoſition to the Frontiers of *Caſtile*. *Henry*, who had already cauſed himſelf to be crowned at *Burgos*, having received Advice of the March of the *Engliſh* Prince, was advanced towards *Navarre* with a powerful Army to oppoſe his Paſſage. He might very poſſibly have executed his Deſign, conſidering the Superiority of his Forces, if he had been ſo wiſe as to avoid coming to a Battle. This was what the Prince of *Wales* was moſt apprehenſive of; and therefore with Deſign to provoke him to it, he ſent him a very inſulting Challenge, which *Henry* could not help accepting. The two Armies being near one another, the Battle was fought hard by *Nejara* a little Town on the Frontiers of *Caſtile*. As the Fields of *Creſſy* and *Poictiers* had beheld the Prince of *Wales* performing Wonders, That of *Nejara* was likewiſe Witneſs of his *Heroic* Actions, which after a long Struggle made Victory incline to his Side. The *Spaniſh* Army reinforced with a ſtrong Body of *French* Troops, was entirely routed. *Bertrand du Gueſclin*, with the Marſhal *D' Endreghen* were taken Priſoners. *Henry* having nothing left to truſt to in *Caſtile* after the Loſs of his Army, retired into *Arragon*, from whence he repaired to *Laugudoc*, in order to implore the Aid of the Duke of *Anjou* the Governour.

1366.

1367. *He marches towards* Caſtile.

Battle of Nejara.

Peter was at firſt ſo grateful, as that preſently after the Battle was over, he threw himſelf at the Prince of *Wales*'s Feet, to thank him for reſtoring him to his Kingdom. The Prince of *Wales* lifting him up immediately and holding him in his Arms, ſaid, that it was to God alone he was indebted for the Victory, and not to a Prince who had only been a weak Inſtrument in his Hand. The Conſequence of this good Succeſs was the Roſtoration of *Peter* to the Throne from whence he had been driven. It was now Time for that Prince to think of the Means of performing his Promiſes, and rewarding the brave Soldiers who

Peter thanks the Prince for the Victory.

1368.

1368. who had ventured their Lives in his Service. But as he was no less perfidious than cruel, after having long kept them in Hopes of Provisions and Money, he repaid them with black Ingratitude. Want soon bred among the Soldiers a Mortality, which carried off great Numbers, and the Fear of losing the rest obliged the Prince, who saw himself basely used, to go off extremely dissatisfied. He was even drove to the Necessity of selling his Plate, that he might provide for the more pressing Occasions of his Army, till such Time as he should be able fully to satisfy them. But this was not all the Mischief caused by this fatal Expedition. During the Princes stay in *Spain*, he contracted a Distemper which he could never get clear of.

But repays him with Ingratitude.

The Prince returns to Guienne.

Catastrope of Peter.

Thus ended the Enterprize of the Prince of *Wales*, an Enterprize glorious indeed, if we consider only the Issue, but not very honourable in regard to the Cause he espoused, since it was purely to restore to the Throne the basest of Princes. Heaven afterwards took Care to revenge the *English* and *Castilians*. *Du Guesclin* having paid his Ransom, went and joined *Henry* again, and both together laboured to bring a fresh Army into the Field by the Assistance of *France*. As soon as they were ready they entered *Castile*, and made so great a Progress, that in a little Time they were in a Condition to besiege *Toledo*. *Peter* having hastened to the Relief of the City, was defeated and forced to betake himself to the Castle of *Montiel*, where he was immediately invested. As he saw his Case was desperate, he took the Resolution to go to *Du Guesclin* in his Tent, imagining that he would procure him tolerable Conditions, or help him to make his Escape. Unluckily for him he found *Henry* his Brother there. The two Princes falling first to Reproaches and then to Blows, *Henry* threw his Brother to the Ground and stabbed him with his Dagger. After that he caused himself to be once more acknowledged King of *Castile* without any Opposition.

Difference between the End, and Beginning of Edward's *Reign.*

Edward III has appeared hitherto on the *Theater* of the World, as one of the most glorious Princes that ever wielded a Scepter. If he had finished his Course before

the

the Revolution I am going to ſpeak of, perhaps it would have been difficult to find an Inſtance of a Reign more ſteadily Fortunate. But his latter Years will preſent us with a very different *Scene* from thoſe we have gone through. Fortune grew weary of favouring this Monarch in his Old Age, after having careſſed him ſo much in his younger Days. She bereaved him before his Death of all the Conqueſts which had won him ſo great Fame, and which were purchaſed ſo dearly; and theſe Loſſes were attended with many other Troubles and Vexations. This is what remains to be conſidered in the Sequel of this Reign. 1368.

Prince Lionel's *ſecond Marriage.*

Lionel Duke of *Clarence* ſecond Son of *Edward*, having been contracted to *Violante* Daughter of *John Galeaze* Duke of *Milan*, went to conſummate his Marriage, with a ſplendid Retinue, and a great many Noblemen who attended him to do him Honour. For ſome Time there was nothing but Entertainments and Diverſions, which were daily renewed in Favour of a Prince whoſe Alliance was ſo honourable to the Duke of *Milan*. Theſe Diverſions which were procured him with ſo much Profuſeneſs haſtened his End. Five Months after his Marriage, he died in *Montferrat* in the thirty ſecond Year of his Age. By his firſt Marriage with the only Daughter of the Earl of *Ulſter* in *Ireland*, he left a Daughter called *Philippa*, of whoſe Poſterity I ſhall have frequent Occaſion to ſpeak hereafter.

He dies in Italy.

1369. Charles V *forms the Deſign of breaking the Treaty of* Bretigny. Froiſſard. Walſing. Mezerai.

The Trouble *Edward* was in at the Loſs of his Son was quickly followed by another, which he was no leſs ſenſible of. The Treaty of *Bretigny* was ſo diſadvantagious to *France*, that *Charles* V, who had himſelf concluded it, in all probability conſented not to it but with an Intention to break it, when a fair Opportunity ſhould offer. The *French* were in no better Temper. This was apparent at firſt from all the Difficulties which they ſtarted, when they came to put the King of *England* in Poſſeſſion of the Provinces made over to him. King *John* was the only Perſon that acted fairly and honeſtly, and it was he that by his own Authority prevented the Obſtacles from being carried

1369. carried too far. *Charles* his Son and Successor, whom the *French* Sirname the *Wise*, was not so very scrupulous. He was no sooner on the Throne, but he tried to evade what remained unexecuted of the Treaty. He even neglected to do *Edward* Right in the Affair of the Duke of *Anjou*'s Escape; neither did he deliver up the Earldom of *Gaure*. The Judgement about the Business of *Belville*, which had been referred to Umpires, was put off on several Pretences. King *John*'s Ransom was not paid, or if *Charles* paid any Thing of it after his Accession to the Crown, it was but a small Matter in comparison of what was due. In the mean Time *Edward*, who had still in his Hands the Duke of *Berry*, the Duke of *Orleans*, and several other Hostages, could not but believe that *Charles* had Thoughts of renewing the War, and was perswaded that his Weakness was the only cause of all his Delays. Affairs lingered in this manner from the Death of *John* till his Successor was in a Condition to take just Measures, to bring about his Designs. He always made as if he were willing to compleat the Performance of the Treaty, and under Colour of paying his Father's Ransom, which he had bound himself to do, he heaped up Sums of Money which the *States* very liberally furnished, well knowing what use they were intended for. With this Aid he engaged several *German* Princes in his Interests, and when he thought Matters were in a good Forwardness, he sought Occasion to break with *England*.

Edward *disgusts the Lords of* Guienne. Act. Pub. VI. 499.

At the Time when *Edward* was thinking of waging War with *France*, he believed it proper to attach to his Service the principal Lords of *Guienne*, by several Grants which he revoked presently after the Peace. This Procedure exasperated these Lords to such a Degree, that they wanted only a favourable Opportunity to show their Resentment. In all Appearance they would have waited for one a long Time in vain, if *Charles* had not privately given them to understand that he would back them. As soon as they were sure of his Protection, nothing was wanting but some Pretence to complain, and they were not long in finding one which seemed plausible enough to

Charles *promises to protect them.*

authorize

authorize them to throw off the Mask. The Prince of *Wales* having laid upon *Guienne* a Tax [called *Feuage*, or *Chimney-Money*] in order to pay the Arrears due to the Troops which he had levied for the *Spaniſh* War, furniſhed unwittingly his Enemies with a Handle to declare themſelves. The Lord *d' Albret*, the Earl of *Armagnac*, *Cominges*, *Perigord*, *Carmaing*, having ſtirred up their *Vaſſals* to complain of this new Tax, received their Complaints, brought them to the Prince, and preſented *Addreſſes* to him upon that Subject. Their Remonſtrances were ill received, both by Reaſon the Prince was in want of Money, and becauſe of the Haughtineſs wherewith they were made. This was the very Thing the Lords wanted. On Pretence they could not have Juſtice done them by their Prince, they applied themſelves to the King of *France*, whom they ſuppoſed to be ſtill Sovereign Lord of *Guienne*, and prayed him to grant them *Letters of Appeal* to his Parliament. *Charles* not thinking proper to declare himſelf yet, kept them ſome Time in this State at *Paris*. The Journey of theſe Lords, and their long Stay at the Court of *France*, gave the Prince of *Wales* ſome Suſpicion. He writ Letter after Letter to the King his Father, to give him Notice that ſomething was brewing at *Paris* againſt him; but theſe Warnings were to no Purpoſe. The King and his Council imagining that the warlike Prince, tired with an idle Life, wanted an Occaſion to renew the War, no manner of Regard was had to his Letters.

1369. *The Prince of* Wales *lays a Tax on* Guienne.

Walſing.

Whilſt *Edward* depended on the Sincerity of the *French*, his Son's Diſtemper growing every Day worſe, turned at laſt to a downright Dropſy. The Prince's ill State of Health, and the King his Father's Infirmneſs, haſtened the Reſolutions of the King of *France*. As he ſaw that he could not have a fairer Opportunity to accompliſh his Deſigns, he granted to the *Gaſcon* Lords, the *Letters of Appeal* which they ſued for, pretending, maugre his Oaths, and all the *Reſignations* and *Renunciations* of the late King his Father, that he was ſtill Sovereign of *Guienne*. He built his Pretenſions upon *Edward*'s not having ſent his *Renunciation* to the Crown of *France*, purſuant to the

1369. Treaty of *Bretigny*. But that *Renunciation* being only a Conſequence of the full Performance of the Treaty, *Edward* did not think fit to make it till the Whole ſhould be executed, as indeed he was not bound to do. However he had abſolutely quitted the Title of *King of France*, a clear Evidence that he had no ill Intentions. Beſides, *Charles* himſelf had not been more punctual in renouncing the Provinces aſſigned to *England* by the Treaty of *Bretigny*. Theſe reciprocal *Renunciations* were conſidered as the *Seal* of the Treaty, after the two Kings ſhould be ſatisfied as to the Point of Execution. Be this as it will, *Charles* made uſe of that Pretence to ſummon the Prince of *Wales* to appear perſonally before the Court of *Peers*, there to Anſwer for his pretended Tyranny to the People of thoſe Provinces. The Prince's high Spirit not ſuffering him to bear this Affront without ſhowing his Reſentment, ſent back Word that he would not fail to appear, but it ſhould be at the Head of ſixty Thouſand Men. In the mean while *Charles* was amuſing *Edward*, by expoſtulating with him, as if he were deſirous that the Affair ſhould be brought to a Negotiation. *Edward* anſwered by giving Words for Words, not being able to perſwade himſelf that they really deſigned to diſpute his Sovereignty of *Guienne*, ſo expreſſly eſtabliſhed in the Treaty of *Bretigny*, and much leſs that *France* was in a Condition to renew the War. But he was very much out in his Notions. It was not only the Sovereignty of *Guienne* which *Charles* pretended to diſpute with him; he affirmed moreover that the Treaty of *Bretigny* was void, becauſe *Edward* had not prevented certain Bands of Plunderers belonging to his Dominions, from entering into *France*, and becauſe he had not evacuated all the Towns which were to be given up. On theſe Pretences he cauſed War to be proclaimed by a *Footman*, becauſe the Prince of *Wales* had taken into Cuſtody thoſe who brought him the *Summons*. Shortly after, he publiſhed an Edict confiſcating all the Lands the *Engliſh* were poſſeſſed of in *France*, and reuniting them to the Crown.

Charles *ſummons the Prince of* Wales.

His Anſwer.

Charles *pretends that the Treaty of* Bretigny. *is void.*

He proclaims War.

The

The Praiſes which the *French* Writers give this Prince for his Wiſdom in ſo opportunely laying hold of the Junctures, which offered, to recover his Dominions, deſerve ſome Reflection. It is true he acted with *Prudence*, if *Sincerity* and *Honeſty* are to be left out of the Account. The good Succeſs his Conduct was crowned with, freed for a Time *France* from the wretched State ſhe was in before. But if we examine it cloſely, this *Prudence* is downright *Perfidiouſneſs*. Let it be even ſuppoſed that *Edward* had not executed ſo much as one Article of the Treaty, his Non-Performance did not give *Charles* a Right to proclaim War againſt him. The King his Father and himſelf had expreſſly renounced all violent Methods in Caſe of Non-Performance. Beſides, he himſelf had not performed the Articles of the Treaty; ſo that all he could reaſonably demand was a Compenſation. But it was a bare-faced Breach of Faith, to annull the whole Treaty, under Colour that ſome Article remained unexecuted on the Part of *England*, at the Time when he himſelf left ſeveral unperformed. Moreover his Pretences for a Rupture were ſo frivolous, that the *French* Hiſtorians not having been able to mark them out exactly, were forced to fall upon ſome General Reaſons without ſpecifying any Thing. The moſt plauſible Pretence alledged by *Froiſſard* is this: *The Prince of* Wales *not having wherewithal to pay the Troops lately come back from* Spain, *ſix Thouſand Men diſbanding themſelves and afterwards joining again, committed great Ravages in* Guienne. *The Prince having intreatted them to go elſewhere, they fell upon the neighbouring Provinces belonging to* France, *and plundered them unpuniſhed, the* French *not being able to hinder them.* Suppoſing the Matter to be as *Froiſſard* relates it, it was no more in the Power of the Prince of *Wales* to go into *France* and quell a Parcel of Vagabonds, who had ruſhed into that Kingdom. It appears however that he did all that in him lay towards it, ſince he impoſed on his Dukedom the *Feuage*-Tax, in order to pay his Troops. But it was this very Thing which ſerved for a Handle to *Charles* to come to a Rupture; whence it is evident, that he only wanted an

1369. *Remarks on this Rupture.*

1369. Occaſion to quarrel. The ſame Hiſtorian ſays further, That *Charles* having ordered the Treaty of *Bretigny* to be examined by his Council, the chief Debate ran upon this Article, whereby the two Kings renounced all violent Methods in Caſe of Non-Performance. He adds, that it was upon this Foundation that he was adviſed to ſupport the Rupture, becauſe *Edward* had never ceaſed to make War upon *France*. But he does not tell us, *How* or *Where*, neither does he mention any Particulars. However, from all that this Author relates, it is very eaſy to infer, that before the Treaty was examined, *Charles* had reſolved upon War, and, that this Examination was purely intended to find out ſome Pretence. *Mezerai* ſays, the Occaſion of the Rupture was *Edward*'s not having withdrawn all his Troops out of the Kingdom; but he does not name any one Place where theſe Troops continued. Thus it is very manifeſt that the *French* Authors were at a Loſs what to alledge.

From what hath been ſaid a Man may eaſily conclude, that *Charles*'s *Wiſdom* was not very conſiſtent with ſtrict Honeſty, whether he had ſigned the Treaty with an Intention to break it, or whether he had not formed that Deſign till a favourable Opportunity offered. It is therefore the *Effect* and not the *Cauſe*, which has made this Prince's Conduct to he ſo much extolled. If he had met with as bad, as he did with good Succeſs, he would have hurled *France* again into an Abyſs of Miſery. By which Means he would juſtly have incurred the Blame of the whole World, and doubtleſs, of thoſe very Writers who have given him ſo great Commendations.

State of Affairs between the two Crowns.

Before I enter upon the Particulars of this ſecond War, it will be neceſſary to conſider further, how Matters ſtood between the two Crowns, at the Time of the Rupture. The *French* complained that *Edward* had not ceaſed warring againſt *France*, nor withdrawn his Troops out of the Kingdom, purſuant to his Engagements. But theſe are general Complaints, without mention of any particular Facts. Beſides, it is not very likely that *Edward*, to whom this Treaty was ſo advantagious, ſhould willingly give

give *France* a Handle to break it. The Treaty it ſelf plainly ſhows that the *Engliſh* Monarch's Engagements were nothing in Compariſon of the Advantages he reaped by it. This makes it preſumed, that being a Prince of great Abilities, as all muſt own, he took Care not to raiſe any Obſtacles himſelf againſt the Execution of a Treaty which turned ſo much to his Account. As for the pretended Injury done the *Gaſcons* by the Prince of *Wales*, a Man need only read the Treaty to be ſatisfied that *Charles* had nothing to do in that Buſineſs. 1369.

It was not the ſame Thing with Reſpect to the *Engliſh*, whoſe Complaints appear much better grounded. It is true, King *John*, whoſe Sincerity can never be too much commended, performed the Treaty to the utmoſt of his Power. He was no ſooner returned into his Dominions, but he ratified all the Articles, each apart by itſelf. After which, not content with the ſwearing himſelf to the Obſervance of them, he obliged the *Dauphin* his Son, who was to ſucceed him, to take the ſame Oath. So that all Pretences which might be alledged from his being in Captivity, were removed by his ratifying all his Engagements when at full Liberty in his own Territories. Performance was a ſtill more anthentick Confirmation than Promiſes or Oaths. He put *Edward* in Poſſeſſion of the Lands he had made over to him by the Treaty, without any Reſerve, and particularly of *Guienne* and all its Dependencies. If he had not intended to give up the *Sovereignty* with the Lands, it is not credible that he and the Prince his Son ſhould make no exception of that *Sovereignty*, either in the Treaty it ſelf, or in any of the Ratifications of each particular Article. At leaſt would they have neglected to enter a Proteſtation when *Edward* erected *Guienne* into a Principality, and inveſted the Prince his Son with it, without the Participation of *France*. It is true, there was ſome Diſpute between the two Kings about two inconſiderable Territories, but not to quarrel about ſuch a Trifle, the Matter was referred to Umpires. As for the Ranſom, King *John*'s Inability was the ſole Cauſe of his not paying it at the Time agreed upon. *Edward*

1369. *ward* was so well satisfied of the Sincerity of that Prince, that he made no Scruple to prolong the Time of Payment in order to give him some Respite. This was the Reason that at the Time of King *John*'s Death there remained still to pay two hundred Thousand Crowns of the first Million. Moreover, in Hopes that *John* or the *Dauphin* his Son would pay him in Time, *Edward* was not so strict with regard to the Hostages as he should have been. I have already observed that he readily consented, that Prince *Philip*, afterwards Duke of *Burgundy*, should be one of the Ten which was to be released by the XVII Article of the Treaty, though it was in his Power to pitch upon one of less Distinction. All the rest had in *England* all the Liberty they could reasonably desire. The *Collection of Publick Acts* is full of *Licenses* granted them to go and take Care of their private Affairs in *France*. The Duke of *Anjou*, the Earls of *Grand-pre* and *Brenne*, the Lords of *Clare* and *Derval* abused this Favour, and all *Edward*'s Instances could not obtain him the least Satisfaction upon that Article.

How the French *Hostages got out of* Edward's *Hands.*

The Duke of *Orleans* got clear by the Grant of certain Lands to *Thomas of Woodstock* one of the Kings Sons. By which Means he procured his own with the Freedom of *Andresel* one of the Prisoners.

The Duke of *Bourbon* having had an Opportunity to do the King some Service with the Pope, was set at Liberty on payment only of twelve Thousand Crowns, which the Prince of *Wales* had given to the Person that had taken him at *Poictiers*.

The Affair of *Belville* having been put to Arbitration, *Edward* relying on the Sincerity of the *French*, and the Justice of his Cause, made no Scruple to enter into an Engagement, which he was not obliged to. He was pleased even after the Duke of *Anjou*'s Escape to bind himself to set the Duke of *Berry* and the Earl of *Alenson* at Liberty, in Case the Matter in dispute should be decided in Favour of *France*. He even carried his Generosity so far as to give these two Princes Leave to return Home, contenting himself with taking their Word that if the Affair was determined

termined in his Favour by the *Arbitrators*, they would come back to *England* and remain as Hoſtages, only till he ſhould be put in Poſſeſſion of the Territory in Diſpute. Theſe two Princes accepted of his Generoſity, and returned to *France*. In the mean while the Affair was left undecided, and the Hoſtages thought no more of returning. 1369.

The Earl of St. *Pol* had his Liberty upon leaving his two Sons in his Room.

Charles de Artois made his Eſcape without taking Leave.

The Lords of *Luxemburg*, *Eſtampes* and *Hengeſt* died in *England*, and *Charles* ſent not other Hoſtages in their Room, though he was often required to do it.

The Earl of *Harcourt* had Leave for ſuch a Time, and returned no more.

Guy de Blois did the ſame Thing; but he made up Matters afterwards with *Edward*, by giving him up *Soiſſons*.

Montmorency, *Boucherche* and *Maulevrier*, had Leave to go to *France*, but took Care never to come back again. There is ſome Appearance however, that they gave the King ſome Satisfaction, ſince we don't find any Complaint againſt them in the *Collection of Publick Acts*, from whence I have taken theſe Particulars.

As for the other Hoſtages of leſs Note, and the Burghers of the Towns, whereof *Toulouſe* neglected to ſend any, *Edward* generouſly gave ſome their Freedom, and the reſt compounded for their Ranſom, or died in *England*.

As for King *John*'s Ranſom there ſtill remained unpaid near two Millions. It is true *Edward* received of *Charles* at ſeveral Times, about three hundred Thouſand Crowns, which added to what was paid by the King his Father, amounted to little more than the firſt Million, which was due ſeven or eight Months before.

It appears then that *Edward* was the only Perſon aggrieved, and yet *Charles* pretended that the Treaty of *Bretigny* was void by the Non-Performance of ſome Articles on the Part of *England*. Articles which no Hiſtorian has diſtinctly mentioned. Upon this Foundation he aſſerted that *France*, reſtored to her antient Rights, might juſtly confiſcate

1369. confiscate the Provinces she had assigned to *England*. After these Remarks, which seemed to me necessary for the Clearing up of this Matter, it is Time to resume the Thread of the History.

Ponthieu *taken from* Edward. *The chief Cities of* Guienne *revolt.*

Edward was extremely surprized to find that *Charles*, who passed not for a Warriour, durst Attempt to vye with a Prince that had gained so many Battles. He was still more astonished shortly after, when he heard that the Earldom of *Ponthieu* was taken from him, and that the principal Cities of *Guienne* were in Arms against him. He called upon this Account a Parliament, which granted him a great Aid for carrying on so necessary a War, wherein he was involved against his Will. By the Advice of this Parliament, he assumed again the Title of *King of France*, which he had quitted since the Peace *. After he had obtained this Aid from his Subjects, and a positive Promise to stand by him as long as the War should last, his first Care was to send Troops to the Prince of *Wales*, to recover the Cities of *Guienne*. Which done, he dispatched the Duke of *Lancaster* his second Son to *Calais* with a powerful Army. But all the Progress the Duke made was only ravaging the open Country without taking any Place.

He stiles himself King of France. Act. Pub. VI. 621.

Death of the Queen, 15 *Aug.*

The Renewing of the War was not the only Thing which disturbed *Edward*'s Quiet this Year. The Loss of his Queen was to him a very great Addition to his Grief. He had lived with her Forty Years in perfect Union, and had by her twelve Children. This good Queen was likewise

* This Year the King set forth an *Order* for the arming of all *Clergymen* : Part of it runs thus : " The King commands and " requires all the Prelates assembled in Parliament, that in regard " of the great Danger and Damage which may happen to the " Realm and Church of *England* by Reason of this War, in Case " the Enemy should invade the Kingdom, that they will appear " themselves in the Defense of the Realm, and cause their *Te-* " *nants*, *Dependants*, *Monks*, *Parsons*, *Vicars*, &c. to be prepared " for the Field in a *Military* Manner, and be ready to encounter " the Force, and disappoint the Malice of his Enemies." All which the *Prelates* in Parliament engaged to perform. Rot. in Tur. Lond, in 43 *Edward* III. See *Coll. Eccl. Hist. p.* 561. Vol. I.

wife extremely lamented by the People, who had always found her ready to assist them in Time of Need. The Poor especially were great Loosers by her Death. 1369.

The War was continued in *France* to the Advantage of *England*, under the Conduct of *Chandos* who commanded in *Saintonge* and *Poictou*, and kept up his Master's Affairs in those Parts in a flourishing Condition. But this brave General being slain at length in a Battle, Matters began to decline in these two Provinces. 1370. *Death of* Chandos.

Guienne was in no better State. The Prince of *Wales*, who could do little more than give Directions, by Reason of his Illness, saw himself extremely weakened by the Revolt of the chief Towns depending on his Principality of *Aquitain*. *Limoges* a City of great Importance was surprized by the *French*, or rather had a Mind to change Sides. The Disloyalty of the Inhabitants incensed the Prince to such a Degree, that he resolved to make them an Example. To that End, having received a Supply of Troops which the Duke of *Lancaster* and the Earl of *Cambridge* brought him, he besieged the Town, took it by Storm, and put all the Inhabitants to the Sword. *Limoges revolts.* *The Inhabitants put to the Sword.*

This was the last warlike Exploit of that great Prince, whom his Distemper obliged to be carried in a Litter. Finding himself unable to act any longer, he resolved to return into *England*. He had still some small Hopes left that his native Air would restore him to Health. After he had resigned to the King his Principality of *Aquitain*, which he could no longer govern, he departed, leaving the Command of the Army to the Duke of *Lancaster*. Before he set out, he had the Vexation to see *Edward* his eldest Son dye, in the seventh Year of his Age. He was a Prince of great Hopes, and seemed to be much more like his Father and Grandfather, than *Richard* his younger Brother who succeeded them. The Prince of *Wales* took his Son *Richard* with him, in order to have him educated in *England*. *The Prince of* Wales's *Distemper increases.* 1371. *He returns to* England.

David King of *Scotland* died the last Year, having left his Crown to *Robert Stuart* his Nephew, Son of his eldest Sister. *Robert* was no sooner on the Throne but he made *Death of the King of* Scotland. Robert Stuart *succeeds.*

1371. Act. Pub. VI. 696. made an Alliance offensive and defensive with *France* against *England*. But it was kept a Secret, *Charles* not having then any Need of his Aid, which doubtless he reserved for a more urgent Occasion.

The Duke of Lancaster *and Earl of* Cambridge *marry the two Daughters of* Peter the Cruel.

The Departure of the Prince of *Wales* entirely ruined the Affairs of the *English* in *Guienne*. The Duke of *Lancaster* and Earl of *Cambridge*, perceiving that with so few Troops it was not possible to reduce the revolted Towns, or withstand the *French* to any Purpose, came to the Resolution of going over to *England* to sollicite fresh Supplies. Before they departed they married the two Daughters of *Peter the Cruel*, King of *Castile*, turned out and slain by *Henry* his *Bastard*-Brother. The Duke of *Lancaster*, to whose share *Constantia* the eldest was fallen, immediately assumed the Title of *King of Castile and Leon*, showing by that, he designed to assert his Wife's Right. This Step obliged *Henry* to unite more closely with *France*. As it was his Interest to contribute all that lay in his Power towards the humbling of *England*, he resolved to assist *Charles* with all his Forces.

1372. *The Duke of* Lancaster *assumes the Title of* King of Castile. Act. Pub. VI. 698, 722.

About this Time the *Flemings*, who had declared for *France*, were defeated at Sea by the Earl of *Hereford*, who took six and twenty of their Ships.

Guesclin *gets the better of the* English.

But this Advantage could not balance those which *du Guesclin* gained upon *England* in *Guienne* and the adjoining Provinces. This brave General, whom *Charles* had drawn from the King of *Castile*'s Service to make him *High-Constable* of *France*, worsted the *English* every where. After having drove them out of *Limosin*, *Perigord*, and *Rovergne*, he carried his Progress so far that he found himself able to march into *Saintonge*, and at length to lay Siege to *Rochelle*, with the Assistance of a Fleet sent by the King of *Castile* to block up the Town by Sea. As soon as *Edward* had notice of this, he dispatched with all Speed the Earl of *Pembroke* with Forty Ships to throw in Succours into the Town. This Precaution seemed sufficient to save *Rochelle*; but for some Time nothing had succeeded with the *English*. The Earl of *Pembroke* being just about to sail into the Port, met the *Spanish* Fleet, commanded

He besieges Rochelle.

The Earl of Pembroke *beaten at Sea.*

commanded by Admiral *Boccanegra* a *Genoese*, who fiercely attacked him. The Fight lasted two Days, and ended at length in the entire Defeat of the *English* Fleet, the Admiral and many Officers being taken and sent into *Spain* bound with Chains. This Loss compleated the Ruin of the *English* Affairs. *Rochelle* however might have held out longer, had it not been for the Treachery of the Mayor. The Magistrate, who held Intelligence with the Besiegers, found Means to cause the Garrison to come out of the Citadel, under Colour of a Review, and by a forged Order of the King, which the Governour not being able to read, took for real. As soon as the Garrison was out, the Mayor had the Gates shut, and would not suffer them to come in again. Whereupon the Town capitulated, and obtained such good Terms, that she rather became the freer by having changed her Sovereign. 1372. Rochel *taken.*

The Loss of *Rochelle* having alarmed *Edward*'s Adherents in those Parts, *du Guesclin* improved his Advantages. He marched into *Poictou*, where he took several Towns, and at length sat down before *Thouras*, where the principal Lords of the Country had shut themselves up. The Siege was carried on so briskly that the Besieged saw themselves constrained to capitulate, and promised to return to the Obedience of *France*, if the King of *England* or one of his Sons did not come before *Michaelmas* with an Army strong enough to give Battle. Such Capitulations were very common in those Days, when People valued themselves upon standing to their Word more than they do at present. For which Reason this Practice is left off. Guesclin *besieges* Thouras.

The Loss of *Thouras* was of too great Consequence to leave that Place unrelieved, especially as the King's Honour was concerned in the Case. *Edward*'s great Desire to save that Town and consequently the rest of *Poictou*, caused him to use his utmost Endeavours. In a very little Time he got together a Fleet of four hundred Sail, with which he would have gone in Person to raise the Siege. But the Winds refusing to assist him on this Occasion, all his Endeavours proved fruitless. He was six Weeks at Sea without being able to land in *Poictou*. At last he Edward *tries in vain to save the Town.*

was

1372. was forced to return to *Engand* after great Fatigues and a vaſt Expence, which had almoſt drained his Treaſury. Hardly was he come back to *London*, when News came that the *French* were Maſters of all *Poictou*.

1373. *Affairs of* Bretaign. Argentre. Mezerai.

Edward's Affairs ſcarce proſpered any better in *Bretaign*, though the Duke his Son-in-law did his utmoſt to promote them. The People were tired out with War, and beheld with Grief, that purely for the Sake of the *Engliſh* their Country was going to be plunged again into the ſame Calamities ſhe was juſt come out off. On the other Hand, the Lords of *Bretaign*, bribed by *France*, oppoſed with all their Might the Deſigns of their Duke, and treated as Enemies the Troops which *Edward* ſent thither to ſupport the War. In this Situation, the Duke, whoſe Heart was entirely *Engliſh*, had it not in his Power to ſerve the King his Father-in-law as he wiſhed, or to perform the Engagements he had entered into by a new Treaty lately made with him. The Perplexity he was in, made him reſolve to go himſelf into *England* to ſollicite a Supply capable of procuring him greater Authority in his own Dominions. *Edward* was very ſenſible of the Importance of this Demand; but was not in a Condition to anſwer it fully. He was fain therefore to ſend back the Duke of *Bretaign* with fair Words only, whilſt he turned all his Thoughts to reſtore the Affairs of *Guienne*, which touched him more nearly.

Act. Pub. VI. 738, 768.

1374. *The Duke of* Lancaſter *goes to* Guienne.

Purſuant to the Reſolution he had taken to exert his utmoſt in *Guienne*, he drew together an Army of thirty Thouſand Men, the Command whereof he gave to the Duke of *Lancaſter* his Son, who was ſtiled in *England*, *King of Caſtile*. The Duke having landed at *Calais*, traverſed all *France* without meeting Oppoſition, and came to *Bourdeaux*. From thence he advanced into upper *Guienne*, with deſign to drive out the Duke of *Anjou*, who had taken ſeveral Towns. He offered him Battle, which the *French* Prince accepted. The Day and Place were appointed; but the two Generals having received Advice of a Truce which had been concluded between the two Crowns, they both retired.

Battle agreed on, prevented by a Truce.

Some

Some Time ſince, at the preſſing Inſtances of the Pope, the two Kings had ſent their Plenipotentiaries to *Bruges*, where they had agreed upon the Truce above-mentioned. This was done in order to enable them the better to bring about a Peace. But the Pretenſions of the two Monarchs being too oppoſite for a Peace to be ſo eaſily made up, their Negotiation ended only in a Prolongation of the Truce to *April* 1377. As ſoon as the Truce was ſigned the Duke of *Lancaſter* brought back his Troops to *England*. 1375. 1376. *Truce prolonged.*

Though the Conſequences of this laſt War were no leſs conſiderable than thoſe of the former, ſeeing *France* recovered in this all ſhe had loſt in the other, yet the Particulars are very far from being ſo entertaining. In the firſt *Edward*'s Conqueſts were rendered illuſtrious by a Naval Engagement, wherein the King commanded in Perſon. The Battle of *Creſſy*, wherein all the *Nobles* of both Kingdoms fought in the Sight of the two Kings, and gained by a Prince of ſixteen Years old, preſents to the Mind one of the moſt moving *Scenes* in Hiſtory. The Conqueſt of *Calais*, in the Sight of an Army of a hundred and fifty Thouſand Men, is no leſs capable of affecting the Reader. The Victory of *Poictiers* obtained by an Army of twelve Thouſand againſt ſixty Thouſand, and the taking King *John* Priſoner, are Events which command our Admiration, and quicken our Attention. In a Word, the firſt War was ended by the moſt important and moſt ſolemn Treaty that had ever been made between the two Crowns. In the ſecond there was not one general Action. The two Kings, contenting themſelves with directing their Affairs in the *Cabinet*, never appeared at the Head of their Armies. As for the Sieges, excepting thoſe of *Limoges* and *Rochel*, there was ſcarce any one worth mentioning. The Towns which the *Engliſh* loſt were taken or ſurprized with a wonderful Rapidity. Some of them did not ſo much as ſtay till the Enemy approach'd. It may therefore be ſaid that the *Engliſh* Loſſes were a true Rout, which cannot afford but few Particulars proper to ſatisfy the Reader's Curioſity. This is the Reaſon that

1376. I have not given a fuller Account of these Matters, which could not but be very dull and tedious. It is sufficient to observe that at the Time of the last Treaty, of all she had gained by the Treaty of *Bretigny*, *England* had nothing left but the Town of *Calais* alone. So true is what a Thousand Instances have confirmed and still do confirm every Day, that one should not too much set by the Acquisitions gained by Force of Arms. Sooner or later it falls out that a superiour Force finds Means to wrest them again from the Acquirer or his Children. Thus *France* lost in the Reign of *John* what *Philip Augustus* and St. *Lewis* had conquered upon the *English*; and thus *Edward* III was deprived of the Conquest he himself had made in *France*. We shall see in the Sequel of this History, that one of *Edward*'s Successours amply retrieved all his Losses, and that the *French* in their Turn recovered quickly after whatever had been taken from them. Examples of this Kind, which occur so frequently in History, ought to teach Princes to set Bounds to their Ambition; but few there be that are so wise as to profit by these Lessons. If a Man were desirous to inquire into the natural Causes of this Revolution which outed *Edward* of all he had gained by the Treaty of *Bretigny*, they will appear to be very obvious. The Revolt of the *Gascons*, the Prince of *Wales*'s Distemper, *Edward*'s old Age, his too great Reliance on the King of *France*'s Sincerity, the Prudence of *Charles the Wise*, who without stirring from the Council-Board, managed the whole War, the Conduct and Bravery of *Bertrand du Guesclin*, were the Instruments in the Hand of Providence which brought about this Revolution.

Edward *falls in Love with* Alice Pierce.

The *English* were in some Measure comforted for all their Losses, by the Tranquillity which the Truce procured them. The King himself appeared to put off his warlike Inclinations to make room for others, which somewhat endangered his Reputation. In his old Age he fell in Love with one *Alice Pierce* *. His Passion had so far got

* In a Grant to her of some Jewels belonging to Queen *Philippa* deceased, dated at *Woodstock*, *August* the 8th 1373, she is called

got the Maſtery of him, that it made him commit a great many mean Things unbecoming ſo great a Prince. The Money he had raiſed for the War was quickly ſwallowed up by this greedy She-Favourite. From thence followed an univerſal Diſcontent throughout the Kingdom. Wholly taken up with the Thoughts of pleaſing his Miſtreſs, the King minded nothing but how to procure her Diverſions. Publick Entertainments were made every Day, the Charges of which were exceſſive. Taxes were ſo much the more grievous to the Nation, as their Purſes were entirely drained by continual Wars. It was with extreme Grief that People ſaw the Money deſigned to pay the Publick Debts ſquandered away in Vanities. Eſpecially, they were extremely offended at a Tournament held in *Smithfield*. *Alice Pierce*, to whom her *Old Lover* had given the Name of *Lady of the Sun*, appeared by his Side in a triumphant Chariot, and attended by great Numbers of Ladies of *Quality*, each *Lady* leading a *Knight* by his Horſe's Bridle. When the King's Coffers were empty, he called a Parliament to demand a *Subſidy*. But he had the Mortification to ſee that his People, who had ſo powerfully aſſiſted him in his glorious Undertakings, had not the ſame Zeal, when the Buſineſs was to provide for uſeleſs Expences. Before they granted the *Subſidy* the King demanded, the Parliament bitterly complained of the ill-Management of his Miniſters, particularly of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, whom the King his Father had intruſted with the Adminiſtration of Affairs. They even petitioned the King to remove from his Perſon the Duke of *Lancaſter* his Son, *Alice Pierce* *, *Latimer* Lord *Chamberlain*, and ſome others who were moſt in his Favour. This *Petition*

1376.

He waſtes the publick Money, which diſguſts the Nation.

A Tournament in Smithfield

The Parliament obliges the King to turn off his Favourite and Miniſters.

called *Perrers*. Act. Pub. VII. 28 This is the only *Record* in the *Fœdera* which proves *Edward*'s Affection for this Lady; a Thing Mr. *Barnes* will by no Means allow, for two Reaſons; becauſe *Edward* was ſo chaſte in the Flower of his Age, and becauſe ſo noble a Baron as the Lord *William Windſor* married her afterwards.

* She was accuſed of coming into the *Courts of Juſtice*, ſitting on the *Bench* with the Judges, and making them do as ſhe pleaſed. *Walſing.*

1376. was made with ſo much Warmth, that the King perceiving he could not reject it without Danger, granted what they required, leſt in their Turn the Parliament Holinſh. ſhould refuſe him the Money he ſtood in need of. It was not queſtioned but the Prince of *Wales* had privately brought the Parliament to make this Step, in order to get the Duke of *Lancaſter* removed, who was in too great Credit with the King. As the Prince found he muſt die, he could not reflect without Uneaſineſs, that he was going to leave his young Son *Richard* to the Mercy of an ambitious Uncle, who might make uſe of his Credit to take the Crown from him. And indeed *Richard*, by reaſon of his Youth, was incapable of oppoſing the Duke's Deſigns, in caſe they ſhould tend, as it was ſuſpected, to the procuring himſelf to be declared the King's *Heir Apparent*, after the Death of his elder Brother. This obliged the Prince of *Wales* to ſeek for his Son the Protection of the Parliament, as the only means to ſupport him in his juſt Rights. For this Reaſon in all probability it was that the Parliament * petitioned for the Removal of the Duke of *A General Pardon.* *Lancaſter*. During this *Seſſion*, *Edward*, now in the fiftieth Year of his Reign, cauſed a general Pardon to be publiſhed, which pleaſed the whole Nation exceedingly.

Death of the Prince of Wales. *His Character.* A Sorrow no leſs univerſal quickly followed this Joy. It was cauſed by the Death of the Prince of *Wales*, the moſt illuſtrious Prince *England* had ever produced. He was poſſeſſed of all the *Virtues* in an eminent Degree. A good Soldier and a great General, Brave without Fierceneſs, Bold in Battle, but very Affable in Converſation, and of a Modeſty never to be enough admired. Ever ſubmiſſive and reſpectful to the King his Father, whom he never once diſobliged. Generous, liberal, pleaſed with rewarding Merit where-ever he found it, he wanted no Qualification requiſite to form a perfect *Heroe*. The *Engliſh* commonly called him *The Black Prince*, not on the Score of his warlike Exploits, as ſome have imagined, but becauſe he wore *Black Armour*. The News of his Death was

* This Parliament was called *The Good Parliament*.

was received with an unconceiveable Grief, though it had been expected a long Time. The Parliament was willing on this Occaſion to expreſs their juſt Sorrow for the Loſs of ſo great a Prince who had gained the Affection and Eſteem of the whole Nation, by attending his Corps to *Canterbury*, where he had choſe to be interred *. This renowned Prince died in the Forty-ſixth Year of his Age, lamented by the King his Father, who ſhowed upon this Occaſion leſs Firmneſs of Mind than he had ever done in all the other Misfortunes which had befallen him in the Courſe of his Life *1. The King of *France* himſelf, though he had little Reaſon to Regret his Death, gave him Marks of his Eſteem, by ordering a *ſolemn Service* to be celebrated at *Paris*, at which he was pleaſed to be preſent in Perſon. Prince *Edward* left behind him but one legitimate Son, aged ten Years, and two natural Sons, who made no great Figure in Hiſtory. 1376.

The *Engliſh* were the more ſenſible of their late Loſs, as it was ſoon followed by a freſh Occaſion of Sorrow. The King recalled to Court thoſe whom he had removed from his Perſon. *Peter de la Marc*, Speaker of the *Houſe of Commons*, who in preſenting the above-mentioned *Petition* to the King, had ſpoken pretty freely againſt *Alice Pierce*, was confined in *Nottingham*-Caſtle at her Inſtance. The Duke of *Lancaſter* reſumed his old Poſt, and all the other *Miniſters* were reſtored to their former Offices. However, though he gave the Duke of *Lancaſter* this plain Token of his Affection and Confidence, *Edward* would not leave him any Room to hope that he deſigned him for his Succeſſor. On the contrary, to prevent all Diſputes which might ariſe after his Death about the Succeſſion, he created *Richard* his Grandſon *Earl of Cheſter*, and preſently after he conferred on him the Title of *Prince of* 1377. *The King recals the Duke of* Lancaſter *and* Alice Pierce. Walſing. *He creates* Richard *his Grandſon Prince of* Wales.

* His Monument is ſtill there.

*1 *Walſingham* ſays, *With him dyed the Hopes of the* Engliſh, *during whoſe Life they dreaded no Invaſion*, nor feared to encounter any Enemy. He never undertook an Expedition without Conqueſt, never formed a Siege without carrying the Place, *&c. Tho. Walſingham in vit. Ed.* III.

1377. *of Wales.* But not content with having made known his Intention, he caused all the *Nobility* to take their Oath to him as to the *Heir Apparent* of the Crown. Finally, for fear his Uncles might entertain any Hopes of ascending the Throne to his Prejudice, he was pleased to put him beforehand, as it were in Possession of the Rank he designed him for, by causing him to take Place of them in all publick Solemnities. Thus did that wise Prince manage Matters in order to prevent the Dissentions which might spring up after his Death in his Family, on the Score of the Succession. At the same Time, he pleased himself in honouring the Memory of a Son whom he had tenderly loved and very much esteemed, by doing Justice to young *Richard.*

Troubles on account of Wickliff.

Whilst these Things were transacting at Court, *John Wickliff* Doctor of *Divinity* in the University of *Oxford*, began to publish his *Belief*, upon several Articles of *Religion*, wherein he differed from the common Opinions. Pope *Gregory* XI, having been informed of it, condemned some of his *Tenets*, and commanded the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and Bishop of *London* to oblige him to subscribe the Condemnation, and in Case of Refusal to summon him to *Rome*. It was no easy Matter to execute the Pope's Order. *Wickliff* had already abundance of Followers in the Kingdom, and for Protector the Duke of *Lancaster*, whose Authority was very little inferiour to the King's. Nevertheless, to obey the Pope's Command the Archbishop held a *Synod* at St. *Paul's London*, and cited *Wickliff* to appear. Accordingly he appeared, accompanied by the Duke of *Lancaster* and Lord *Percie*, Marshal of *England*, who believed their Presence necessary to protect him. After he had taken his Place according to his Rank, and been interrogated by the Bishop of *London*, he would have answered sitting, and by that Means gave Occasion for great Dispute. The Bishop insisted upon his standing up and being uncovered, and the Duke of *Lancaster* asserted that *Wickliff* was there only as a *Doctor* to give his Vote and Opinion, and not as a Party accused. The Contest grew so high, that the Duke of *Lancaster* came to Threats, and

gave

gave the Biſhop very hard Words. Whereupon the People, who were ſtanding by, thinking the Biſhop was in Danger, took his Part with ſo much Heat and Noiſe, that the Duke and Earl *Marſhal* thought fit to withdraw and carry off *Wickliff* with them. Their withdrawing appeaſed not the Tumult. Some Incendiaries ſpread a Report, that at the Inſtance of the Duke of *Lancaſter* it had been propoſed that Day to the King in Council, to put down the Office of Lord-*Mayor*, take away the City Privileges, and reduce *London* under the Juriſdiction of the Earl *Marſhal*. There needed no more to put the People in a Fury. They ran immediately and broke up the *Marſhalſey*, and freed all the Priſoners. But they did not ſtop there. The Mutineers, whoſe Numbers continually increaſed, marched on to the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Palace in the *Savoy*, and miſſing his Perſon, plundered the Houſe, and dragged his *Arms* along the Streets. The Duke was ſo highly provoked at this Affront, that he could not be pacified but by the turning out of the *Mayor* and *Aldermen*, whom he accuſed of not having exerted their Authority to reſtrain the Seditious. 1377.

Wickliff explains his Notions of the Euchariſt.

To return to *Wickliff*. The Biſhops being met a ſecond Time, he declared before them his Sentiments concerning the Sacrament of the *Euchariſt*, explaining the *Eating* of the Body of *Chriſt*, much in the ſame manner as *Berangerius* had done before him. Though his Opinion was contrary to the *Doctrine* of the *Church* in thoſe Days, the Biſhops not daring to proceed rigorouſly againſt him, were contented with injoining him Silence. 'Tis ſaid that he promiſed to obey; but however that did not hinder the Diſpute from breaking out afreſh in the next Reign.

The King makes Richard Knight of the Garter.

Let us conclude this Reign with the laſt publick Action of *Edward*, who in an Aſſembly of the *Knights Companions of the Garter* convened at *Windſor*, made *Richard* his Grandſon one of that *Order*. This was the only Honour he could confer upon him, after having declared him his Succeſſor. Shortly after, this great Prince, who was already indiſpoſed, fell ſo ill that he judged his Death was at Hand. Before he left the World, he had the Mortification

He falls ill, and ſees himſelf deſerted by all.

1377. cation to see the World leave him. *Alice* his Favourite, who managed him in his Sickness, suffered but very few to come near him. When she saw he was dying, she seized upon every Thing of Value she could lay her Hands on, took the very Ring he had on his Finger, and withdrew. His *Courtiers* and *Chaplains* showed no less Ingratitude. They all deserted him, without vouchsafing to warn him of the little Time he had to live, and of the Account he was shortly to give of his Actions to God. There was only one single Priest, who being there by accident, and seeing him left alone in his last Agonies, came near the Bed to comfort him. He addressed to him some Exhortations, to which the dying King endeavoured to reply: But his Words were not articulate enough to be understood. The only Word he spoke distinctly, was *Jesus Christ*, just as he fetched his last Breath. Thus died this illustrious Prince at *Shene*, (now *Richmond*,) in the 65th Year of his Age, and the Fifty-first of his Reign *.

Death of Edward.

After having related the principal Actions of *Edward* III, in the History of his Reign, it will be necessary in order to compleat the Character of this famous Prince, to give some Account of his Person, and Accomplishments of Body and Mind. He was very tall, but well-shaped, of so noble and majestick an Aspect, that his very Looks commanded Respect and Veneration; affable and obliging to good Men, but inexorable to the bad; there are few Princes to be met with in History who knew so well how to join together the Duties of a *Sovereign* with those of an *Honest Man* and a *Good Christian*, though in this last Respect his Conduct was not altogether blameless. His

His Character.

* On *June* 21, 1377. Act. Pub. Vol. VII. p. 151. He lies buried in *Westminster-Abbey*, with this *Epitaph* upon his Tomb, according to the gingling *Rhime* of those Days,

Hic Decus Anglorum, Flos Regum Præteritorum,
Forma Futurorum, Rex Clemens, Pax Populorum
Tertius Edwardus, Regni complens Jubilæum,
Invictus Pardus, Bellis pollens Machabæum
Prospera dum vixit, Regnum Pietate revixit.
Armipotens Rexit: Jam cælo (cælice Rex) sit!

His Converſation was eaſy, and always accompanied with Gravity and Diſcretion. A Friend to the Poor, the Fatherleſs, the Widow, and to all who were unhappily fallen into any Misfortune, he made it his Buſineſs to procure them ſome Comfort in their Afflictions. Never had any King before him beſtowed *Honours* and *Rewards* with more Judgment and greater Regard to true Merit. Though his Proweſs was acknowledged and admired by all the World, he was never puffed up on that Score. Never did he ſhow greater Signs of Humility, than in the Courſe of his Victories, which he conſtantly aſcribed to the ſole Protection of Heaven. He knew how to maintain the *Prerogatives* of the Crown, without incroaching on the *Privileges* of the People. In all the former Reigns there had not been enacted ſo many advantagious *Statutes* to the Nation, as there were in this. *Edward* always acting in Concert with the Auguſt Body of the Nation's *Repreſentatives*, made that Harmony inſtrumental to the curbing the Deſigns of the Court of *Rome*, which never dared to quarrel with him. The Glory of the Prince of *Wales* his Son reflected a new Luſtre on his own, and the conſtant Union wherein he lived with his Queen was an Addition to his Happineſs. As he was never too much elated in Proſperity, ſo in Adverſity he never ſuffered himſelf to be caſt down. His Moderation appeared no leſs in his loſing the Provinces which had coſt him ſo much Toil and Treaſure, than in his Victories which had gained him the Poſſeſſion of them. In a Word, he might be reckoned an accompliſhed Prince, if his Ambition had not carried him to break in a diſhonourable Manner the Peace he had made with *Scotland*, in order to diſpoſſeſs a *minor* King, who beſides was his Brother-in-law. Some will add likewiſe the Rupture with *France*, and his Pretenſions to the Crown of that Kingdom, which they term extravagant, and wholly attribute to an ambitious Motive. The *Diſſertation* I am going to add here upon this Subject will help the *Reader* to form a right Judgment of this Matter. As to his Weakneſs in falling in Love in his old Age, with *Alice Pierce*, that Blemiſh is much leſſened by ſo many 1377.

1377. noble Qualities, which made him shine with such Lustre. One might in some measure excuse him, by saying, he looked upon this Passion at first as an Amusement only, which took off his Thoughts from his Troubles, and that having had little Experience of *Love* in his youthful Days, he was not enough aware of it to withstand it in his old Age.

His Issue. *Philippa* of *Hainault* his Queen brought him Twelve Children, some of whom died before him. *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, his eldest Son, left but one Son, who ascended the Throne after his Grandfather. *William* his second Son died an Infant. *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, who ended his Days in *Italy*, left only a Daughter called *Philippa*, by his first Wife, an *Irish* Lady. *John of Gant* Duke of *Lancaster* was twice married in his Father's Life-time, and had Children, of whom I shall have occasion to speak in the following Reigns. *Edward*'s fifth Son was *Edmund*, sirnamed *of Langley*, the Place of his Birth. He was created Earl of *Cambridge* by the King his Father, and afterwards Duke of *York*, in the Reign of *Richard* II his Nephew. *William* sirnamed *of Windsor* died young. *Thomas of Woodstock* the seventh Son, was made Duke of *Buckingham* by *Richard* II, and afterwards Duke of *Glouceſter*. *Isabella* eldest Daughter of *Edward*, was married to *Ingelram de Coucy* Earl of *Soissons*. *Joanna* was first contracted to the Duke of *Austria*, and afterwards to *Peter the Cruel* *, King of *Castile*, before he was King, and died at *Bourdeaux* as she was going to *Spain* to consummate her Marriage. *Blanch* lived but few Years. *Mary* was married to *John de Montfort* Duke of *Bretaign*, and died in 1363. *Margaret* was Wife to *John Hastings* Earl of *Pembroke*, [She died without Issue.]

* To *Alphonso*, Son of *Ferdinando* III. in 1348. She was married by *Proxy*, and entitled *Queen of Spain*. *Alphonso* was Father of *Peter the Cruel*.

A DIS-

A

DISSERTATION

ON THE

SALICK-LAW,

And the Diſpute between PHILIP *of* Valois *and* EDWARD III.



WHAT almoſt every Body underſtands at preſent by the *Salick-Law*, is a fundamental Law of the Monarchy of *France*, which excludes the *Women* and their Deſcendants from the Succeſſion to the Crown. This is the *Idea* commonly annexed to the Term, *Salick-Law*. In this Senſe it is that *Bodin* ſays, This Law is the Foundation of the Monarchy; *Marca*, that it is a Privilege and Cuſtom peculiar to the *French*; *Thuetius*, that it is the *Palladium* of *France*. I might cite numberleſs *French* Authors, who ſpeaking of the *Salick-Law*, conſidered it only as a Law relating particularly to the Succeſſion of the Crown of *France*. This *Idea* is the Reaſon that moſt People, verily believing that it

Bod. de la Rep 1. 8
Marc. de Jur. *p.* 1. *c.* 28. *N.* 31.
De Thou. *l.* 110.

it was never thought otherwiſe ever ſince the Eſtabliſhment of the Monarchy, cannot underſtand how *Edward* III, Son of a Princeſs of *France*, could with the leaſt Colour diſpute the Crown of *France* with *Philip de Valois* Deſcendant by the *Male-line* from *Hugh Capet*. But they who argue thus, do not perceive that they take for granted a Thing which indeed is not conteſted at preſent, but which at the Time of this former Diſpute was the only Point in Queſtion between the two Kings. Ever ſince that Point was decided, the preſent Notion of the *Salick-Law* is juſt and certain; but I will venture to ſay, that it was doubtful at that Time, and this is what I hope plainly to make appear in the following Diſſertation.

By the *Salick-Law* it was that *Edward* who was next of Kin to *Charles the Fair*, was deprived of the Succeſſion, and that the *Regency*, or to ſpeak more properly, the *Crown*, was adjudged to a more diſtant Relation. It will be neceſſary then, for the better Underſtanding this Affair, to know what is meant by the *Salick-Law* which is in every one's Mouth, though few have any knowledge of the Matter, and about which the *French* themſelves are not agreed, though they reckon it a Fundamental Law of their Monarchy.

Bignon de l'Excel. de Roy de France. *l* 3. *p.* 298.

Some of them, for Inſtance the famous *Jerom Bignon*, ſay, that we are not to look for the *Salick-Law* among *Records*, ſince it is a *Law of Nature*: and that if there have been any Nations where it took not Place, they were Examples that deſerve rather to be wondered at than imitated (*a*). Some will have it that *Pharamond* the firſt King of the *France* decreed by an expreſs Law that the *Women* ſhould not ſucceed to the Crown, and that the ſaid Law has ſtood ever ſince inviolated. Others attribute this Law to *Clovis*. *Mezerai* pretends that the Succeſſion of the *Males* to the Crown of *France* was not eſtabliſhed by a written Law, but by an unalterable Cuſtom. This confuſed

(*a*) One may juſtly ſay that there is no *Beginning* or *End* of the *Salick-Law*, for it is a *Law of Nature* born with Men and not written, as *Ariſtotle* obſerves, The Law of *Nature* and *Nations* is not written. *Bignon*, l. 3.

fuſed Mixture of *Idea*'s, which occaſions the repreſenting the *Salick-Law*, one while as a *Law of Nature*, another while as a *poſitive* and *expreſs* Law, then again as a *mere Cuſtom*, renders this Matter very dark and obſcure, the which I ſhall endeavour to clear up, in order to enable the *Reader* to judge of the famous Conteſt between the two Kings.

Before the *Francs* ſettled in that Part of *Gaul* which they have been poſſeſſed of ſo long, they were diſperſed by Troops in *Germany* and the *Low-Countries*, from whence it happened that they had ſeveral Names, according to the different Parts they inhabited. Some were called *Salians*, from the River *Sala*, which ran through their Country (*b*). Others were diſtinguiſhed by the Names of the *Chamavi*, Catti, *Attuarians*, *Ripuarians*, or *Kibarols*. Each of theſe *Colonies* had Laws, the chief of which were no doubt common to all the *Francs*, and in all appearance they had likewiſe their peculiar Laws. The Laws of the *Salians* and *Ripuarians* are ſtill in being. Among the *Salian* Laws we find this:

De Terrâ verò Salicâ, nulla Portio ad MULIEREM *tranſit, ſed hoc* VIRILIS SEXUS *acquirit.*

This Law, as it is eaſy to obſerve, concerns *private Inheritances*, and the Title *Alodium* *, under which it is placed, puts it out of Diſpute. This likewiſe is the Opinion of numberleſs Authors as well *French* as others, whoſe Names it would be needleſs to rehearſe. *Mezerai* was doubtleſs of the ſame Mind, ſince he ſaid that the Succeſſion of the *Males* to the Crown was not eſtabliſhed by any written Law. All that can be alledged with any Plauſibleneſs by thoſe who ground the Excluſion of the *Females* upon the above-mentioned *Paragraph* of the *Salian* Laws is, that the Succeſſion to the Crown is included in the Law which regulated the Succeſſion to the Inheritances

(*b*) There are a dozen different Opinions about the *Etymology* of the Word *Salick*. That from the *Salians*, whoſe Name is taken from the River *Sala*, ſeems to me the moſt probable. See *Limneus de Jure Imp. Roman. Germ.* l. 1. c. 2.

* See Note, Vol. II. p. 196.

ces of the noble Families. This is what *Father Daniel* sticks to in his History of *France*. He affirms that the Rule concerning the Succession to the Crown is contained in that particular Article of the *Salian* or *Salick-Law*, which includes all the Laws of the *Salian Francs*. What this able Historian says upon this Head, in the Reign of *Clovis*, being of great Service in clearing up the Matter, I shall transcribe Part of it here, in order to save the Reader the Pains to consult them.

T. I. p. 7. &c. Ed. d' Amst. 1720.

" It was then, *in all Probability*, that *Clovis* published " the famous *Salick Law*. I am sensible that most of our " Historians ascribe the Honour of it to *Pharamond*; but " I follow here the Opinion of one of our most able " *Criticks* [*Hadr. de Valois.*]

" Many People speak and hear of this Law without " knowing what it is. It is a common Notion that it re- " lates solely or chiefly to the Succession of the *Males* to " the Crown of *France*, by determining the Qualificati- " ons of those who may put in their Claim. This No- " tion is wrong upon several Accounts. Of the Seventy- " two Articles which this Law consists of (*c*), there are " but Three or Four Lines of the Sixty-second which " belong to this Point. What is more, they do not re- " late in particular to the Succession of the *Males* to the " Crown; but belong in general to all the *noble Families*, " whose Rights they regulate in this Respect as well as " those of the Family Royal. The Words run thus: " *As for the* SALICK LAND, *no Part shall descend to the* " FEMALE, *but all shall go to the* MALE.

" By *Salick Land* is meant the Lands of the *Nobles* " of the Nation, and also according to some, the Lands of " Conquest, such as were almost all those of the *French* " Monarchy on this Side the *Rhine*. What has chiefly " given Rise to this vulgar Opinion, was the great Dispute " formerly between *Philip de Valois* and *Edward* III. King " of *England* —— Besides this famous Contest, the " little Use made of this Law at present, which our " Lawyers

(*c*) Some Editions have *more*, some *less*.

" Lawyers hardly ever refer to in other Caſes, has been " the Reaſon of this common Notion, which confines it " to ſo narrow Bounds. But in reality it contained num- " berleſs Regulations concerning all ſorts of Things.

" I am of Opinion, what we now have of the *Salick-* " *Law* is only an Abſtract of a larger *Code*, which was " abridged on purpoſe, that the People and Judges might " the more eaſily come at the Knowledge of the Subſtance " and main Points of it. What induces me to believe " this, is that in the Book of the *Salick-Law* which we " have in our Hands, the *Salick-Law* itſelf, and certain " *Forms* not to be found any where in that Book, are " quoted —— And this moreover is what leaves no room " to queſtion but it was at firſt compoſed in *French*, and " afterwards the Abſtract was tranſlated into *Latin* for the " uſe of the *Gauls*, to whom it was to be common in ſe- " veral Articles with the *French*. This is the Abſtract " or Abridgment which is come down to us".

Thus we have Three different Opinions, which Three Learned *Criticks* have given us concerning the *Salick-Law*, I mean the Law which renders *Women* incapable of ſucceeding to the Crown. *Bignon* ſays, it is a Law of Nature which ought to be common to all Nations. According to *Father Daniel*, by the *Salick-Law* we are to underſtand an Abridgment of the *Salian* Laws publiſhed by *Clovis*. As for the particular Law which ſettles the Succeſſion to the Crown of *France*, he pretends that 'tis a mere *Chimæra*, a vulgar Error; and adds, without alledging however any Proof, that the Excluſion of the *Females* with reſpect to the Crown derives its whole Force from that particular Paſſage of the *Salick Code*, which ſettles the Inheritance of the *Noble Families*, and conſequently, in his Opinion, of the Inheritance of the *Family Royal*, that is, of the Crown. According to *Mezerai*, by the *Salick-Law*, or the Law that ſettles the Succeſſion, is meant not a *written Law* but an *unalterable Cuſtom*, which is inſtead of a Law. To give a diſtinct Notion of this Matter, I ſhall examine theſe three Opinions, and ſhow the Objections they are liable to.

In

In the firſt Place, as to the ſuppoſing that the *Salick-Law*, or which is the ſame Thing, the Excluſion of *Women* and their Deſcendants from the Succeſſion to the Crown, is a *Law of Nature*, I muſt own that it might with ſome Reaſon be maintained, that *Nature* requires *States* and *Kingdoms* ſhould be governed by *Men*, if the *Salick-Law* went no further; but ſince it extends to the excluding the *Male-Heirs* of the Women of the Royal Family, methinks *Nature* has no Hand in that Extent. In the next Place, if the *Salick-Law* was a *Law of Nature*, it would be practiſed in all *States*, or at leaſt the *Exceptions*, if any, would be but few. But here we find juſt the contrary. Of all the independent Kingdoms of *Europe*, eſtabliſhed by the *Northern* Nations, none but *France* follows this pretended *Law of Nature*. All the other *States*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, *Swedeland*, *Denmark*, *England*, *Scotland*, admit of the *Female* Succeſſion. We muſt ſay therefore that *France* alone follows *Nature*, and all the reſt of the *States* deviate from her Law, the which to me ſeems abſurd. Wherefore the *Salick-Law* has all along been conſidered, as it is at preſent, as a Law peculiar to *France*; and we do not find that *Philip le long* or *Philip de Valois* ever pretended to put it upon any other Foot.

As for *Father Daniel*'s Opinion, how great Eſteem ſoever I may have for his Hiſtory, which I take to be the beſt of all the Hiſtories of *France*, I cannot help ſaying, that not only it is built upon no Grounds, but moreover is very improbable. It is eaſy to make appear that the *Paragraph* of the *Salick Code* on which he Grounds the Excluſion of the Women and their Deſcendents, has no manner of Relation to the Succeſſion to the Crown. To perceive this, one need only conſider the whole Title under which it is placed. It is the 62d, entitled *de Alodis*, which ſettles the Inheritance of the *Alodial* Eſtates. But firſt, it muſt be obſerved that *Alodial* Lands were Lands which belonged by Inheritance to thoſe who poſſeſſed them, and were not held of any other Lord. This is what diſtinguiſhes them from other Lands, termed *Benefi-*

Du Cange Alodis.

cia which were distributed among the *Nobles* on Condition of serving the *State* in Person, upon certain Occasions, the which *Women* were incapable of doing. These Lands are what they called *Terra Salica*, because they were considered as belonging properly to the collective Body of the Nation, and because they were held by private Persons, upon the Condition of serving the *State*. This being laid down, the whole Title of the *Salick-Law*, wherein the *Paragraph* is inserted, runs thus:

TIT. 62. DE ALODE.

" 1. *Si quis homo mortuus fuerit, & filios non dimiserit,* Edit. of
" *si Pater aut Mater Superfuerint ipsi in Hereditatem Suc-* Pithou.
" *cedant.*

" 2. *Si Pater aut Mater non Superfuerint & Fratres vel*
" *Sorores reliquerit, ipsi Hæreditatem obtineant.*

" 3. *Quod si nec isti fuerint, Sorores patris in Hæredi-*
" *tatam Succedant.*

" 4. *Si verò Sorores patris non extiterint, Sorores matris*
" *ejus Hæreditatem sibi vindicent.*

" 5. *Si autem nulli horum fuerint, quicunque proximi-*
" *ores fuerint de paterna generatione, ipsi in Hæreditatem*
" *Succedant.*

" 6. *De Terrâ autem Salicâ, nulla Portio Hæreditatis*
" *mulieri veniat, sed ad virilem Sexum tota Terræ Hæ-*
" *ditas perveniat.*"

Hence it appears, I. That the *Salick-Lands* were *Alodial* like the other, that is, they were the real Patrimony of the Possessor, otherwise they would have had no Place here. II. That the Design of the sixth *Paragraph* was to distinguish the *Salick*, from the common *Alodial* Lands on the Score that the former were liable to *military Service*, which *Women* could not perform. But it seems to me, that the Sense of the sixth *Paragraph* must be strangely wrested, to extend it to the Succession to the Crown. The most that can be inferred, is, that the King's own *Demesns* were subject to this Law.

But the more fully to make appear that this Article has no reſpect to the Succeſſion to the Crown, it muſt be remarked that there are two original Editions of the *Salick Law*, one by *Herold*, the other by *Fr. Pithou*, and that in the latter this ſixth Article of Title 62 is imperfect, there being nothing more than what is inſerted above. But in the other Edition the *Paragraph* runs in this manner:

De Terrâ verò Salicâ in mulierem nulla portio Hæreditatis tranſit, ſed hoc virilis Sexus acquirit, hoc eſt. Filij in Hæreditate Succedunt. Sed ubi inter nepotes & Pronepotes, poſt longum Tempus, de Alode Terræ contentio Suſcitatur, tunc non per ſtirpes, ſed per capita dividantur.

I do not ſee, conſidering the whole *Paragraph*, how any one can with the leaſt Shadow of Reaſon apply it to the Succeſſion to the Crown.

To this may be added, that it is very probable, when the *Salick-Law* was made, the *Francs* had not yet ever a King. We not only ſee no Sign of any ſuch Thing in theſe ſeveral Articles of this Law, but moreover find in the *Preambles* what makes one think, the *Francs* were not ſubject to a Sovereign.

This is the Beginning of the *Salick Law*, according to *Herold*'s Edition.

IN CHRISTI NOMINE.

Incipit Pactus Legis Salicæ.

Hi autem ſunt qui Legem Salicam tractaverunt, Wiſagaſt, Arogaſt, Salegaſt, & Windogaſt, *in* Bodham, Saleham, & Widham.

According to the other Edition.

Incipit Tractatus Legis Salicæ.

Gens Francorum inclyta, auctore Deo Condita dum adhæc ritu barbarico teneretur, inſpirante Deo, inquirens ſcientiæ clavim, junta morum ſuorum qualitatem, deſiderans juſtitiam, & cuſtodiens pietatem, dictavit Salicam Legem, per Proceres illius Gentis, qui tunc temporis, ejuſdem aderant Rectores.

Rectores. Electi de pluribus viri quatuor, his nominibus Wiſogaſtus, Bodogaſtus, Sologaſtus, *&* Wodogaſtus, *in locis cognominatis,* Solehaim, Bodoheim, *&* Widoheim, *qui per tres Mallos* (*a*) *convenientes omnes cauſarum origines ſollicitè tractantes, diſcutiendo de ſingulis, ſicut ipſa Lex declarat, Judicium decreverunt hoc modo. At ubi, Deo favente, Rex Francorum* Clodovæus, *florens & pulcher, & inclytus primus recepit catholicum Baptiſmum, & deinde* Childebertus *&* Clotarius, *in culmen Regale Deo protegente, pervenerunt, quicquid in Pacto* (*b*) *habebatur minus idoneum, fuit per illos lucidiùs emendatum & ſanctiùs Decretum. Vivat qui Francos diligit,* &c.

In all likelihood this *Preamble* was placed before the *Salick-Law,* between the Reigns of *Clothaire* II. and *Charlemain,* and perhaps before the Time of *Dagobert,* ſince he is not mentioned, though he made ſome Alterations in this Law, as well as *Clothaire* and *Childebert.*

Another Preamble made in the Time of *Charlemain.*

PROLOGUS LEGIS SALICÆ.

Placuit atque convenit inter Francos & eorum Proceres, ut propter ſervandum inter ſe pacis ſtudium, omnia incrementa veterum rixarum, reſecare deberent, & quia cæteris Gentibus juxta ſe poſitis, fortitudinis brachio præminebant, ita etiam Legum auctoritate præcellerent, & juxta qualitatem cauſarum, ſumeret criminalis actio terminum. Extiterunt igitur inter eos, electi de pluribus quatuor viri, his nominibus, Wiſogaſtus, Bodogaſtus, Solagaſtus, *&* Widogaſtus, *in villis quæ ultra Rhenum ſunt,* Saleheim, Bodoheim, *&* Widoheim, *qui per tres Mallos convenientes, omnium cauſarum Originem ſollicite diſcutiendo, tractantes de ſingulis, Judicium decreverunt hoc modo.*

EX CODICE. *M. S.*

Marchomiris *quoque dedit Francis id Conſilium, & elegerunt* Faramundum *ipſius Filium & levaverunt in Regem*

(*a*) That is, *Publick Aſſemblies.*

(*b*) That is in the Law called *Pactus Legis Salicæ.*

ſuper ſe crinitum. Tunc habere Leges cœperunt, quas eorum Proceres gentiles tractaverunt, his Nominibus Wiſogaſtus, Arogaſtus, Salogaſtus, *in Villis quæ ultra Rhenum ſunt, in* Botagin, Selecagin, *&* Widecagin.

Anno ab Incarnatione Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti DCCXCVIII, *Dominus Carolus Rex Francorum inclytus, hunc Libellum Tractatus Legis Salicæ ſcribere juſſit.*

What likelihood is there, that if the Authors of theſe *Prefaces* had been of Opinion that the *Francs* had a King, when the *Salick Law* was made, they ſhould not ſay one Word of him? For as to the Abſtract of the *Chroniele*, it is a Work of it ſelf, which the Author of the laſt *Preface* added as treating of the ſame Subject. But if the *Francs* had not a King, how can the ſixth *Paragraph* of the 62d *Title* be applicable to the Succeſſion to the Crown of *France*.

Another Objection to *Father Daniel*'s Opinion is this: Suppoſing that the Article, *De Terrâ Salicâ*, concerning the Succeſſion to the Crown, as well as private *Inheritances*, if it be true, that this Law was abrogated under the Third Race of the King's of *France*, with Reſpect to the *Salick Lands* or *Great Fiefs*, one may, I think, infer from thence, that it was annulled likewiſe with regard to the Crown. But the Thing ſpeaks of it ſelf, ſince it cannot be denied but that the Dukedoms, Earldoms, in a Word, all the *Great Fiefs* of the Crown, deſcended to the Females. *Normandy*, *Guienne*, *Ponthieu*, and *Montrevil*, fell to the King's of *England* by the Women. It was the ſame Thing with the Earldom of *Toulouſe*, *Provence*, and *Bretaign*. The Inheritance of the Earldom of *Flanders* had all along devolved to the next Heir, without any Preference of Sex, ever ſince the Time of *Charles the Bald*. All theſe Examples were actually in Being at the Time of *Lewis Hutin*'s Death, when the *Salick-Law* began for the firſt Time to be aſſerted in Behalf of the Male-Line. There were large Portions of the *Salick-Lands* fallen to Women purely by *Right of Inheritance*. Where was *Then* the Obſervance of

Hiſtory of the Earls of Flanders *at the* Hague, 1698.

of the Article *De Terrâ Salicâ nulla Portio ad mulierem transit*?

There ſeems to me to be but two Ways of anſwering this Objection. Firſt, by ſaying the *Salick Lands* or *Great Fiefs* of the Crown deſcended not to the Women, but when there was no Male-Heirs left in the Family. But this Reply has no Foundation. Beſides what has been ſaid above of the Earldom of *Flanders*, in the very Time of *Philip de Valois*, *Artois* was adjudged to *Maud* to the Prejudice of *Robert d'Artois* Grandſon by his Father of the laſt Duke; and the Dutchy of *Bretaign* to the Wife of *Charles d'Blois*, though Earl *Monfort*, Brother of the late Duke was alive. But ſuppoſing this Law was not annulled when *Hugh Capet* came to the Crown, it was at leaſt abrogated by that Prince, by granting in *Fee* to the *Nobility* the *Great Fiefs*, without excluding the Female-Line.

The other way of anſwering the Objection, is by aſſerting, that although this Law was repealed as to the *Salick Lands*, it was not ſo with regard to the Succeſſion to the Crown, wherein it had never been violated. But how can it be ſuppoſed that a Law was abrogated in the undoubted Senſe of the Words, and that it ſhould remain in Force in a diſputable Senſe, which is taken for granted without the leaſt Proof? Beſides, I ſhall make appear hereafter, that never any Occaſion had offered to break.

A third Objection againſt *Father Daniel*'s Opinion may be taken from his own *Preface* to the Hiſtory of *France*. This able Hiſtorian maintains, *Ariticle* III, that the Crown, after having been *Hereditary* in the firſt Race, became *Elective* in the ſecond, and that it came not to be *Hereditary* in the third, but by way of Aſſociation practiſed by the firſt Kings of that Race, from *Hugh Capet* to *Philip Auguſtus*. If this be ſo, where ſhall we find the Practice of the *Salick-Law*, with Reſpect to the Crown, from the Days of *Pepin the Short* to the Time of *Lewis* VIII? How could it ſubſiſt in an *Elective* Kingdom, where it was in the Power of the *Great Men* to give the Crown to whom they pleaſed, and even to chuſe Kings not of the Royal

Royal Family, as they did in Regard to *Ralph* and *Eudes*? See what *Father Daniel* ſays of this Matter.

The laſt Page of the Proof.

It is extremely probable, that Hugh Capet *having confirmed the* Dukes, Earls, *and other Lords in their Uſurpations, not only as to themſelves but to their Poſterity, obtained likewiſe from them the Eſtabliſhment of the* Hereditary Succeſſion *to the Crown in his Family. But as he miſtruſted their fickle Temper, he made his Son* Robert *Partner with him in the Government.* Robert *did the ſame by his Son* Henry; *and the Cuſtom of* Aſſociating *laſted till* Philip Auguſtus, *who thinking* Hereditary Right *ſufficiently eſtabliſhed by the Succeſſion of ſeveral of his Predeceſſors who ſucceeded from Father to Son down to* Hugh Capet, *and whoſe Reigns for the moſt Part were very long, never gave himſelf the Trouble to aſſociate* Lewis VIII, *his Son.*

I ſhall now examine *Mezeray*'s Opinion, who, with ſome others, believes that the *Salick-Law*, that is, the Excluſion of Women and their Deſcendants, was founded only upon an inviolable Cuſtom. But it will be neceſſary in the firſt Place to remove all Ambiguity in the Term *Cuſtom*; for by that may be meant either a *Negative*, if I may be allowed that Expreſſion, or a *Poſitive Cuſtom*. I call a *Negative* Cuſtom, that to which no Inſtance to the contrary can be alledged, and which for all that does not form or eſtabliſh any Right. For Example, There never was in *England* a *Lame* or a *One-handed* King. Now let it be affirmed as ſtrongly as you pleaſe, that This is a Cuſtom which has never been violated, if unluckily the only Son of a King of *England* ſhould become lame, or happen to loſe his Hand, would this be a good Reaſon to exclude him from the Succeſſion to his Father's Crown? The ſame may be ſaid of the inviolable Cuſtom of *France*, taken in this Senſe. Becauſe there never has been in *France*, a Queen which wore the Crown in her own Right, it does not neceſſarily follow from thence, that Women have no Right to the Succeſſion; as it cannot be ſaid in *England* that a *Lame* or a *One-handed* Man has no Right to mount the Throne, becauſe in that Country

there

there never was any such Thing as a *Lame* or a *One-handed* King. I call a *positive* Custom that which is grounded upon some Law, or at least upon *Precedents* which demonstrate that it has been inviolably observed, and has served for a Rule on certain Occasions. Of such a Custom *Mezerai* must be understood to speak, since he confounds it with the *Salick Law*, and endeavours to produce an Instance of the Practice of it. The Question then is to know whether there was in *France* any such *positive* Custom before the Reign of *Philip le long*, who in Defence of his Right pleaded the *Salick-Law*, meaning thereby either the *Paragraph* of the *Salick Code* above-mentioned, or an inviolable Custom. But where are the Authors who say a Word of this Matter? Is it not strange, that for the Space of nine hundred Years from *Pharamond* to *Philip le long*, there is not a single Writer to be found who ever mentioned this inviolable Custom, which serves for the *Basis* and *fundamental Law* of a great Kingdom? I believe I may lay down this as certain Fact, though I may not have read All, because it appears to me incredible, that of so many learned Men, who from the Time of *Philip le long* to this Day, have set themselves upon searching after Proofs in Defence of the *Salick-Law*, not one has been so lucky as to discover in the antient Authors, any Passages which countenance that Law, *written* or *unwritten*, or which make the least allusion to it. Of all the Testimonies alledged, there is not one but what is of a later Date than the Reign of *Philip le long*. I am well aware that this Objection has already been replied to, by affirming that *Marculphus*, who lived in the middle of the VIIth *Century*, mentions the *Salick-Law* in his *Formularies*. But this is a Fallacy. No Body ever took it in his Head to Dispute the Existence of the *Salick-Law*, if thereby is meant the *Salian* or *Salick Code* in general. But the Business is to prove the Existence of this Particular Law called the *Salick-Law*, whereby Women and their Descendants were cut off from the Right of succeeding to the Crown, before the Reign of *Philip le long*. *Marculphus* mentions the former in several Places of his *Formularies*; but says

not

not a Word of the latter, which is the Point in Queſtion. It remains therefore that this *unwritten* Law, this *inviolable* Cuſtom, is to be founded upon *Examples* and *Precedents*, by which it was eſtabliſhed, or at leaſt confirmed, without any one's knowing what to think of the Matter. It ſhould then be made appear that before the Reign of *Philip le long*, there were ſeveral Inſtances of Women and their Deſcendants being excluded from the Crown, by Virtue of the *Salick-Law*, or *inviolable* Cuſtom: This is what I have left to examine into.

To begin with the Third Race, from *Hugh Capet* to *Philip le long*, no ſuch Caſe could happen, ſeeing the Kings of that Family ſucceeded from Father to Son.

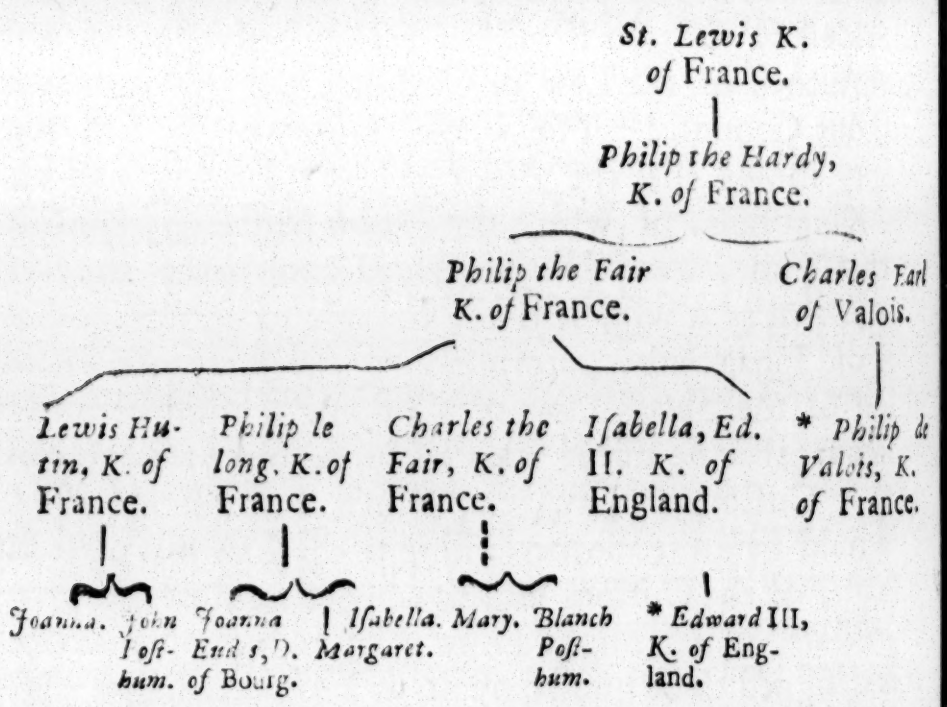
In the ſecond Race, it is not poſſible to find any Inſtance in Favour of the *Salick-Law* to this inviolable Cuſtom. On the contrary, a *Precedent* might be brought in Favour of the Women from divers Princes deſcended from *Charlemain* by the Female Line, dividing the *French* Monarchy, and getting Poſſeſſion of ſeveral Parts of the Inheritance of *Charlemain*. But as this was at a Time when there were only two Male-Heirs alive of that Emperour's Family, namely, the Emperour *Arnold*, who was a natural Son, and *Charles the Simple*, who might alſo be looked upon as ſuch, I ſhall not inſiſt upon it.

The firſt Race affords three *Precedents* which may favour the Cuſtom in Queſtion. The Daughters of *Childebert* I. King of *Paris*, ſucceeded not their Father; but it was *Clothair* I. their Uncle that inherited his Brother's Kingdom. Shortly after *Cherebert* King of *Paris* dying without Male-Iſſue, *Gontran*, *Sigebert*, and *Chilperic* his Brothers ſhared the Succeſſion, without leaving any Part to his Daughters. *Gontran* having only one Daughter, left his Kingdom to *Childebert* II, his Nephew. If it could be ſhown that all this was done by Virtue of the *Salick-Law*, or inviolable Cuſtom, theſe *Precedents* would amount to the ſtrongeſt Proofs. But unluckily not a ſingle Writer before *Philip le long*, ſpeaks on this Occaſion of the *Salick-Law* or *Cuſtom*. It is true indeed *Mezerai*, who wrote twelve Hundred Years after, boldly affirms, that

that *Clothair* ſucceeded his Brother, by Virtue of the *Salick-Law*, and that this is the firſt Inſtance of the Practice of it. But in relating the Fact, he ſays *Clothair* cauſed his Nieces to be impriſoned for fear they ſhould diſpute with him their Father's Inheritance. The ſame thing happened in the Succeſſion of *Cherebert*. His Brothers uſed all their Endeavours to ſeize his Kingdom, without alledging the *Salick-Law* in defenſe of their Right. Accordingly Preſident *Fauchet*, convinced of the Force which was practiſed on theſe two Occaſions, gives up theſe two *Precedents*, and confines himſelf to the Third, which is the moſt ſpecious. *Gontran* having only one Daughter, adopted *Childebert* II, his Nephew, and left him his Kingdom. But this Daughter was a *Nun*. Beſides, ſeeing *Gontran* believed it was in his Power to leave his whole Inheritance entire to *Childebert* II, without giving any ſhare to *Clothair* II, who was alſo his Nephew, and Brother of *Childebert*, one may it ſeems infer from thence, that he did not look upon himſelf as bound by any Law, and that there was not then any ſettled Rule with Reſpect to the Succeſſion. It will be ſaid perhaps, that in appointing *Childebert*, the eldeſt of the two Brothers, for his Succeſſor, he acted in purſuance of the Law or Cuſtom; but this is affirmed without Grounds. The whole Hiſtory of the firſt Race plainly ſhows that the *Eldeſt* had no Privileges, and that the Kingdoms, of which the *French* Monarchy conſiſted at that Time, were always divided among the Brothers. But be that as it will, it is not enough to ſhow that *Gontran* did ſomething conformable to the pretended Diſpoſition of the *Salick-Law* or Cuſtom, it muſt be proved moreover that he did it with an Intention to act agreeably to that Cuſtom or Law, the which I think impoſſible. It would be quite another Thing if the Law was perfectly known, or the Cuſtom indiſputably eſtabliſhed by divers *Precedents*, which might afford room to ſuppoſe that *Gontran* deſigned to be guided by it in his Proceedings. If a Man thoroughly examines all that paſſed during the firſt Race, with Reſpect to the Succeſſion, he will find there was nothing fixed or ſettled as to that Point, and that Force

and Arms had a greater Share in it than Laws. This is ſo true, that it is even a doubtful Caſe, according to *Father Daniel*, whether the *Children* were to have the Preference to the *Brothers*, and that this Queſtion was not fully decided till a good while after the Beginning of the ſecond Race. It is evident then, from all that has been ſaid, that the Opinion that there was in *France*, before the Reign of *Philip le long*, a *Law* or *Cuſtom* excluding the Women from the Succeſſion to the Crown, cannot be ſupported by any certain Teſtimony, or undeniable Matter of Fact.

After having ſhown what we are to underſtand by the *Salick-Law*, of which ſo many People talk, without having a juſt Notion of the Thing, it will be neceſſary, in order to clear up this Matter fully, to make appear how the Practice of this Law was eſtabliſhed in *France*. But for the better Underſtanding this, it will be proper to ſet before the Reader's Eyes the following Part of the *Genealogy* of the Kings of *France*, which will ſerve likewiſe to make known the Grounds of the Diſpute between *Edward* and *Philip de Valois*.



Lewis Hutin dying in 1316, left by *Clemence of Burgundy* his Wife only one Daughter, an Infant called *Joanna*.

But

But as the Queen his Widow was big with Child, the Crown was not disposed of till she was brought to Bed. The Reason of this Delay was because in case the Queen was delivered of a Son, he was to succeed his Father, not by virtue of the *Salick-Law*, but by a Law common to all *States*, whereby the *Males* have always the Preference to the *Females* of the same Degree. In the mean time, *Philip le long*, the eldest of the deceased King's two Brothers, was appointed *Regent*, I say, appointed, in the Words of *Father Daniel*, who does not acquaint us who they were that appointed him. *Philip* was then at *Lyons*, busied in getting a *Conclave* to be held for the Election of a new Pope. This was the Reason he could not come to *Paris* till three Weeks after the Death of the King his Brother. He found that a Party was already formed against him, at the Head of which was *Charles* Earl of *Valois* his Uncle, who intended to dispute the Regency with him, and had got Possession of the *Louvre*. But *Philip*, upon his Arrival, found means to dislodge him. The next Day he summoned the Parliament, and by the unanimous Consent of the Lords and Knights there present, the Regency was adjudged to him for Eighteen Years, in case the Queen should be delivered of a Son.

In the mean time, as the Queen might happen to have a Daughter, *Eudes* Duke of *Burgundy*, Uncle by the Mother's Side to *Joanna* Daughter of the late King, was preparing to assert his Niece's Right. At length the Queen was brought to Bed of a Prince who was called *John*, and who lived but a few Days. Then *Philip*, grounding his Claim upon the *Salick-Law*, pretended that the Crown was devolved to him. As he had a powerful Party, and was unwilling to have his Title questioned, he repaired to *Rheims* in order to be crowned. But the Duke of *Burgundy* opposed the Coronation with a Protestation in the Presence of the *Peers* to maintain the Right of *Joanna*, to whom he pretended the Crown belonged by Laws Natural and Political, and that at least the Coronation ought not to be performed before the Pretensions of the young Princess were duly examined. Though the Earl of *Valois* had at-

tended *Philip* to *Rheims*, it was well known that he was of the ſame Sentiments with the Duke of *Burgundy*. On the other Hand, *Charles* Earl of *March*, the King's own Brother, being of the ſame Party, left *Rheims* the Day before the Solemnity. If it could be plainly proved that the *Salick-Law* was acknowledged and admitted before that Time, I confeſs that the Oppoſition of theſe Prinees would be of no great Weight. But as this is very difficult to be made appear, as I have before ſhewn, it may be inferred from the Oppoſition of the Princes of the Blood-Royal themſelves, contrary to their own Intereſts, that this Law paſſed not *then* for inconteſtable.

The Duke of *Burgundy*'s Proteſtation, and Prince *Charles*'s withdrawing, made *Philip* ſo uneaſy, that he ordered the Gates of *Rheims* to be kept ſhut during the Ceremony of the Coronation, for fear any body ſhould come and interrupt it, or other *Peers* ſhould take it in their Heads to abſent themſelves. A few Days after he held an Aſſembly at *Paris*, whereat were preſent *a great Number of Nobles, almoſt all the Prelates, the moſt conſiderable Burghers of* Paris, *and the Univerſity*. It was this Aſſembly that examined the Laws of the *State*, decided that *Women* were incapable of ſucceeding to the Crown, and approved and confirmed the King's Coronation. It might be demanded whether ſuch an Aſſembly had Power to make a Deciſion of this Nature: But ſince the *French* Nation has thought fit to receive it, it is needleſs to inſiſt upon that Point; I ſhall only obſerve that very near Nine *Centuries* were paſſed ſince the Eſtabliſhment of the Monarchy; and that this is the firſt Time that it was expreſſly decided in *France*, that the Women were incapable of ſucceeding to the Crown.

Dan. Hiſt. de France

Notwithſtanding this Deciſion, Queen *Clemence*, Widow of the late King, the Earl of *March*, Brother of the King, the Earl of *Valois* his Uncle, the Duke of *Burgundy* Prince of the Blood Royal, and their Adherents, did not fail to ſhow their Diſguſt at ſeeing *Philip* on the Throne. This created ſome Uneaſineſs in the new King, who, to free himſelf from it, found Means to gain the

Duke

Duke of *Burgundy* Head of the Party, by giving him his eldeſt Daughter in Marriage, with the Earldom of *Burgundy* for Dowry. The Duke being thus gained, the Party diſperſed, and the *Salick-Law* paſſed from thenceforward for a Law of the ſame ſtanding with the Monarchy. But great Care was taken to confound them, and all along ſince, the *Salick-Law* in general, or the Collection of *Salick-Laws*, with the pretended *Salick-Law* in particular, which excluded the Women from ſucceeding to the Crown.

Philip le Long being dead, after a ſhort Reign, and having left only Daughters, *Charles the Fair* his Brother, mounted the Throne without Oppoſition, to the Prejudice of his Nieces. This was the Second Deciſion in Favour of the Males. From that Time no Body ever thought of queſtioning the Authority of the *Salick-Law*. In this manner was eſtabliſhed the Obſervance of this famous Law in *France*, without its being yet known whether *Philip le long*, in pleading it to ſupport his Pretenſions, grounded his Claim upon the 6th Paragraph of the 62d Title of the *Salick-Law*, or upon inviolable Cuſtom. What may be affirmed, is that in thoſe Days the *French* muſt needs have had very confuſed Notions touching this Law, ſince even after it is inconteſtably acknowledged for Authentick, the moſt Learned cannot agree upon that Subject.

I come now to the famous Diſpute between *Philip of Valois* and *Edward* III. *Charles the Fair*, who died *February* 1328, having left no Male-Iſſue, and his Queen finding herſelf with Child, the ſame Courſe was followed as had been taken after the Death of *Lewis Hutin*. That is, before the Crown was diſpoſed of, they waited for the Queen's Delivery, who was ſeven Months gone with Child. But it was neceſſary to appoint a Regent, to take care of the Government in the mean while. Then it was that the great Conteſt about the Regency came on foot between *Edward* III, Nephew by his Mother to *Charles the Fair*, and *Philip* Earl of *Valois* Couſin-German to the ſame Prince. This was an Affair of very great Conſe-

quence

quence. Beſides, that the Regency was to be of long continuance in caſe the Queen was delivered of a Son, it was eaſy to foreſee that the Judgment which ſhould be given for the Regency, would be a ſtrong Precedent for the Crown, if ſhe happened to have a Daughter. For this Reaſon the Affair was conteſted on both Sides with great Warmth, not before the *States-General*, as ſome have affirmed without any Foundation, but before an Aſſembly of *Great Men* convened on purpoſe upon that Occaſion. *Edward* pleaded that he was the neareſt Male-Relation of the late King. *Philip* grounded his Claim upon the *Salick-Law*, which according to him excluded not only the Women, but alſo their Deſcendants from the Succeſſion to the Crown, and conſequently from the Regency. *Philip* gained his Point as to the Regency, and afterwards got himſelf crowned, upon the Queen's being brought to Bed of a Daughter in *April*. As *Edward* never ſet about aſſerting his Right till ſome Years after, the Queſtion between them, was no longer about the *Regency* but the Crown it ſelf. All the *French* Hiſtorians have ſtiled *Edward*'s Pretenſions chimerical; and the *Engliſh* on their Part, have exclaimed againſt the Injuſtice which was done him. The Buſineſs therefore at preſent is to examine the Rights of both Parties ſeparately from the Events and *Philip*'s Poſſeſſion. This will be the only Means to enable us to judge whether the War which this Affair occaſioned was juſt or unjuſt, or whether, as it is my Opinion, there were on both Sides ſufficient Reaſons to juſtify the Attack and the Defence.

In order to have a clear Notion of this Matter, it muſt be conſidered that the Point in queſtion between the two Kings, was not to know whether there was any ſuch Thing as a *Salick-Law* which excluded the Women from the Succeſſion to the Crown of *France*. Whether this Law was real, or whether it was only imaginary, it was equally the Intereſt of both the Kings to aſſert it, ſince it was the ſole Foundation of their reſpective Claims. Without this Law, the Crown would have indiſputably belonged to *Joanna* Daughter of *Lewis Hutin*, and the

two

two late Kings could have been reckoned no better than Uſurpers. Moreover, had there been no *Salick-Law*, *Philip* and *Edward* would have been manifeſtly excluded by the Daughters of the three laſt Kings, Sons of *Philip the Fair*. The only Queſtion therefore was to know, whether the *Salick-Law* was limited to the Perſons of the Women, in order to exclude them from the Succeſſion, or whether it extended to their Deſcendants. This was a new Query, which had never been decided, becauſe the ſame Caſe had never happened ſince the Beginning of the Monarchy. *Philip* maintained that *Edward* could not pretend to the Crown but by Right of *Repreſentation*, as Son of *Iſabella*; and that *repreſenting* only a Woman, he could not derive from his Mother, a Right which his Mother had not. But *Edward* was far enough from grounding his Claim upon *Repreſentation*. He inſiſted on the contrary, upon nearneſs of Blood, and affirmed that the Crown was devolved to him, as the next Male-Heir capable of ſucceeding.

Indeed one cannot conceive what uſe he could have made of *Repreſentation*, which ſerves only to put a diſtant Relation in the Place of the Perſon *repreſented*. He had no Occaſion to be brought nearer, ſince he was Nephew of the late King, and ſince *Philip de Valois* was but Couſin-German. Accordingly, in all the Pieces which we find in the *Collection of Publick Acts* about this Matter, there is not ſo much as one wherein he alledges in his Behalf the Right of *Repreſentation*, but always that of next of Kin. And yet almoſt all the *French* Writers who have handled this Subject, have been pleaſed to combat this Chimæra, and ground their Reaſonings upon the Impertinency of this *Repreſentation*, which after all was never pleaded by *Edward*. The *Engliſh* on their Part, are fallen into the like Errour, by oppoſing with all their Might the Exiſtence of the *Salick-Law*, not conſidering that it was no leſs neceſſary for *Edward* than for *Philip*. So that it may be affirmed that both Sides have ill underſtood and ill-ſtated the Queſtion.

But

But in order to prevent wrong Notions, and to ſet this Matter in as clear a Light as poſſible, a Man muſt fancy himſelf carried back to the Times of this Diſpute, and conſider that the Point in Queſtion had never been decided. Each Party therefore was at Liberty before the Deciſion, to explain the *Salick-Law*, and put that Senſe upon it as he judged for his Purpoſe, without being liable to be taxed with Raſhneſs. Whereas now it would be ridiculous to diſpute the Interpretation of a Law which the *French* have acknowledged, and according to which they have proceeded all along ever ſince that Time.

This being ſuppoſed, the Buſineſs then, in order to judge this new *Query*, was fully to underſtand the Meaning of the *Salick-Law*, concerning which there was no room to doubt whether there ever was any ſuch Thing as I have made appear above. But taking for granted there was ſuch a Law, there was a Neceſſity to judge, either according to the Paragraph of the *Salick Code*, *De Terrâ verò Salicâ*, &c. which afforded no manner of Light into the Point in Hand, or according to the inviolable Cuſtom which was kept up in *France* for nine Hundred Years, without ever having once an Occaſion to put it in Practice. Upon which ſoever of theſe two Foundations a Man grounded a Judgment, he could not but meet great Difficulties. Could he ſay that by the Paragraph *De Terrâ Salicâ*, it was plain that the Male-Iſſue of the Women were to he excluded from the Succeſſion to the Crown? Was is evident that this Law, which had been out of Uſe for ſo long a Time with reſpect to the *Salick* Lands and the Eſtate of the Nobles, had preſerved its full Force with regard to the Crown? On the other Hand, if a Man grounded his Judgment upon Cuſtom, what Method could he take to come at the Intention of thoſe, whoever they were, that firſt eſtabliſhed it, in order to know whether they deſigned to exclude from the Succeſſion the Male-Heirs of the Women, as well as the Women themſelves? He could have no Precedents or Examples to direct him, ſince the ſame Caſe had never happened. It is therefore a raſh Thing in my Opinion, abſolutely to paſs Sentence now-

now-a-days againſt either of the two contending Princes, and more ſo, peremptorily to affirm that the Pretenſions of either were extravagant. This is the more unjuſt, as they both ſupported their Claims by very ſpecious Reaſons, the Subſtance whereof I am going to relate, if ſo be that Part of theſe Reaſons have not ſince been fathered upon them.

Edward maintained, that what had hitherto been decided in relation to the *Salick-Law*, regarded only the Perſons of the Women, and could not be extended to their Male-Iſſue, without making it appear that it was the Intent of the Law; the which was impoſſible to be done, conſidering the Time that had paſſed from its Eſtabliſhment, to the firſt Occaſion of putting it in Practice. That indeed one might ground the Excluſion of the Women upon very plauſible Reaſons, taken from the Weakneſs of their Sex, and the Temper of the *French* Nation, which would never run the Hazard of being governed by a Woman; but that theſe ſame Reaſons could not be alledged againſt their Male-Deſcendants. That formerly among the *Oſtrogoths* of *Italy*, who obſerved the ſame Cuſtom, a like Inſtance had been ſeen, which plainly proved that the Excluſion of the Women might very well be without that of their Male-Heirs. That after the Death of *Theodorick*, *Amalazonta* his Daughter, did not ſucceed him becauſe ſhe was a Woman; however that did not hinder but that *Athalarick* her Son, though an Infant, was placed on the Throne of his Grandfather (*a*). He added, that the *Salick-Law* was an extraordinery Law, contrary to the *Civil* and *Natural*, for which Reaſon it was to be confined within juſt Bounds, rather than extended, as if the Women of the Royal Family were to be puniſhed for ſome great Crime which deſervedly drew down Vengeance upon all their Poſterity. If the *French* were of Opinion that Women were unworthy or unfit to govern them, with all his

(*a*) There are ſome Writers, who not knowing that the Diſputes between *Philip* and *Edward* was not about the Excluſion of the Women, but of their Male Iſſue, have alledged this Example in Favour of *Philip de Valois*.

Heart, he pretended not to oppoſe that Law. But what had the Princeſſes of the Blood-Royal done to deſerve that all their Poſterity ſhould be inflicted with a Puniſhment, from which the Daughters of the *Peers*, and of the other great Men of *France* were exempted, as well as their Deſcendants? Laſtly, The explaining the *Salick-Law*, ſo as to deprive the Male-Iſſue of the Women of a Right which Nature gave them, was to make a new Law, under Colour of interpreting the original one.

Philip replied, that *Edward* acknowledging the Authority of the *Salick-Law*, was very much miſtaken in confining the Intent of that Law, to the hindering the Kingdom of *France* from being governed by Women. That it had another End, which was no leſs eſſential; namely, to prevent the Crown from devolving to Foreigners. That the *French* Nation had been pleaſed to be ſubject to *Hugh Capet* and his Family; but that they never intended to ſubmit themſelves to other Families, and that in order to receive a foreign King, a new Contract was neceſſary (*b*). That the Intent of the *French* manifeſtly appeared, inaſmuch as they looked not upon the Deſcendants of the Princeſſes of the Blood, as preſumptive Heirs of the Crown (*c*). Conſequently it was not indifferently the neareſt Male-Relation which was to ſucceed, but the next Male-Heir deſcended from Father to Son from *Hugh Capet*.

It is a ſtrange Thing, that among ſo many Authors who have writ of this famous Conteſt, there is not one, at leaſt that I know of, except *Father Daniel*, that rightly underſtood the State of the Queſtion between the two Kings. They have all beſtowed their Time and Pains in combating *Chimeras*, and putting into the Mouths of the Parties,

(*b*) It would perhaps be pretty difficult to prove this Engagement of the *French* Nation with the Family of *Hugh Capet*. The *Aſſociation* practiſed by the firſt Kings of the third Race, ſeems to argue that they did not much rely on this pretended Engagement, of which Father *Daniel* contents himſelf with ſaying, that it is very likely.

(*c*) I queſtion whether this can be affirmed with Certainty, with reſpect to the Time before the Reign of *Philip le long*. At leaſt it is very doubtful with Regard to the ſecond Race.

Parties, Arguments nothing at all to the Purpoſe, and ſome even contrary to their real Intereſts. Some make *Philip* alledge very ſtrong Reaſons againſt the Right of Repreſentation, of which it is certain *Edward* never pretended to make any uſe. Others bring for *Edward* the moſt plauſible Arguments againſt the *Salick-Law*, though it was evidently his Intereſt to ſupport it. This makes me apt to believe that the Harangue *Paulus Emilius* puts into the Mouth of *Robert d' Artois*, in Defence of *Philip*'s Claim, is a mere Invention of the Hiſtorian, ſince the Orator does not confine himſelf to the true Caſe; though in all Appearance *Robert d' Artois* was not ignorant of the State of the Controverſy. *Paſquier*, as great a *Civilian* as he was, and well verſed in the Hiſtory of *France*, and in a Word, all the Writers, as well *Engliſh* as *French*, are guilty of the ſame Errour. As for Father *Daniel*, after having truly ſtated the Caſe, and briefly related the Reaſons of *Philip de Valois*, without giving his own Opinion, he makes *Edward*'s Pretenſions to be conſidered, in the Sequel of his Hiſtory, as Chimerical.

This Caſe was never decided as to the Crown, but only with Regard to the Regency. It cannot be denied that in the Judgment *Philip* had a great Advantage, ſeeing the Judges were all his Relations and Friends, and the Perſon who diſputed the Regency with him, was a Minor and Foreigner. *Philip* took for granted afterwards, as *Philip le long* had done before him, that the ſame Judgement which had awarded him the Regency, gave him a Right to be crowned, and by that Means it was that the Queſtion was really decided. He was ſo prejudiced in Favour of his own Right, that he cauſed the Hands and Feet of a Burgher of *Compiegene* to be cut off, for having maintained that *Edward*'s Title was better than his. One cannot ſay what the Iſſue would have been, if the Deciſion of the Affair had been referred to the *States*-General of the Realm, as it was the Opinion of ſeveral, who imagined that to be the only Means of ſolidly eſtabliſhing *Philip*'s Right. All that can be affirmed is, that the Eſtabliſhment of the *Salick-Law* in Favour of *Philip le long*, and

the Confirmation of it by the raiſing *Charles the Fair* to the Throne, could have brought no Prejudice to *Philip's* Cauſe. The ſole Buſineſs in Hand, was either to limit the *Salick-Law* to the Perſons of the Women, or to extend it to all their Poſterity; and this is what had never been decided before.

My Deſign in what I have ſaid, as well concerning the *Salick-Law*, as the Conteſt between the two Kings, was I. To ſet the Generality of People right in their Notions about that Law. II. To ſhow preciſely wherein conſiſted the Diſpute between the two Competitors. III. That this Controverſy had its Difficulties, and was not eaſily to be determined by Law. IV. Laſtly, That the two Kings had each very plauſible Reaſons, and that conſequently it was a juſt Matter of Proceſs. This is what I could not do in the Body of the Hiſtory without making too long a Diſgreſſion. As the War which this Quarrel occaſioned laſted a long while, and was renewed by ſeveral of *Edward's* Succeſſors, I thought it would not be amiſs to ſet the Origin and Foundation of it in a clear Light. One may ſay alſo that this Diſpute is not yet fully ended, ſince from the Time of *Edward* III, the Kings of *England* have all along born, and ſtill do bear the Title of *Kings of France*.

The End of the Diſſertation on the Salick-Law.

THE



G. Vertue Sc

THE HISTORY of ENGLAND.

SECT. II.

12. RICHARD II, *Sirnamed of* BOURDEAUX.



EDWARD III, having finiſhed his glorious Life, it was naturally *Richard* his Grandſon that was to aſcend the Throne, as *repreſenting* the late Prince of *Wales* his Father. But although *Edward* himſelf had ordered it ſo, a great many People were apprehenſive that the Execution of his laſt Will would meet with great Obſtacles. *Richard* had three Uncles, who might diſpute the Crown with him, and ſupport their Pretenſions by ſpecious Reaſons, capable of blinding People's Eyes, had they thought fit to make the beſt of them. The young Prince could claim the Crown only by Virtue of the Right of *Repreſentation*, of which there had been no *Precedent*, at leaſt in relation to the Crown, ſince the *Norman*

1377. *'Tis feared Richard's Uncles would diſpute the Crown with him.*

Reaſons of it.

1377. *Norman Conquests.* How lawful soever this Right might be with respect to private Persons by the general Disposition of the Laws, it did not necessarily follow that it was inconteſtable in regard to the Crown. In *France*, for Example, the Succession of the Kingdom was not regulated by the Laws of private Estates. In *Spain* the Kings, who for a whole Century had been possessed of the Crown of *Castile*, were descended from a Prince who had obtained it in Prejudice of his Nephews, Sons of his eldest Brother. It was even a Bastard which was then in actual Possession, though among private Persons Bastards had no Right to the Inheritance of their Fathers. In *Artois* the Aunt had been preferred to the Nephew, who *represented* his Father, by the Judgment of the *Peers* of *France*. A quite contrary Decision of the same Court, with regard to *Bretaign*, had occasioned in that Dukedom a War which at length was ended to the Advantage of the Uncle against the Niece, and wherein *Edward* himself had maintained the Right of the former. This was sufficient to afford the Duke of *Lancaster*, the eldest of the three Brothers, a plausible Pretence enough, if he had designed to seize the Crown, as the late Prince of *Wales* his Brother, the King his Father, himself, and all *England* had greatly suspected. To this may be added, that *Richard*'s Youth, who was but in his Eleventh Year, and the Expiration of the Truce with *France*, seemed to furnish the Duke with fresh Reasons to demand the Crown, which he was better able to defend than a Minor of eleven Years old. But on the other Hand, should the Duke of *Lancaster* have had any such Thought, he might have been diverted from it by the Consideration of the Disposition the *English* were in in favour of young *Richard*, whom the Memory of his illustrious Father rendered extremely dear to them, and to whom the King his Grandfather had devized the Crown. Whether this Consideration prevented his Uncles from taking the Advantage which his Youth afforded them, or whether it was from a pure Motive of Moderation and Equity, so far were they from any Thoughts of supplanting him, that they were the first to do him Homage. The Duke of *Lancaster*, who

who was ſtiled in *England, King of Caſtile*, ſatisfied his Ambition with governing the States during *Richard*'s Minority, and the Princes his Brothers were no leſs inclined than he, to perform their Father's laſt Will. So that all Fears being vaniſhed, *Richard* was crowned without any Oppoſition, on the 16th of *July*, four and twenty Days after the Death of *Edward*. 1377. *Richard crowned.*

At this Coronation it is that we meet with the firſt mention in Hiſtory of a *Champion* who appeared compleatly armed in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where the King dined, and having thrown his Gauntlet on the Ground, challenged any Perſon who ſhould diſpute the King's Title to the Crown. The Original of this Cuſtom, which is ſtill kept up, is unknown; but it is certain that it is of an older Date than the Coronation of *Richard* II; ſince Sir *John Dimock*, who performed then the Office of *Champion*, was admitted to it by Virtue of a Right annexed to a *Manor* which he held in *Lincolnſhire* *. *The King's Champion.*

Immediately after the Solemnity, the young King created *Thomas of Woodſtock* his Uncle, Earl of *Buckingham*, and *Guiſchard d' Angoulême*, who had been his Governour, Earl of *Huntington*. At the ſame Time he conferred the Title of Earl of *Nottingham* upon *Thomas Mowbray*, and that of Earl of *Northumberland* upon *Henry Percie*, who was alſo *Earl-Marſhal* *1. *Several Honours conferred.*

Edward's Truce with *France* had been expired ever ſince *April* the 1ſt, and the *Engliſh* on their Part had not made the leaſt Preparations to renew the War. Whether the late King's Illneſs had occaſioned this Negligence, or whether they had prepoſterouſly flattered themſelves that *France*, ſatisfied with the great Advantages ſhe had gained, would remain in Quiet, there was in *England* a ſurprizing Unconcernedneſs, as to the War. It was quite otherwiſe in *Negligence of the Engliſh as to the War.*

* The *Manor* of *Scrivelby*, in Right of *Margaret* his Wife, Daughter of Sir *John Marmion*.

*1 He performed the Office of *Earl-Marſhal* at the Coronation, by Writ from the King, ſaving to every one their Right, becauſe that Office was claimed by *Margaret* Heireſs of *Thomas Brotherton* late Earl of *Norfolk*, and *Marſhal of England*.

1377. Charles V *brings five Armies into the Field.*

in *France*, where *Charles* V was diligently preparing to take Advantage of the Indolence of the *Engliſh*. As ſoon as that Monarch had been informed that *Edward* was no longer able to act, he had given Orders to levy Troops on all Sides. So that upon Notice of his Death, he was ready to bring five Armies into the Field. He ſent the firſt into *Guienne*, to finiſh the driving the *Engliſh* out of that Province. The ſecond into *Auvergne*, the third into *Bretaign*, the fourth into *Artois*, and the fifth he kept with him, that he might ſend Succours to the reſt in caſe of Need. Beſides theſe Armies, he had likewiſe fitted out a ſtrong Fleet, which had Orders to go and infeſt the Coaſts of *England*. As the *Engliſh* were wholly unprepared, the *French* made Deſcents in ſeveral Places, burnt *Haſtings*, *Portſmouth*, *Dartmouth*, *Plimouth*, and defeated ſome Troops which the *Prior* of *Lewes* had drawn together in order to try to put a ſtop to their Ravages. They were repulſed at *Wincheſter*: but they landed on *the Iſle of Wight*, where they pillaged all the Inhabitants, and after having in vain attempted to take *Carisbrook*-Caſtle *, they went off with their Booty.

The French ravage the Coaſts of England.

The King's Uncles govern the State.

All this happened whilſt the *Engliſh* were taken up in placing *Richard* on the Throne, as the moſt preſſing Affair. In the mean time there was neither Fleet nor Troops provided to repulſe the Enemy. As the King was not of fit Age to govern the State himſelf, the Duke of *Lancaſter* and the Earl of *Cambridge* his Uncles took the Adminiſtration of Affairs till the Parliament ſhould meet, which was not to be till *October*. But they durſt not make uſe, but with great Caution, of the Authority they had aſſumed to themſelves, for fear of raiſing Enemies who might do them a Prejudice in the approaching Parliament. The Duke of *Lancaſter* was not beloved: he was accuſed of having abuſed his Power towards the latter End of the late Reign, and of having treated the People a little too haughtily. He had eſpecially drawn upon himſelf the Ill-will of the *Londoners*, by making them bear the Puniſhment of the Tumult raiſed on

* Bravely defended by Sir *Hugh Tyrrel*.

on *Wickliff*'s Account. Though ſince the Death of the King his Father, he had been reconciled to the City, that Proceeding was looked upon only as the Effect of his Policy, and it was feared that he would aſſume his former Haughtineſs, if he ſhould be entruſted with the Adminiſtration. As he knew very well what People thought of him, he behaved very circumſpectly, apprehenſive as he was of ſeeing himſelf excluded from the Regency to which he aſpired. But all his Precautions were not able to prevent the Murmurs of the People already prejudiced againſt him. They openly complained of the little Care the two Princes took to guard the Coaſts, not conſidering they had neither Fleet, nor Troops, nor Money, nor ſo much as any lawful Authority to raiſe extraordinary Forces. Another Accident helped very much to incenſe the People againſt them. The *Scots* having taken by Surpriſe the Caſtle of *Roxburrough*, the Loſs was aſcribed to the Negligence of thoſe who governed the Realm. 1377.

The People complain of their Negligence

The Scots *ſeize* Roxburrough.

The Parliament's firſt Care, which met in *October*, was to ſettle the Adminiſtration of Affairs during the King's *Minority*. To that Purpoſe they appointed ſeveral Governours to the King, to take care of his Education, and ordered that his three Uncles ſhould be Regents of the Kingdom: but they joined with them ſome Biſhops and *Lay*-Lords. This Precaution was taken on account of the Danger there might be in truſting the Perſon and Affairs of a *Minor* King to the ſole Management of the neareſt Relations, who in the Adminiſtration might have ſome ſelf-intereſted Views. This was a great Mortification to the three Princes and aſſociates to the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who had flattered himſelf with the Hopes of being ſole Regent.

The Parliament appoints Regents.

This Affair being finiſhed, the Parliament granted the King a *Subſidy* for the Maintenance of the War: But it was clogged with this Condition (which plainly ſhowed they were reſolved to be upon the Guard during the *Minority*) that the Money ſhould be lodged in the Hands of *Philpot* and *Walworth*, two very noted *Aldermen* of *London*, who were ordered to take care that it ſhould be

Grants Money to the King upon hard Conditions.

1377. expended only in repulsing the *French* and *Castilians* in League against *England*. Moreover it was declared that the Subsidy granted the King should not be made a *Precedent*, but that for the future what should be necessary for maintaining his Household, and defraying the Charges of the War, should be supplied out of his ordinary Revenues. After this the Parliament admitted an Action entered against *Alice Pierce* Favourite of the late King, who being convicted of several Misdemeanours, received a Sentence, whereby all her Estate was confiscated to the King's Use, and she herself condemned to Banishment. But this Woman, who had an able and intriguing Head, quickly found means to get the King to recall her and restore her to her Estate. Before the Parliament broke up, *Richard* confirmed King *John*'s two *Charters*, and gave his Assent to several *Acts* relating to the Contest which *England* had with the Court of *Rome*.

Alice Pierce *banished.*

1378. *Violence committed by the Duke of* Lancaster. 'Twas not without Reason that the Duke of *Lancaster* had been hindered from having the sole Management of Affairs. This Prince was of a proud and haughty Temper, which would not suffer him to have much Regard for his Inferiors, particularly in Affairs where his own Interest was concerned. Presently after the breaking up of the Parliament, he gave a Proof of his violent Temper by an Action which made appear what might have been expected from him, if the whole Power had been lodged in his Hands. As he had a claim to the Kingdom of *Castile*, he thought it might be some Advantage to him to gain to his Interest the young Earl of *Denia* a *Castilian* Lord then at *London*. The Father of this young Earl having been taken at the Battle of *Najara* by two *English* Knights, was brought into *England*, where he had remained several Years in the Custody of those who had made him Prisoner. At length, by leaving his Son in Hostage, he had obtained Leave to return Home, where he died before he had paid his Ransom. The Duke of *Lancaster* hoping to make Friends in *Castile* by Means of the young Earl, managed it so that the King ordered the two Knights to set him at Liberty. But as there was no mention of paying the Ransom

ſome, they concealed their Priſoner, after having made him promiſe he would not diſcover himſelf. Their Refuſal having exaſperated the Duke of *Lancaſter*, he ſent the two Knights to the *Tower*; from whence however they made a ſhift to eſcape, and went and took refuge in *Weſtminſter*-Church. This *Sanctuary* was not capable of ſaving them. The Duke of *Lancaſter* having ſent ſome Soldiers into the Church to bring them away by Force, one of the Knights * was retaken, but the other *1 ſtanding upon his Defence, was ſlain with a Monk who too warmly took his Part. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* excommunicated all that had a Hand in the Breach of the Church's Privileges: But the Authority of the Duke prevented the Affair from being carried any further. Sometime after the King having taken upon him to pay the *Spaniſh* Earl's Ranſom, to the People's great Admiration, it appeared that the young Lord, not to be forced to break his Promiſe, had all along attended in a Footman's Habit the Perſon to whom he had given his Word. 1377.

The Duke gets the Money granted by Parliament into his Hands.

In the mean Time the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who was vexed to ſee Money granted the King by the Parliament, in the Hands of two Citizens of *London*, haſtened not the getting ready the Ships neceſſary for the Defence of the Coaſts. This affected Negligence gave Occaſion to a great many Complaints. But he pleaded in his Excuſe that he could not form any Project, leſt it ſhould not be approved of by thoſe who had the Management of the Money. In fine, he importuned ſo the other Regents upon that Score, that the two *Aldermen* were ordered to put into his Hands the Sums they had in charge. He promiſed for his Part that the Coaſts ſhould be better guarded and the Merchant-Men protected. However it was a good while before he ſent a Fleet to Sea, becauſe he ex-

* *John Shakel.*

*1 *Robert Hauley*, he was buried under a Braſs-plated Stone in *Weſtminſter-Abbey*. *Speed* calls them valiant *Squires*, and ſays they belonged to Sir *John Chandos*. P. 593.

1578. pected from *Bayonne* some Ships which were to join those he had equipped.

The King of Navarre *delivers* Cherbourgh *to the* English

Whilst the Fleet was getting ready, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Salisbury* had Orders to go to *Normandy*, and take possession of *Cherbourg*, which the King of *Navarre* had promised to deliver up to the *English*. Hardly were they got to Sea when they met some *Spanish* Men of War, who fiercely attacked them, and did them some Damage. Notwithstanding this they put a Garrison into *Cherbourg*, which opened the *English* an Inlet into *Normandy*, as *Calais* did into *Picardy*.

Philpot defeats a Scotch *Pyrate who does great Damage to the* English *Merchants*

Before the Fleet designed to guard the Coasts was quite ready, a *Scotch* Pyrate, one *Merier*, seeing that the *English* neglected the *Northern* Seas, entered the Port of *Scarborrough*, and carried off the Merchant-Men that lay there. This Success having inspired him with greater Hopes, he cruised a long Time in those Parts, and took considerable Prizes. The Damage the Merchants sustained on this Occasion, caused fresh Complaints against the Duke of *Lancaster*, who so ill performed his Promise. *Philpot*, whom I mentioned before, full of Indignation to see the *English* Merchants exposed to the Ravages of this Pyrate, undertook to do at his own Expence, what the Duke neglected to do with the Publick's Money. He fitted out some Ships, on board of which he put a thousand Soldiers, and having found the *Scotch* Pyrate, he defeated him, took him Prisoner, and returned in Triumph to *London*. This Action, which gained him the Applauses of the People, offended the Regent, who thought it of dangerous Consequence to suffer a private Person to undertake a Thing of that Nature, without the Government's Leave. But he vindicated what he had done by such good Reasons and with so much Modesty that he was acquitted.

Schism in the Church

The *Schism* lately happened in the *Church* by the double Election of *Urban* VI, and *Clement* VII, for some Time took up the Parliament which had met in *October* 1378. *France* had espoused the Cause of *Clement*, and perhaps that was the principal Reason which induced *England* to declare for *Urban*. However as the Matter is stated

ſtated by the Friends of *Clement* themſelves, one cannot help the owning that his Election was very irregular. 1378.

The Riſe of the *Schiſm* was this:

Rise of the Schism.

Gregory XI having left *Avignon* on account of certain pretended *Revelations*, in order to go and reſide at *Rome*, died *March* 7th, 1378. Of the Three and Twenty *Cardinals* then in being, ſix ſtaid at *Avignon*, one was gone upon a *Legateſhip*, and the ſixteen others, of whom twelve were *Frenchmen*, and four *Italians*, were at *Rome* when *Gregory* died. Theſe *Cardinals* being aſſembled in the *Conclave*, in order to proceed to the Election of a Pope, were in great Perplexity. Their Intent was to chuſe a *Frenchman:* But as they foreſaw the People of *Rome* would be againſt it, they reſolved to give them a ſeeming Satisfaction, by pretending to elect an *Italian*. But they agreed among themſelves before-hand, that as ſoon as they could act with freedom, they would chuſe another, who ſhould be the true Pope; a Project which could hardly fail of begetting a *Schiſm*. According to their Agreement, of which we could have no certainty, but by their own Confeſſion, they elected the Archbiſhop of *Bary*, a *Neopolitan*, who aſſumed the Name of *Urban* VI. The Election was notified to all *Chriſtian* Princes, as *Canonical*, by the *Cardinals* themſelves the Electors, and for ſome Time they themſelves acknowledged *Urban* for *Head of the Church*. Notwithſtanding, whether in Purſuance of their Agreement, or whether, as ſome affirm, on the Score of *Urban*'s treating them with too great Haughtineſs, theſe ſame *Cardinals* met at *Anagnia*, and elected one of the *Cardinals* of *Avignon*, who ſtiled himſelf *Clement* VII. Theſe two *Elections* by the ſame Perſons employed a long time the moſt noted *Divines* in *Europe*, and occaſioned a *Schiſm*, which laſted above thirty Years. It ought not to ſeem ſtrange, that it ſhould be ſo difficult a Matter to decide which of the Popes was *the Head of the Church:* It would have been much eaſier to alledge good Reaſons to reject them both. However the *Schiſm* divided all *Chriſtendom*, each State declaring for one or other of the two Popes, not ſo much from the Conſideration of the Right

1378. Right of the Parties, as for Reasons of State. *France*, whose Interest it was that the Pope should reside at *Avignon*, sided with *Clement*, and for a contrary Reason *England* thought it more advantagious to adhere to the Pope of *Rome*.

The Duke of Lancaster *undertakes to restore the Duke of* Bretaign:

Whilst the Two *Pontiffs* were darting their *Spiritual* Thunder-bolts against one another, the Duke of *Lancaster* had equipped his Fleet, which he had been so long getting ready. His Design was not only to guard the Coasts as he had engaged: He had in view a more important Expedition: Namely, to restore the Duke of *Bretaign*; whom the King of *France* had routed of his Dominions, by the Connivance of the Lords of *Bretaign*, whom he had found Means to gain to his Interests. This unhappy Prince, seeing himself abandoned by the Majority of his Subjects, came into *England* towards the latter End of *Edward*'s Reign, with design to demand his Assistance: But the Death of his Father-in-law having put him out of Hopes, he retired for Refuge to the Earl of *Flanders*, his Relation and Ally. During his Stay in that Country, a *French* Envoy, who was going to *Scotland*, being stopped on the Way by the Earl's Orders, *Charles* pretended that it was done by the Instigation of the Duke of *Bretaign*, and insisted upon the Earl's dismissing him from his Court. The Earl, not believing that his being *Vassal* obliged him to that Condescention, furnished the King by his Refusal with the Pretence he apparently wanted, to be revenged of the Duke another way. He sent into *Bretaign* an Army to compleat the Ruin of that unfortunate Prince, who was not in a Condition to resist him. *England* was too much concerned to stand by him, not to make some Effort in his Defence. The Duke of *Lancaster* seeing the Fleet he had just equipped fit to put to Sea, went on Board himself; and set Sail for *Bretaign*, where he laid Siege to St. *Malo*. But he met with so many Obstacles from *Du Guesclin*, who commanded the *French* Army in those Parts, that he was fain to desist from his Enterprize.

But cannot bring it about.

The Duke of Bretaign *delivers* Brest *to the* English.

This ill Success would have perhaps disheartned the *English*, had not the Duke of *Bretaign* repaired to *England*, and offered

offered to deliver up to the King the Town of *Breſt*, during the War, provided he would lend him an Aid proportioned to his Wants. So advantagious an Offer inſpired the King's Council with freſh Hopes, ſince by that Means the *Engliſh* would be able to make from that Side a powerful Diverſion, which could not but be very troubleſome to *France*. And indeed, if the *Engliſh* had known how to make the beſt of their Advantages, they would have had it in their Power to invade *France* from four ſeveral Quarters, namely, *Guienne*, *Picardy*, *Normandy* and *Bretaign*, by Means of *Bourdeaux*, *Calais*, *Cherbourg* and *Breſt*, which opened the *Engliſh* ſo many Inlets into that Kingdom. *Richard*'s Council having reſolved to lay hold of ſo favourable a Conjuncture, accepted the Duke of *Bretaign*'s Offer, and made a Treaty with him upon the Foot he himſelf had propoſed. The Parliament, which was conſulted in this Affair, being let into the Deſigns of the Council, granted a very conſiderable *Subſidy*, for carrying on what in all Appearance was to procure great Advantages to the State. Beſides the Party which the Duke of *Bretaign* had ſtill in his own Country, ſeveral of thoſe that had declared againſt him began to wiſh for his Reſtoration, not being able to bear without extreme Uneaſineſs the Inſolence of the *French*. But as the ſtrong Holds were in the Hands of the Friends of *France*, the faithful Subjects could undertake nothing, unleſs backed by the *Engliſh*, who were getting ready the Supplies promiſed the Duke with all poſſible Expedition. 1378.

The Court reſolves to aſſiſt him.

Mean while the King of *France*, who ſaw the Storm gathering, took Meaſures to divert it, by procuring from the Side of *Scotland* a Diverſion which hindered the *Engliſh* from carrying their Arms abroad. The King of *Scotland*, gained by the Preſents and Promiſes of the *French* Monarch, on a ſudden broke the Truce, and took *Berwick*-Caſtle by Surprize, the Town having been diſmantled in the former Wars. The Earl of *Northumberland*, who was Governour of the *Northern* Countries, ſurprized at the Loſs of that Place, which was attributed to his Negligence, drew together a Body of Troops with ſuch ſpeed, that he was at *Berwick* before the *Scots* had notice of his Deſign.

The Scots *take* Berwick.

Imme-

1378 *The Earl of* Northumberland *retakes it.*

Immediately after he inveſted the Caſtle, and ſeizing a Bridge, their only Paſs by which they could throw Succours into the Place, he puſhed the Siege ſo vigorouſly, that in nine Days he took it by Storm. *Douglas*, who was advancing in order to raiſe the Siege, finding he was diſappointed, haſtily retired into the Country to avoid coming to a Battle. He was purſued by the Earl of *Northumberland*, who to retard the Enemy's Retreat, detached a Body of ſix Thouſand Men, under the Conduct of *Muſgrave*, with Orders to keep him at a Bay without going too far. But whilſt he himſelf was bringing up the reſt of his Army, he had Intelligence that his Detachment had fallen into an Ambuſcade, and was entirely defeated. *Henry Peircy* his Son, ſignalized himſelf greatly, both at the Siege of *Berwick*, and in the late Action, and gave extraordinary Proofs of the great Courage which gained him the Sirname of *Hotſpur*. The Plague beginning to rage in the *Northern* Counties, obliged the two Nations the more readily to continue the Truce, without making a new Treaty.

A Detachment of Engliſh *defeated.*

1379. *Tax upon the Nobles and Clergy*

In the mean time the Preparations for the Aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Bretaign* were carrying on vigorouſly. But as the Expence riſe higher than was imagined, the Parliament granted the King another *Subſidy*, the Burden of which was entirely borne by the *Nobility* and *Clergy*. Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Dukes, Earls, and [mitred] Abbots, were taxed at Ten Marks each, beſides Forty Pence which the Abbots were to pay for every one of their reſpective Monks. The reſt of the *Clergy* and Nobility and all that had Places having been rated according to their Incomes, the *Subſidy* brought in very conſiderable Sums.

The King of France *confiſcates* Bretaign.

The King of *France* was in a terrible Rage with the Duke of *Bretaign*, for having undertaken to call the *Engliſh* again into his Country. At leaſt he made that a Pretence to ſummon him before the Court of *Peers*, where the Duke took care not to appear. But the Widow of *Charles de Blos* ſent Agents to the King, to repreſent to him that he had no manner of Right to confiſcate *Bretaign*, which was not originally a *Fief* of the Crown of *France*. She maintained, that if any of the former Dukes had

had thought fit to submit to do *Service* to the Kings of *France*, it was not in their Power to bring the Dukedom into Subjection without the Consent of their People. But no regard was had to these Remonstrances, and the Court decreed the Confiscation of *Bretaign* to the King's Use. This Proceedure having convinced the *Bretons* that *Charles*'s Spite was not so much at the Duke as the Dutchy, they were afraid of falling under the Dominion of *France*, and of seeing their Country a Province of that Kingdom. This Apprehension occasioned an Association of the great Men, which ended at length in recalling their lawful Sovereign. The Duke having received the agreeable News, hasted to return into his Dominions, expecting the Succours which were getting ready for him in *England*, to follow him. He was received by his Subjects with great Demonstrations of Joy. Mean while, as the principal Places were in the Hands of his Enemies, he earnestly intreated the Court of *England* to send him some Troops to support him till a more powerful Supply should be ready. Upon these Instances, the Council dispatched some Ships with Troops on Board. But they were for the most part lost in a violent Storm.

1379.

The Bretons recal their Duke

All this while the *French* and *English* continued the War in several Places, but without coming to a decisive Battle. The Governour of *Cherbourg* gained some Advantage over the *French*, who had quickly their Revenge, by taking several Merchant-Men.

The War continues between France and England.

The Parliament which met in *October* 1380, granted the King a new *Aid* to continue the War with *France* and *Scotland*, as well as to assist the Duke of *Bretaign*. This Parliament is famous for a *Statute* made against the Blood-Suckers which had long devoured the Land; I mean *Foreign Ecclesiasticks*, who by this *Statute* were rendered incapable of holding any *Benefice* in *England*. But as there was likelihood that this was not sufficient to curb the Court of *Rome*, who did not think herself bound by *Acts of Parliament*, another *Statute* was made, the Intent of which was to render the Pope's Favours in this respect fruitless to Foreigners. By this *Act*, all the King's Sub-

1380. *Parliament.*

Act against Alien Ecclesiasticks.

1380. jects were forbidden on ſevere Penalties to farm *Benefices* conferred on *Alien*'s by the Court of *Rome*. This was properly attaining the ſame End another Way. For the Pope uſually giving *Engliſh Benefices* to his Domeſticks, to *Italian* Biſhops and Cardinals, theſe People could neither reſide on their *Benefices*, nor find any in the Kingdom to farm them. At the ſame Time the Parliament petitioned the King to expel all foreign Monks, for fear they ſhould inſtill into the *Engliſh* Notions repugnant to the Good of the State.

Foreign Monks expelled.

The Earl of Warwick *ſole Governour of the King.*

After the Parliament had taken Care of the *Eccleſiaſtical* Affairs, all the King's Governours were removed, as well to retrench the great Expence, as becauſe their Number was prejudicial to his Education. Inſtead of theſe Lords *Thomas de Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick* was pitched upon to have the ſole Care of educating the King.

Commiſſioners to examine the uſes the King's Revenues had been put to.

Ever ſince *Richard*'s Acceſſion to the Throne, his Revenues had been ſo ill managed, that the *Houſe of Commons* wanted to know on whom the Blame was to be laid. To that End, fourteen Commiſſioners were appointed to examine to what Uſes the Revenues of the Crown had been put, and to lay their Report before the next Parliament, which was not to meet till a Year hence.

The Duke of Buckingham *goes to the Aſſiſtance of the Duke of* Bretaign

Shortly after, the Succours deſigned for the Duke of *Bretaign* being ready, the Command of them was given to the Duke of *Buckingham* the King's Uncle. He landed at *Calais* in order to go to *Bretaign* by Land. Perhaps he would have found ſome Difficulty to perform his Enterprize, with an Army conſiſting only of eight Thouſand Men, had not the Duke of *Burgundy* who kept cloſe to him all the Way with much more numerous Forces, received expreſs Orders from the King of *France* his Brother, not to attack the *Engliſh*. That Monarch had a ſurer Way to get rid of his Enemies, which was to accommodate Matters with the Duke of *Bretaign*, who wanted to ſit down in Quiet, which he ſaw there was no likelihood of doing as long as *France* was his Enemy. For this Reaſon the Duke of *Buckingham* meeting with little Oppoſition, committed great Ravages in his March

While

Whilſt he was on his Way, the King of *France* died, leaving for Succeſſor *Charles* VI, his eldeſt Son, about twelve Years of Age. His Death might have been of great Benefit to the *Engliſh*, if the Duke of *Bretaign* had firmly adhered to their Intereſts. But the Duke thinking it his wiſeſt Courſe to take the Advantage of the Confuſion of the Court of *France*, in the Beginning of a Minor King's Reign, ſpeedily ſtruck up a Treaty with the new King, who granted him whatever he could deſire. 1380. *Death of* Charles V. Charles VI. *ſucceeds.* *Duke of* Bretaign *makes a Treaty with* France.

The Poſture of Affairs being changed by this Accommodation, the *Engliſh* were received but coldly in *Bretaign*. The Duke did not openly declare his Intentions at firſt, becauſe the *Engliſh* were in Poſſeſſion of *Breſt*. However it was eaſy to ſee he had no Deſign to make uſe of them, ſince they were refuſed every where Entrance into the Towns. At length the Duke opened his Mind to the Duke of *Buckingham*, and making the beſt Excuſe he could, he provided him with Ships to return to *England*. *The* Engliſh *ſent back.*

The Plague which ravaged at the ſame Time *England* and *Scotland*, cauſed the Truce to be renewed between the two Kingdoms till the next *Eaſter*. *Truce with the* Scots.

Though it had been agreed that the Parliament ſhould not meet under a Twelve-Month, ſome Affairs unexpectedly happening, obliged the King to convene it in *November*, in order to demand a freſh Aid of Money; which was accordingly granted, that he might be enabled to put in Execution what was reſolved upon, and of which I ſhall ſpeak preſently. But whereas the Nobility and *Clergy* had ſupplied the former *Subſidy*, this was levied by Way of *Poll-Tax*, from which no Body was exempted, not even the very *Monks* and *Nuns*. All Perſons above fifteen Year old were to pay twelve Pence a Head. *Parliament.* *Poll-Tax.*

One cannot but very much wonder that whilſt the Kingdom was actually engaged in a War with *France* and *Scotland*, the King's Council ſhould think of weakening its Forces, by ſending Troops to the King of *Portugal* who was at War with *Caſtile*. But private Intereſt got the better of that of the Publick, as it uſually happens in *Reſolve to aſſiſt* Portugal *againſt* Caſtile.

1380. the Councils of Kings, especially during *Minorities*. The Motive of this Resolution, which appeared so little agreeable to the State the Kingdom was in, was this. *Ferdinand* King of *Portugal*, had undertaken what he could not go through with, to wage War with *John* King of *Castile*, Son of *Henry the Bastard*. He had succeeded so ill, that instead of making Conquests upon his Enemy, he had drawn him into his own Dominions. This was the Reason of his seeking the Alliance of the *English*, that he might obtain Succours against the *Castilians*, their common Enemies. Though it was by no Means proper to send Troops at such a Distance, when *England* had enough to do to defend her own Coasts, yet the Duke of *Lancaster*'s Credit was so great in the Council, that it was resolved *Ferdinand* should be assisted. This Resolution was varnished over with the Pretense of hindering the King of *Castile*, mortal Enemy to the *English*, from growing too Great; but the Duke of *Lancaster*'s private Views were the sole Motive. This Prince, who had assumed the Title of *King of Castile* on the Score of his Marriage with *Constantia* eldest Daughter of *Peter the Cruel*, was in Hopes that by sending Troops into *Portugal*, they might be serviceable in promoting his own Affairs. With this View, after the Parliament had approved of the intended Expedition, and granted a Supply to carry it on, he caused the Command of the Troops to be given to the Duke of *Cambridge* his Brother, designing speedily to follow him in Person with greater Forces. Mean while, as the Truce with *Scotland* was about to expire, he got the Council to resolve to propose to the King of *Scotland* the Prolongation of it, otherwise the sending of the Troops to *Portugal* might be deferred. That this Negotiation might not fail of Success, he undertook it himself, and without delay repaired to the Frontiers of the two Kingdoms, where the *Scotch* Ambassadors were likewise to come. But whilst he was treating with them, there fell out in *England* Affairs which were of much more Consequence than the Truce with *Scotland*, or the War with *Castile*.

The Duke of Cambridge *goes with an Army into* Portugal.

The Duke of Lancaster *treats with the* Scots.

The

The *Poll-Tax* impoſed by the Parliament was levied with great Gentleneſs, inſomuch that the *Collectors*, excuſed many People. But as there are never wanting thoſe who make it their Buſineſs to inrich themſelves at the Expence of the *Publick*, there were ſome that perſwaded the King and Council, that if the Tax were levied with more ſtrictneſs, it would bring in much greater Sums, and even offered Money to have the Management of it. It is very probable, they were *Flemings* that farmed the Tax, and obliging themſelves to give the King a certain Sum for what they could raiſe by it. The new *Collectors* whom theſe *Farmers* appointed, levied the Tax with extreme Rigour. One of them who collected in *Kent*, having demanded of a Tyler at *Deptford*, one *Walter*, Twelve-Pence for one of his Daughters, the Father affirmed that his Daughter was under the Age ſet down in the *Act* of Parliament. Whereupon the inſolent Collector, as theſe ſort of People generally are, endeavouring to know the Truth by an indecent Action, the Father up with his Hammer and knocked out his Brains. All the Standers by applauded what he had done, and promiſed the Murderer, who was commonly called *Wat-Tyler*, to protect him. At the ſame Time the Spirit of Rebellion ſeized not the Inhabitants of *Deptford* only, but likewiſe all the meaner ſort of People of the County of *Kent*, who were followed by thoſe of *Eſſex*. The *Poll-Tax* was not the ſole Grievance they had to complain of. For a long Time the People of thoſe Parts had been in a Ferment, which happening to be increaſed by this Accident, broke out into open Rebellion. They complained of the little Care there was taken to hinder the frequent Deſcents of the *French*, who had committed great Ravages in theſe two Counties. To this was added a general Diſcontent againſt the Judges, and all the Agents of the Law, who ruined Families by their Extortions. The *Nobles* and *Gentry* were no leſs hated by the *Peaſants*, on account of the Right of *Villanage*, which they abuſed very much. The Populace was extremely incenſed againſt the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who was charged with having been the Cauſe, by

1381. *Inſurrections of* Wat-Tyler.

Inſurrection in Kent *and* Eſſex.

1381. by his Negligence, of all the Calamities which the two Counties had endured. All these Complaints being spread in those Parts, and kept alive by seditious Spirits, or as some affirm, by the Monks, who looked upon themselves aggrieved by the *Poll-Tax* to which they were liable, produced a wonderful Effect. In a short Time, *Wat-Tyler*, whom the Seditious had chosen Head and Protector of the poor People, saw himself attended with above a hundered Thousand Men, inspired with a Desire of taking Vengeance on the Nobility and Professors of the Law. He marched directly to *London*, freeing as he went along all the Prisoners which were detained in the publick Goals. Among these was a Priest of *Maidston*, one *John Ball* *, who by his seditious Sermons raised the Fury of the People to the utmost Height. He perswaded them that all Men being Sons of *Adam*, there ought to be no Distinction among them, and consequently it was their Duty to reduce the World to a perfect Parity. Pursuant to this Maxim, they resolved to dispatch all the Nobility and those that were distinguished by their Posts. So without hesitating upon the Matter, they cut off the Heads of all the Lords, Gentlemen, Judges, Counsellors, and Lawyers, who fell in their Way. After this, they bound themselves by Oath never to acknowledge for King any Man whose Name should be *John*. It was their Hatred to the Duke of *Lancaster*, who bore that Name, and whom they suspected of aspiring to the Crown, which made them take that Resolution.

Wat-Tyler at the Head of 100,000 Men.

John Ball a Priest, spirits up the Rebels.

They behead the Nobles and Judges

Richard having Intelligence that the Seditious were come as far as *Black-Heath*, where *Wat-Tyler* reviewed his Army, sent to them to know what they wanted. They replied, they had Affairs of great Moment to communicate to the King, and desired he would come in Person and talk with them. This insolent Request having been debated

The King sends to know what they would have.

Their insolent Answer.

* *Rapin* calls him *John Straw*. He preached to the Army upon this Proverbial Rhyme.

When Adam *dalv'd and* Eve *Span,*
Who was then a Gentleman? Walsing. p. 275.

debated in Council, ſome were of Opinion, the King's beſt Way would be to comply with the Rebels Demand. They alledged that as he was not in a Condition to oppoſe Force to Force, there was no other Way left to gain them but fair Means. But *Simon Sudbury* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Hales* Prior of St. *John*'s, and High-Treaſurer of *England*, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, maintaining that it was not ſafe for the King to truſt his Perſon with the *Mob*. According to this Advice, the Rebels Requeſt was rejected with Threats, which little correſponded with the Situation the Court was in. Upon this Anſwer, the Seditious fell into ſuch a Fury, that immediately they marched towards *London*, and poſſeſſed themſelves of *Southwark*, parted from the City by the *Thames*. The Plunder of the Suburbs having given them no great Interruption, they endeavoured to enter the City. *London*-Bridge had then Gates, which having been ſhut upon their Approach, might have put a ſtop for ſome Time to their Impetuoſity, if the *Mob*, who preſently ſided with them, had not opened them in ſpite of the Magiſtrates. Nothing oppoſing any longer their March, they entered the City, where they committed all the Ravages which might be expected from ſo numerous a Body, guided ſolely by their Fury. The Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Palace was reduced to Aſhes, and the Houſes of ſuch as they looked upon as their Enemies, were given up to Plunder. However, their Chiefs pretending they were not ſwayed by Avarice, permitted not their People to appropriate to themſelves any Part of the Booty. They even threw into the Fire, which conſumed all the Riches of the ſacked Houſes, a Man who would have kept back a Piece of Plate. In this univerſal Confuſion, wherein *London* was like a Town taken by Storm, the Archbiſhop's Palace, the *Temple* with all their *Writings* laid up there, were devoured by the Flames. The Houſes of the Judges, Lords, and principal Citizens fared no better. Theſe Furioſoes took Care to accompliſh the Oath they had made to extirpate whatever had any Appearance of Greatneſs or Diſtinction. The *Flemings*, againſt whom they were extreme-

1381.

They march to London.

They enter the City, and commit their Barbarities.

ly

1381. ly incenſed, were more than all others expoſed to their Rage. They dragged them from Churches where they had taken *Sanctuary*, and upon their not being able exactly to pronounce certain Words, which was very difficult for Foreigners, they murdered them upon the Spot.

They ſeize the Tower, and behead the Archbiſhop and Treaſurer.

After the Rebels had thus given the firſt Marks of their Fury, they approached the Tower, which might have been eaſily defended, if the Terror ſpread in the Garriſon had not made them open the Gates. There they found the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the High-Treaſurer, who had thought themſelves ſafe in that Place, and without any Form of Law, cut off their Heads. This done, they divided themſelves into three Bodies. *Wat-Tyler* ſtaid about the Tower with Thirty Thouſand Men. *Jack Straw* advanced into the City with the Rebels of *Eſſex*, to the Number of ſixty Thouſand. The reſt under the Conduct of another Leader, marched elſewhere.

The Eſſexians *accept the King's Offers.*

In the mean Time, the King and Council were in the utmoſt Perplexity. After having long conſulted about the Means to put a Stop to theſe furious Proceedings, they could pitch upon no better than offering the Rebels an *Authentick Charter* confirming the Privileges of the People, and a general Pardon for all Crimes committed ſince the Inſurrection. The *Eſſexians* very readily accepted theſe Offers, though they were already in the Heart of the City. Accordingly having left ſome of their Leaders to haſten the *Charters* and *Act of Grace*, they returned to their Homes.

Wat Tyler *rejects them. The King ſends for him to meet him.*

But *Wat-Tyler* was not ſo tractable, though he pretended his ſole Aim was to obtain equitable Terms. However as he appeared willing to enter into ſome Negotiation with the King himſelf, *Richard* with a few Attendants came to *Smith-field*, from whence he ſent a Knight * to him, to deſire him to come and confer with him. *Wat* inſolently replied, he would come when he thought proper. Nevertheleſs he ſet forward immediately, at the Head

* Sir *John Newton.*

Hand of his Troops. But he marched with ſo ſlow a Pace, that the King beginning to be out of Patience, ſent the ſame Knight to him, who had like to loſe his Life by it. *Wat Tyler* was juſt entered *Smithfield* when the Knight delivered the King's Orders to him, without alighting, not imagining he would ſtand upon that Punctilio. But the haughty *Mob-General* was ſo offended at this want of Reſpect, that he was going to kill him, if the King, who was come forward himſelf, had not cried out to the Knight to diſmount. 1381.

Conference of the King with Tyler.

In the Conference *Wat-Tyler* had with the King, being both on Horſeback, he made ſuch extravagant Propoſals, that *Richard* knew not what Anſwer to give him. He demanded that all the antient Laws ſhould be aboliſhed, and the Form of Government modelled according to certain fantaſtical Schemes he himſelf had framed. Whilſt he propoſed theſe Things, he now and then lifted up his Sword as it were to threaten the King, in caſe he granted not that Moment what the Rebels would have. This bruiſh Inſolence raiſed to ſuch a Degree the Indignation of *Walworth* Mayor of *London*, who attended the King, that without reflecting on the Danger he expoſed his Maſter to, he diſcharged ſuch a Blow on the Rebel's Head with his Sword, that he laid him dead at his Feet.

His Inſolence.

The Mayor of London *kills him.*

The King is in great danger;

This Action, which was no leſs imprudent than bold, would have naturally occaſioned the Ruin of the King and of all about him; but by good Luck, which there was no room to expect, it produced a quite contrary Effect. It is true indeed, that as ſoon as the Rebels beheld their Leader on the Ground, they encouraged one another to revenge his Death. Already were their Bows bent to let fly at the King and his Attendants: But *Richard* prevented the Danger, by a bolder and more prudent Action than could be expected from a Prince of his Years. Inſtead of taking to flight, he turned to the Rebels, and cried out with a reſolute and couragious Voice: *What! My Friends, will you then kill your King? Be not concerned for the Loſs of your Leader, for I my ſelf will now be your General, follow me.* Upon ſaying theſe Words, he gently turned

From which he luckily frees himſelf.

1381. his Horſe, and putting himſelf at their Head, rode towards St. *George's Fields*. The young King's Reſolution made ſuch an Impreſſion upon the Minds of the Rebels, that imagining he really declared for them, they altered their firſt Purpoſe, and followed him without Delay. They were no ſooner come into the *Fields*, but they ſaw marching towards them a Troop of a Thouſand Citizens well armed, whom the *Mayor* at all Adventures had raiſed under the Conduct of Sir *Robert Knolles*, an Officer of great Reputation. This Sight ſtruck them with ſuch Terror, that falſely imagining the whole City was up in Arms to attack them, the Foremoſt Ranks threw down their Arms and demanded Quarter. This Proceeding having frightened the moſt diſtant, who were ignorant of the Reaſon of it, every one preſſed to follow their Example. So that in a few Moments the whole Multitude was diſperſed without any Blood being ſhed but that of the Ring-Leader.

The Rebels are frighted, and throw down their Arms

One cannot reflect without Wonder on ſo ſingular an Event, compriſing ſo many extraordinary Particulars. Indeed it is no very ſtrange Thing that there ſhould be an Inſurrection of the People; however it is not very uſual that they ſhould pitch upon ſuch an one as *Wat-Tyler* for their Leader, though it is not impoſſible to find the like Inſtances in other Hiſtories. But it is doubtleſs beyond the common Courſe of the Events of this World, that a ſingle Man, as the *Mayor* of *London*, ſhould dare to kill this *Leader*, attended by Thirty Thouſand Men. It is ſtill more ſurpriſing, that a young Prince, but Fifteen Years of Age, ſhould have the Preſence of Mind, and the Reſolution which *Richard* ſhowed on this Occaſion, and that his Boldneſs ſhould produce ſo happy an Effect. In fine, that ſo numerous a Multitude, juſt glutted with Blood and Slaughter, ſhould diſperſe on a ſudden by a *Panick* Fear, at the Sight of a handful of armed Citizens, is what cannot be conſidered without Aſtoniſhment, and without aſcribing the Cauſe to him who holds the Hearts of the People in his Hand. And indeed, we ſhall ſee preſently, that there was a Neceſſity for a ſort of Miracle to prevent the

utter

utter Deſtruction of *England*, conſidering the pernicious Deſigns the Rebels had formed. 1381.

It was not only in the Counties of *Kent* and *Eſſex* that the Spirit of Rebellion poſſeſſed the People. Whilſt *Wat-Tyler* and *Jack Straw* * were marching to *London*, *John Ball* and *John Wraw*, two ſeditious Prieſts, ſtirred up the Populace of *Suffolk*, where they quickly got together Fifty Thouſand Men. They committed in thoſe Parts numberleſs Barbarities, as if they were afraid of being behind-hand in Cruelty to thoſe who exerciſed their Fury in *London*. Sir *John Cavendiſh*, Chief Juſtice, fell a Sacrifice to their Rage. After that, they burnt all the antient *Charters* in the Abbey of St. *Edmunds-Bury*, and in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*. *The like Inſurrections in other Counties.*

On the other Hand, *Littſtar*, an Ale-Houſe-Keeper at *Norwich*, headed another Body of Rebels in the County of *Norfolk*, and cruelly put to Death all the Judges and Lawyers that fell into his Hands. As for the Lords and Gentlemen, he had the Inſolence to oblige them to ſerve him on the Knee, and if any bogled to ſubmit to that Indignity, he immediately ordered his Head to be cut off. In this manner he treated the Earl of *Suffolk*, who could not bring himſelf to feign that he approved of their Rebellion. As it was impoſſible for the King's Council to take Meaſures ſpeedy enough to remedy theſe Diſorders, it was neceſſary that private Perſons ſhould uſe their Endeavours of their own accord, without ſtaying for Orders from Court, to free themſelves from the impending Danger. *Henry Spencer* Biſhop of *Norwich*, a Prelate of great Courage, though educated in a Profeſſion oppoſite to War, thought it his Duty to do ſomething more than barely to offer up Prayers on ſo preſſing an Occaſion, which equally threatned *Clergy* and *Laity*. He put himſelf at the Head of ſome loyal Subjects, and attacking the Rebels made a terrible Slaughter of them. The two Heads *Wraw* *Inſolence and Cruelty of* Littſtar. *The Biſhop of* Norwich *defeates the Rebels.*

* They are ſuppoſed to give themſelves theſe Names in contempt of the *Nobility* and *Gentry*.

1381. and *Littstar* being taken in the Fight; the first was beheaded upon the Spot, and the other sent to *London*, to receive the just Reward of his Crimes.

Punishment of the Rebels. The Troubles being appeased sooner and more happily than there was reason to expect, the King, by Advice of his Council, resolved to chastize the Guilty. To that End, he gave Orders to the Lords to raise in every County, Troops consisting of such whose Loyalty was well known, and to lead them to *London*. In a short Time was drawn together an Army of Forty Thousand Men, which being divided into two Bodies, one marched into the County of *Kent*. At the Head of the other the King went himself to punish the People of *Essex*, who began to stir again, upon the revoking the *Charter* and *General Pardon*, with which they had been decoyed. As they had not had Time to take just Measures, and found themselves prevented by the King's Diligence, they were easily defeated. Great Numbers were slain, and many others reserved for publick Examples. *Jack Straw*, Companion of *Wat-Tyler*, and Head of the *Essex*-Rebels, was of the Number of these last. He confessed, that if they had succeeded in their Projects, as they had good reason to expect, their Design was to murder the King, root out the *Nobility* and *Clergy*, excepting the *Mendicant Fryars*, to part *England* into several Kingdoms, to make *Wat-Tyler* King of *Kent*, to abolish all the antient Laws, and make new ones. In all likelihood these Projects were framed only in general, and it may be, over a Glass of Wine, whilst they were on their march to *London*. Be that as it will, such a Design, managed by Heads little capable of putting it in Execution, could hardly fail of ending in the Ruin of the Authors. 'Tis affirmed, that besides those who fell with their Arms in their Hands, above Fifteen Hundred died by the Hangman. Judge *Tresilian* was commissioned to go into the revolted Counties to try the Guilty. As their Number was very great, he had an opportunity of giving a full Swinge to his cruel and barbarous Temper in punishing the unfortunate Wretches, to whom he showed no Favour. The Cruelties he exercised

Their Projects.

Barbarity of Judge Tresilian.

ciſed during his Commiſſion, may well be compared to thoſe which were ſeen to be practiced of late Years by a Judge of the ſame Stamp in the Reign of *James* II. 1381.

There are ſome Hiſtorians, who would fain father this Rebellion upon the *Wickliffites* (who were commonly called *Lollards*) but without any Foundation. It is certain that Religion had no Hand in theſe Commotions, ſince the Duke of *Lancaſter*, avowed Protector of *Wickliff*, was the principal Object of the Rebels Fury. Beſides, *Wickliff*, who then reſided on his Living of *Lutterworth* [in *Leiceſterſhire*,] was never charged with any thing on that Score. All that can be alledged to give the leaſt Colour to this Accuſation is, that *John Ball* a *Franciſcan* Monk, one of the Ring-Leaders of the Rebels, was thrown into Priſon a little before by Order of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, for having preached up the *new Doctrine*. But it cannot be inferred from thence, that *Wickliff*'s Followers ſtirred up the Inſurrection. Moreover, one hardly finds Inſurrections cauſed by a *Religious Zeal*, appeaſed in ſo ſhort a Time as this was, which did not laſt above a Month, from the Beginning to the End. *Vindication of the* Wickliffites.

The Duke of *Lancaſter* was on the Borders of the *North*, when the Rebellion broke out in *Kent*, which lies at the other End of the Kingdom. Upon the firſt News of it, he immediately concluded with the *Scots* a Truce for three Years, for fear the Commotions ſhould make them ſtand off. Mean while, as he was apprehenſive of expoſing himſelf to the Rage of his Enemies, if he ſhould return to Court, and alſo of giving the *Northern* Counties a Pretence to follow the Example of the *Southern* ones, if he ſtaid in the Kingdom, he choſe to retire into *Scotland*, where he remained till the Troubles were over, the King of *Scotland* offered him twenty Thouſand Men, to go and quell the Rebels; but he refuſed them, leſt by introducing Foreigners, he ſhould cauſe a general Revolt in the Kingdom. Notwithſtanding theſe Precautions, he could not prevent his Enemies from ſpreading a Report, that he had deſigned to march to *London*, at the Head of a *Scotch* *The Duke of* Lancaſter *is wrongfully accuſed.*

1381. *Scotch* Army, and ſeize the Crown. But he eaſily cleared himſelf from this Charge, which had no Foundation.

The King's Marriage. Whilſt by this unexpected Inſurrection *Richard* ſaw himſelf in danger of loſing his Crown and Life, his Ambaſſadors were negotiating his Marriage in *Germany*. Ever ſince the Year 1379 he had been deſirous of eſpouſing the Daughter of *Barnabas* Duke of *Milan*. But not ſucceeding there, he had demanded in 1380 a Princeſs of *Bavaria*, Drughter of the late Emperour *Lewis*. But this Negotiation had no better Succeſs than the former. At laſt on *May* 2. 1381, his Marriage with *Ann of Luxemburg*, Siſter of the Emperour *Wenceſlaus* was concluded at *Nuremberg*. This Princeſs arriving in *England* a little after the Troubles were appeaſed, was received with a great deal of Pomp, agreeably to the King's Humour, who was a great Lover of theſe ſorts of Solemnities.

1382. *Death of the Earl of* March. *Edmund* Earl of *March*, Grandſon of *Roger Mortimer*, beheaded in the Beginning of the Reign of *Edward* III, died in *February* 1382, in his Government of *Ireland*. He had married *Philippa* only Daughter of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, ſecond Son of *Edward* III, and had by her a Son called *Roger*, who ſucceeded him in his Honour of *Earl of March*.

The Parliament which had met towards the latter End of the Year 1381, and been prorogued on account of the Queen's Arrival, ſat again in *May* the next Year. Some Hiſtorians affirm, that in this Parliament an *Act* was paſſed impowering the Biſhops to impriſon *Heretick*s, without asking the King's Leave. But others, upon better Grounds, maintain, that the *Commons* refuſed to paſs the *Bill* which was brought in upon that Score, and that it was of the King alone that the Biſhops obtained that Power. This laſt Opinion is confirmed by the Complaints the *Houſe of Commons* made of it to the King afterwards, as of a Breach of the People's Privileges. Be that as it will, it is certain that before that time, the Biſhops had no ſuch Power, without the King's expreſs Conſent, for every particular Caſe. Of this there are ſeveral Proofs in the *Collection of publick Acts*, where we find

Act. Pub. VI. 561.

find the like *Permiſſions* granted by *Edward* III to the Biſhop of *London* and others. It is evident theſe *Permiſſions* would have been needleſs, had the Biſhops enjoyed this Priviledge without the King's Conſent. Beſides, in a *Commiſſion* of the ſame Nature directed by *Richard* II, to the Univerſity of *Oxford*, which is likewiſe extant in the *Collection*, there is not a Word of any *Statute* made upon that Subject, though it was a conſtant Cuſtom when the King acted by Virtue of an *Act* of Parliament, to mention it in his *Letters Patent* or *Orders*. Of this we may eaſily be ſatisfied in the ſaid *Collection*. 1382.

Richard being now in his ſeventeenth Year, began more plainly to diſcover his Inclinations, which hitherto had been reſtrained by the Authority of his Governours. He had a high Conceit of his own Merit, and thought himſelf as well qualified to govern the State as *Edward* III was at his Age. But there was a wide Difference between theſe two Princes. *Edward* when very young, with a deep Penetration, had none but noble and generous Inclinations, which tended to his own Glory, and his People's Happineſs. *Richard* on the contrary, minded only Trifles, and thought of nothing but his Pleaſures. He loved Pomp and Magnificence more than any of his Predeceſſors, and by that Means he ran into ſuperfluous Expences, which ſwallowed up his Revenues to no Purpoſe. Flatterers had a great Sway over him. He expreſſed as great Affection for thoſe that ſoothed his Paſſions, as Averſion for ſuch as by their good Advice tried to induce him to lead a Life worthy a great Prince. Having nothing of a warlike Diſpoſition in him, it was remarked, that in Council he was always inclined to make uſe of the way of Negotiation, rather than to vigorous Reſolutions. As ſoon as he was out of his Childhood, he was obſerved to chuſe Favourites, whoſe Inclinations ſuited with his own, or at leaſt who knew how to make as if they approved of whatever he did. Among theſe was *Alexander Nevile* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Robert de Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, a young Man all Life and Spirit, whoſe youthful Sallies were very pleaſing to his Maſter, *Michael de la Pole*, Richard's *Character.* His Favourites.

1382. *Pole*, a Merchant's Son of *London*, and Judge *Treſilian*, who never wanted Reaſons to countenance what was agreeable to the King. Theſe Favourites who omitted no Opportunity of flattering him, were amply rewarded for the leaſt petty Services, whilſt thoſe who managed the Publick Affairs, and took all the Pains, were very little regarded. This Proceeding began to be diſreliſhed by the People, when an Accident which happened towards the End of thie Year, quite put them out of Conceit with their Sovereign. One of the Courtiers before mentioned, having obtained of the King a conſiderable Grant, *Richard Scroop* the High-Chancellor refuſed to annex the Great-Seal to the *Patent*. He even plainly told the Perſon that ſollicited him, that the Duty of his Office would not permit him to put the *Seal*, the Cuſtody whereof the Parliament had entruſted him with, to all the Grants the King ſhould be pleaſed to make without Diſcretion, till he had got a little more Experience. *Richard* provoked at this Refuſal, ſent to demand the *Great-Seal*, but he would not give it up, alledging he held it not of the King, but of the Parliament. This Reſolution ſtill more incenſing the young Prince, he went to the Chancellor himſelf to require his Obedience. Then the Chancellor not being able to deny it any longer, delivered him the *Seal*, declaring he would ſerve him no more in any Publick Poſt, but content himſelf with keeping in all other Things the Allegiance due from a Subject to his Sovereign. *Richard* kept the *Great-Seal* in his Hands ſome Days, and for fear another Chancellor ſhould obſtruct in the ſame manner his inconſiderate Grants, he put the Seal himſelf to ſeveral *Patents*, and then delivered it to *Robert Braybrook* Biſhop of *London*, who in all Appearance was not ſo ſcrupulous as *Scroop*. This Action, which the Favourites cried up mightily by extolling the King's Steddineſs, was diſpleaſing to all the reſt of the People. The King began from thenceforward to be looked upon as a Prince capable of running into great Exorbitances, unleſs timely Care was taken to curb his Paſſions.

The Chancellor refuſes to give the Broad-Seal.

The King takes it from him.

With

With this View it was that in the next meeting of the Parliament, the *House of Commons* resolved to remedy this Inconvenience, which took its Birth from the too great Authority the King began to assume. The Power he had given the Bishops to imprison *Hereticks*, was considered as very destructive to Liberty, since by that the *Clergy* were in some Measure the absolute Masters of the Honour and Fortune of private Persons. The Complaints which were exhibited from all Parts, obliged the *Commons* to present a *Petition* to the King, praying him to revoke a Grant to which they had not given their Consent. *Richard*, who stood in need of Money, durst not reject the Parliament's Request. But some pretend that by the Artifices of the *Clergy*, this Revocation was razed out of the *Parliament-Rolls*, where it is not to be found.

1382. *The Bishops Power of imprisoning Hereticks revoked.*

The *Schism* continued in the *Church* to the great Scandal of the *Christians*, who were in doubt which of the two Popes was to be regarded as the *Vicar of Jesus Christ*. *Urban*, whose Party was by far the strongest, perceiving that *Spiritual* Weapons were of no great Effect, thought it would be better to make use of *Temporal* Arms. To that End, he published against *Clement* and his Adherents a *Crusado*, of which *Henry Spencer* Bishop of *Norwich* was declared *General*. The Pope by his *Bull* granted the same *Indulgences* * to all that were willing to ingage in this Undertaking, as to those who bore Arms against the *Infidels*. The Effect which the publishing the *Crusado* produced in *England*, answered the Pope's Wishes. The Nobles, Gentry, People, and *Clergy*, ingaged in it with the same Ardour as if they had been to go and wage War

Urban VI. *publishes a* Crusado *against* Clement VII.

The Bishop of Norwich *made General.*

The English *engage in it with zeal.*

* The Form of the *Absolution* ran thus:
By *Authority Apostolical* committed unto me for this Purpose, I absolve thee, *A. B.* from all thy Sins *confessed*, and for which thou art *contrite*, and from all those which thou would'st confess did they occur to thy Memory, and grant thee, with a full Pardon of all thy Sins, the Reward of the *Just*, and the Assurance of Eternal Salvation: And I give thee moreover all the *Privileges* granted to those who go to War in Defence of the *Holy Land*, and make thee Partaker of the Benefit of the Prayers of the *Catholick Church*. *Walsingham Hist. Angl.* p. 295

1382. with the Enemy of the *Christian* Name. Whilst they waited for the Parliament's Approbation, of which no one made the least doubt of, every Body was diligently preparing to obtain the promised *Indulgences*, either by serving in Person in the War, or by contributing towards the carrying it on.

The Earl of Cambridge *returns from* Portugal *much dissatisfied.*

Whilst the *Croises* were getting ready, the Earl of *Cambridge* returned from *Portugal*, where he had met with the same Treatment that the Earl of *Buckingham* his Brother had done in *Bretaign*. That is, the King of *Portugal* made use of the *English* Succours, to make an advantagious Peace with the King of *Castile*, to whom he even gave *Beatrice* his only Daughter, promised before to the Earl of *Cambridge*'s eldest Son. So that the *English* Prince came back extremely dissatisfied, having lost the Prospect of procuring his Son the Crown of *Portugal*, and of being instrumental in placing the Duke of *Lancaster* his Brother on the Throne of *Castile*.

1383. *Success of the* Crusado.

The Parliament, which met in the beginning of the Year 1383, not only approved of the *Crusado* published by *Urban*, but granted also a considerable *Subsidy* upon that Account. When every Thing was ready, the Bishop of *Norwich* imbarked the *Croises*, consisting of fifty Thousand *Foot* and two Thousand *Horse*. Upon his Arrival at *Calais* he held a Council of War, to consider which way he should turn his Arms. Most were of Opinion, to enter *France*, since the Words of the *Bull* imported that the *Crusado* was designed against *Clement* and his *Adherents*. In all likelihood it was with this View that the Court of *England* engaged so heartily in this Affair. But the General, for private Reasons not mentioned in History, got it resolved the War should be carried into *Flanders*. And for so doing it was alledged, that *Flanders* was a *Fief* of the Crown of *France*, though the Earl of *Flanders* had acknowledged *Urban* for Pope. So that contrary to the Intention of the Court, and no doubt of the Pope himself, the *Croises* invaded *Flanders*, and took *Graveling*, *Bourbourg*, *Mardike*, and *Dunkirk*. The Earl of *Flanders*, surprized at this unexpected Attack, having levied

levied ſome Troops with all poſſible Expedition, was ſo Fool-hardy as to go with twelve Thouſand Men, and offer the *Croiſes* Battle, who had received a ſtrong Reinforcement from *Ghentois*. This raſh Action coſt him dear, ſince he had the Misfortune to ſee the Army, on which he ſolely depended, entirely routed. Reduced to this fatal Extremity, and beholding his Country on the Point of being utterly deſtroyed, he had no other Courſe to take but to apply to the Court of *France*. He repreſented to the young King's Council, how greatly it concerned *France* to ſave *Flanders*, eſpecially as in all Appearance, the Deſign of the *Croiſes* was not to take up with that ſingle Conqueſt. The Court of *France*, rouzed by theſe Remonſtrances, or rather by their own Intereſt, which would not ſuffer them to ſee *Flanders* fall into the Hands of the *Engliſh*, reſolved to aſſiſt the Earl. *Charles* VI putting himſelf at the Head of a powerful Army, marched againſt the *Croiſes*, who were beſieging *Ipres*. Upon his Approach they raiſed the Siege and retired to *Bourbourg*, where they were inveſted. The *Biſhop General* wanting Proviſions for the Subſiſtence of his Army, would have been at a great Loſs how to extricate himſelf out of the Plunge, had not the Duke of *Bresaign* uſed his Intereſt in his Behalf. By the Mediation of this Prince, the *Croiſes* obtained the Liberty of marching off, upon delivering up the Places they had taken. Thus ended the *Cruſado*, undertaken purely on the Score of *Urban*, without the Pope or *England* receiving the leaſt Benefit from it. As ſoon as the Biſhop was come Home, the King ordered the *Temporalities* of his *See* to be ſeized *, and ſeveral of his principal Officers to be impriſoned for not following their *Inſtructions*. 1383.

Whilſt the *Croiſes* were taken up in ravaging *Flanders*, *England* was a great Sufferer in her Turn, by the frequent Deſcents of the *French*, and Incurſions of the *Scots*. As there was no Army on Foot to repulſe theſe Enemies, the *The* French *and* Scots *ravage* England.

* *Speed* ſays, the King countermanded him, juſt as he was going to embark, which it ſeems the Biſhop took no notice of. p. 557.

1383. King was forced to call a Parliament, who granted him a *Subsidy* for continuing the War with *Scotland*, the Conduct whereof was committed to the Duke of *Lancaster*. The King of *Scotland* being informed of the Preparations making against him, sued for Peace; but it was absolutely denied him.

Truce with France. Mean while the Duke of *Bretagne* used his Endeavours to bring the two Crowns of *France* and *England* to an Accommodation. With much soliciting he got at length the two Kings to send their *Plenipotentiaries* between *Calais* and *Boulogne*. But this Negotiation ended only in a Truce for two Months, in which the Kings of *Scotland* and *Castile*, if they desired it, had the Liberty to be included. The Duke of *Burgundy* Uncle of the King of *France*, undertook to answer within a certain Time for the King of *Scotland*. But the Earl of *Flanders* his Father-in-law dying in the Intetim, his Care to take Possession of his Dominions, made him forget or neglect what he had promised. Mean while, whether the *English* thought the *Scots* would not be included in the Treaty, or whether they were willing to have some Benefit of the Expence they had been at, the Duke of *Lancaster* went and ravaged *Scotland* home to the Gates of *Edenburgh*. This Incursion obliged the King of *Scotland* to desire to be included in the Truce, which was granted him by the Mediation of the Duke of *Burgundy*.

The Scots included in it.

1384. Shortly after the Return of the Duke of *Lancaster*, a certain *Irish* Monk came to Court, which was then at *Salisbury*, and discovered to the King a Secret of great Moment; namely, that the Duke of *Lancaster* his Uncle had conspired to murder the King, and seize the Crown. This Accusation was attended with so many Circumstances, that *Richard* could not forbear giving Credit to it. But the Duke, without the least Concern, vindicated himself upon each Article, in such a manner that the King seemed satisfied with him. He ordered however the Accuser to be taken into Custody, either to punish him, or to examine him more strictly. But when he was to be brought before the Council, it was found that he had o-

The Duke of Lancaster *accused of conspiring against the King.*

He vindicates himself.

ver

ver Night been hanged in Priſon, without any one being able to diſcover who did it. This Accident did the Duke of *Lancaſter* a very great Injury, becauſe it gave the People a Prejudice againſt him, though it was full as likely that the Monk was murdered by the Authors of the Accuſation, as by the Orders of the Party accuſed. 1384.

He is further ſuſpected.

Another Accident, which happened juſt after, confirmed the People in the Suſpicion which the Monk's Report had raiſed againſt the Duke of *Lancaſter*. An Alderman of *London*, who was very much in the Duke's good Graces, having been charged with conſpiring againſt the King, was found guilty upon ſtrict Examination. Though the Duke was then abſent, his cloſe Friendſhip with the Criminal, and the Endeavours his Friends uſed to prevent the Sentence, and afterwards to procure the King's Pardon, gave Room for Reflections not at all to the Duke's Advantage. He was at that Time upon an Embaſſy at *Paris*, where he ſpent fifty thouſand Marks, but obtained only the Prolongation of the Truce for ſome Months.

The Truce with France *prolonged.*

1385.

Project of deſtroying the Duke of Lancaſter.

If the Duke of *Lancaſter* was not beloved by the People, he was no leſs hated by the Favourites, who could have no hopes of diſpoſing of all Things according to their Pleaſure, as long as he ſhould be in Credit with the King. 'Tis well known that it is the way of moſt Favourites not to ſuffer about their Maſter's Perſon any but ſuch as are actually devoted to them. Thus the preſent ones looking upon the Duke of *Lancaſter* as a troubleſome Inſpector, and one that was incapable of condeſcending to make his Court to them, believed they ought before all Things to get rid of him. To that Purpoſe, they all acted in Concert, in order to create in the King Suſpicions, which might cauſe him to conſider this Uncle of his, as a very dangerous Enemy. *Richard*, who neither did nor would ſee any thing but with their Eyes, ſuffered himſelf to be ſo far prejudiced in this Matter, that he gave his conſent to a Reſolution which was taken, of accuſing the Duke of *High-Treaſon*. Judge *Treſilian*, a Man of a cruel and daring Temper, took upon him to draw

1384. draw up the Articles of the Accuſation and to manage the Evidence. He even offered to paſs Sentence upon him as a private Perſon, though by the Laws of the Land he could not be tried but by his *Peers*. As this Plot could not be contrived ſo ſecretly but that the Duke had notice of it, he thought it would be imprudent to deliver himſelf into the Hands of his Enemies, who had determined his Ruin. So without troubling himſelf about his Vindication, he withdrew to his Caſtle of *Pontfract*, where he got together ſome Troops, and made other Preparations with deſign to ſtand on his Defence in Caſe he ſhould be attacked. Though he had not many Friends, yet as he was perſecuted by the *Miniſters*, who were ſtill leſs beloved than he, there were abundance of People ready enough to take his Part. A Civil War was juſt going to break out in the Kingdom, when the Princeſs of *Wales*, Mother of the King, interpoſed to make Peace, before Hoſtilities had begun. She ſucceeded at length, after a great many Journeys and Fatigues, and *Richard*, ſatisfied of the Falſeneſs of the Suſpicions they would fain have made him entertain againſt the Duke his Uncle, received him again into Favour.

The Duke prepares to defend himſelf.

The Princeſs of Wales reconciles him to the King.

1385. During theſe Broils, no Preparations were made for the War, though the Truce concluded lately with *France* and *Scotland* was about to expire. They flattered themſelves they ſhould be able to renew it, but the King of *France* had other Thoughts. As he ſaw that the Court of *England* was in this Reſpect perfectly unconcerned, he reſolved to take advantage of it; by making a powerful Effort, from whence he promiſed himſelf great Succeſs. To that end he ſent a numerous Army into *Guienne*, hoping he might finiſh the Conqueſt of that Dukedom before the *Engliſh* ſhould be able to oppoſe it. At the ſame Time he ſent the King of *Scotland* an Aid of a thouſand *Men at Arms* (*a*) under the Command of *John de Vienne*, who was to make a powerful Diverſion in the *North*, in order to fa-

France *prepares to exert itſelf.*

Sends Succours to Scotland.

vour

(*a*) Every *Man at Arms* had with him three or four and ſometimes five *Knights*.

vour the Deſcent which the *French* were to make in the *Southern* Parts of the Iſland. The Alarm the *Engliſh* took at all theſe Preparations, turned to their Safety. The Court gave ſuch preſſing Orders to levy Troops, and the Orders were executed with ſuch Ardour and Expedition, that if we may believe the Hiſtorian, *Richard* ſaw himſelf in a very little Time at the Head of three hundred thouſand Men. He detached ſixty Thouſand, under the Command of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, to march into *Scotland*, whilſt with the reſt, he himſelf expected the *French* on the *Southern* Coaſt. Upon the Approach of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, the *Scots*, who were already ravaging the Borders of *England*, retired towards the Center of their Kingdom, leaving the *Engliſh* General free liberty to revenge his Countrymen, by the Ravages he committed in *Scotland*, whither he followed them. The great Army *Richard* had drawn together, having put the King of *France* out of hopes of ſucceeding in his Project, he deferred the Execution of it to a more convenient Seaſon. By that means *Richard* was at Liberty to march towards *Scotland*, with the choice Men of his Army. In all likelihood, he would have entirely ſubdued that Kingdom, had he known how to improve his Advantage, ſince the King of *Scotland* was in no Condition to withſtand him. But the Jealouſy the Favourites entertained againſt the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who commanded under him, was the Reaſon ſo fair an Opportunity, of which the like never offered again, was let ſlip. The *Scots* perceiving that the King of *England*, inſtead of puſhing them vigorouſly, was taken up in ravaging the Country about *Edenburgh*, began to recover out of the Fright which his formidable Forces had thrown them into. As they were not able to attack him, they judged the beſt way to oblige him to quit theirs, would be to make a Diverſion in his Country. Purſuant to this Reſolution, they marched at a greater Diſtance from the *Engliſh* Army, to make the King believe it was in order to avoid coming to a Battle. But on a ſudden by haſty Marches they came into *Cumberland*, where they made terrible Ravages. Whilſt they

1385.

The Engliſh *levy a great Army.* Walſing.

The Duke of Lancaſter *marches into* Scotland.

France *deſers her Expedition.*

Richard *goes into* Scotland. *Loſes the opportunity of ſubduing the Kingdom.*

The Scots *make a Diverſion in* Cumberland.

1385. they were marching thither, *Richard* never troubled himself to inquire after them. So that imagining they were fled, and satisfied with the Advantages he had already gained, he resolved to return into *England*, War not being at all agreeable to his Temper. He had Intelligence by the Way of the *Scots* entering *Cumberland*, and he might easily have cut off their Retreat. But notwithstanding all the Endeavours of the Duke of *Lancaster* to bring him to a vigorous Resolution, he chose rather to follow the Advice of the Earl of *Oxford*. This Favourite, who had a great Influence over him, found Means to perswade him that the Duke of *Lancaster* wanted only to expose him to Danger. This Advice corresponding with his Suspicions and Inclinations, he continued his March, without going in quest of the Enemy. Every Body but the Favourites, were so amazed at his Unconcern for the Calamities his People of *Cumberland* laboured under, that they could not forbear murmuring loudly at it, and looking upon the King himself as a Prince regardless of the Good of the *Publick*.

Richard lets them alone, and returns to London.

Whilst the King was on his Journey to *London*, the Lord *Holland*, his Brother by the Mother's Side, having fallen out with the Earl of *Stafford*'s eldest Son, killed him, and took *Sanctuary* in *Beverly-Abbey*. The Action was so heinous, that notwithstanding the Ties of Blood, *Richard* resolv'd to give up the Murderer to the Rigour of the Law. In vain did the Princess of *Wales*, their common Mother, intercede for her Son; she could by no means obtain his Pardon. This Refusal sat so hard upon her Mind, that she died with Grief a few Days after. Nevertheless, whether the King was sorry for having been so cruel to his Mother, or whether the Homicide found a more powerful Intercessor, the Princess was hardly in her Grave, when he granted the Pardon she had sued for in vain.

The Lord Holland *kills the Lord* Stafford.

The King refuses to pardon at his Mother's intercession, who dies with Grief.

The Fear of the *French* Invasion being vanished, the Duke of *Lancaster* brought his own Affairs upon the Board, and demanded Assistance of the King to assert his Right to the Crown of *Castile*. There could never be a more seasonable Juncture to obtain what he wanted. *Ferdinand*

nand King of *Portugal* being dead without leaving any legitimate Children beſides *Beatrice* Queen of *Caſtile*, the King her Husband pretended that the Crown of *Portugal* was devolved to his Queen by the Death of the King her Father. But the *Portugueſe*, not being able to bear the Thoughts of living under the Dominion of the *Caſtilians*, had placed on the Throne *John*, natural Son of the late King. This Quarrel being hardly to be decided but by Arms, the King of *Caſtile* entered *Portugal*, and advancing as far as *Lisbon*, laid Siege to the City. But meeting with a braver Defenſe than he expected, he was fain to march off. In the next Campaign he loſt a Battle, which obliged him to quit *Portugal*, hoping ſtill to compaſs his Ends by the Aſſiſtance of *France*. The new King of *Portugal* finding that his Enemy was about to receive Aid from the King of *France*, ſent Ambaſſadors to *England*, to make an Alliance with *Richard*, offering to acknowlege the Duke of *Lancaſter* for King of *Caſtile*, and to ſupport his Right with all his Power. Affairs in *England* were then in a Poſture very proper to cauſe the Negotiation of the *Portugueſe* Ambaſſadors to meet with Succeſs. *Richard*, prejudiced againſt the Duke his Uncle, heartily wiſhed him at a Diſtance, his Favourites continually buzzing in his Ears that he was a dangerous Relation, and a ſort of a very troubleſome Governour. They repreſented to him moreover, that it was his Intereſt to dethrone the King of *Caſtile*, ſworn Enemy of the *Engliſh*; the which was the eaſier to be done as the King of *Portugal* offered to make a powerful Diverſion. The Duke of *Lancaſter* haſtened with all poſſible Ardour the Concluſion of this Affair, imagining that with the Forces of *England* and Succours of *Portugal* it would not be impoſſible to accompliſh his Deſigns. All theſe Conſiderations induced the King's Council to give a favourable Hearing to the King of *Portugal*'s Propoſals, and to promiſe the Duke of *Lancaſter* an Aid in proportion to the Importance of the Undertaking. Purſuant to this Reſolution, the King called a Parliament to demand a *Subſidy* which ſhould enable him to go through with his Project. The *Commons* readily granted it, and 1385.

1385. appeared very hearty for the Expedition, not so much out of Love to the Duke, as to remove him out of the Kingdom, where it was feared he would at length occasion Troubles which might prove fatal to the *State*. For that reason, they had this Affair so much at Heart, that the *Clergy* refusing to pay their Part of the *Subsidy*, they presented an Address to the King, praying him to seize their *Temporalities*. *Richard*, who loved not his Uncle enough to quarrel with the *Clergy* for his sake, refused to comply with the *Commons* Request. His Moderation got him from the *Clergy*, what Force would hardly ever have extorted from them. Thus the Duke of *Lancaster*, sure of the Parliament's Assistance, made in quality of *King of Castile*, a League offensive and defensive with the King of *Portugal*, and set about making Preparations for the War with all possible Expedition.

The Earl of March declared Heir to the Crown.

In this same Parliament *Roger Mortimer* Earl of *March* was declared presumptive Heir of the Crown, in Case *Richard* died without Issue. He was Son of *Philippa*, only Daughter of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, second Son of *Edward* III, and Grandson of *Roger Mortimer* Earl of *March*, who was executed as a Traytor in the late Reign. But the *Sentence* passed upon him was afterwards repeal'd, on account that the *Formalities* prescribed by the Laws and Customs of the Realm had not been observed at his Tryal.

The King confers new Honours on his Uncles and Favourites.

Before the Parliament broke up, the King conferred on the Earl of *Cambridge* his Uncle, the Title of *Duke of York*; on the Earl of *Buckingham* his other Uncle, that of *Duke of Glocester*. He could scarce dispense with raising these two Princes to higher Degrees of Honour, unless he would leave them below the Earl of *Oxford*, whom he created at the same Time *Marquiss of Dublin*, and quickly after *Duke of Ireland*. This Favourite was the first that bore the Title of *Marquiss* in *England*, where it was hitherto unknown. *Michael de la Pole*, another of the King's Favourites was made *Earl of Suffolk* and *High-Chancellor*.

1386. *King of* Armenia *comes into* England.

In the Beginning of the Year 1386 *Leo* King of *Armenia*, outed of his Dominions by the *Turks*, came to *England* to confer with *Richard*. His Design was to procure a firm and lasting Peace between *France* and *England*, in hopes that afterwards the two Crowns would join their Forces to restore him to his Kingdom. But if he succeeded not in his Project, at least he obtained from *Richard* a considerable Present and an yearly Pension of twenty thousand Marks.

The Duke of Lancaster *sets out for* Spain.

As soon as the Duke of *Lancaster* was ready for his *Spanish* Expedition, he embarked at *Portsmouth*, with an Army of twenty Thousand Men, among whom were two Thousand *Men at Arms*. He carried along with him *Constantine of Castile* his Wife, and his two Daughters *Philippa* and *Catherina*, the first of whom he had by *Blanch* of *Lancaster*, and the other by *Constantia*. The King and Queen accompanied them to *Portsmouth*, and wishing them good Success, presented them with two Gold Crowns. The Duke having set Sail, made some stay at *Brest*, and caused the Duke of *Bretaigne* to quit the Siege of that Town, which all his Sollicitations had not yet been able to get out of the Hands of the *English*. After this, pursuing his Voyage, he arrived *April* the 9th at the *Corunna*, where he landed his Troops. Upon his Arrival, he made himself Master of several Places in *Galicia*, and at length of *Compostella*, where he passed the Winter. Whilst the Season prevented him from continuing his Progress, he concluded a Marriage between *Philippa* his eldest Daughter and the King of *Portugal*, and spent the rest of the Time in projecting the next Campaign.

Great Preparations in France *to conquer* England.

The departure of the Duke of *Lancaster*, which had made a great Noise long before, had put the Court of *France* upon taking the Advantage of so favourable a Conjuncture. As it was likely that *England*, deprived of her best Troops, would be unprovided for her Defense, *Charles* had resolved to make a fresh Attempt to conquer that Kingdom. With this View, he made such prodigious Preparations, that all *Europe* expected with Wonder the Issue of this Undertaking. He had got ready nine Hundred Transport-Ships,

1386. and caused a wooden Fort to be made (which could be taken in Pieces) for the Defense of his Army after landing. If the Duke of *Berry* his Uncle, who had a mind to render the Project abortive, because, says an Historian, he was not the Author of it, had not delayed his coming too long, the *French* would have found *England* unprovided with Troops to oppose them. But the Duke not repairing to *Sluice* till the 14th of *September*, *Richard* had Time to prepare for his Defense so as to have no reason to fear the mighty Efforts of his Enemies. It was, in all likelihood, the great Diligence of the *English*, rather than the Season, which was not too far advanced for so short a Passage, which obliged the King of *France* to send his Troops into Winter Quarters.

Mezerai.

Richard raises a great Army.

As soon as they had received notice in *England* of the grand Designs of *France*, Troops had been levied with that speed and success, that an Army of two hundred thousand Men were drawn together. Part of these Forces were put into Places the most exposed, whilst the rest stood ready to hinder the Enemies landing. But as the having Men was not sufficient, and as they must also be maintained, the which could not be done without a very great Charge, the Parliament was called to find ways and means. The King having demanded a *Subsidy* proportionable to his wants, the Parliament was very willing to grant it, but could not think of leaving the Money in the Hands of the King and his Favourites, among whom the Marquis of *Dublin* and the Earl of *Suffolk* held the first Rank. The hatred all the People in general had entertained against these Lords was so great, that in order to ruin them the Parliament scrupled not to hazard the loss of the whole Kingdom. They presented an *Address* to the King, desiring that the *Treasurer*, and the Earl of *Suffolk* the *Chancellor* might be removed from their Places. Moreover that all those might be called to account through whose Hands the Publick Money had passed, affirming that the King would find in the Confiscation of the Estates of those that had mis-behaved, wherewithal to answer the Occasions of the *State*. *Richard*, who little expected any such Thing in

He demands Money of the Parliament,

who Address the King against the Favourites

the preſent juncture of Affairs received the *Addreſs* with an Indignation it was not poſſible for him to conceal. He anſwered with a great deal of ſharpneſs, that the Parliament ought to mind the Buſineſs for which they were convened, and not meddle with Matters which belonged not to them. He raſhly added, that *to pleaſe the Parliament, he would not turn out the meaneſt Scullion in his Kitchen.* At the ſame Time he ſet out for *Eltham*, not ſtaying for a Reply. 1386.

The King's raſh Anſwer.

Though the King could not doubt but ſo offenſive an Anſwer would extremely incenſe the *Commons*, however he ſent a few Days after the *Chancellor* himſelf to order them, in an imperious manner, to grant him the *Subſidy* he had demanded. This *Order* hitherto unuſual in Affairs of this Nature, was received with ſo great a Concern, that the two *Houſes* uniting upon this Occaſion, as having one and the ſame Intereſt, ſent the King word that they would debate no Affairs till he ſhould return to his Parliament, and his *Miniſters* be puniſhed according to their Deſerts. This Reply having provoked the King to the higheſt Degree, he commanded the two *Houſes* to ſend to him forty Deputies to give an account of their Proceedings. But the Parliament was ſo far from complying with his Commands, that they would have come to an open Rupture, if the moſt prudent had not prevailed with them, though with great difficulty, to ſend to the King the Duke of *Glouceſter* his Uncle, and the Biſhop of *Ely*. The two Deputies being come to *Eltham*, told the King in the Name of the two *Houſes*, that as the Sovereign had Power to convene them, they had likewiſe a Right to require his Preſence in his Parliament. They added, it was enacted by an old *Statute*, That in caſe the King abſented himſelf forty Days from his Parliament, without lawful Cauſe, the *Members* might return to their Homes; the which they were reſolved to do, if the King perſiſted to deprive them of the Honour of his Preſence. To this vigorous Declaration *Richard* replied in a great Paſſion, and with no leſs Imprudence, That he plainly ſaw his Subjects had taken the Reſolution to rebel againſt him, and therefore he had

The King demands the Subſidy in an imperious manner.

Diſpute between the King and the Parliament.

nothing

1386 nothing more to do, than to demand the Assistance of the King of *France*, to reduce them to their Duty. The Deputies made Answer, That the King of *France* was the most mortal Enemy of the *English* Nation, as he had fully given to understand by his Endeavours to destroy them; therefore the desperate Resolution the King threatened them with, could not but proceed from the pernicious Counsels of some about him, who sought only to set him at Variance with his faithful Subjects. Upon these Words they withdrew, saying, Their *Orders* were only to intreat him to return to his Parliament, whose sole View was His and the Kingdom's Welfare.

The King consents to the removing of his Favourites

The Deputies being gone, *Richard* came to more moderate Resolutions. Apparently the *Ministers* and Favourites were afraid to take upon them the Consequences which might attend a Rupture with the Parliament. In this Temper he repaired to the Parliament, and with a good Grace granted whatever they had required of him. The *Chancellor* was not only removed from his Office, but summoned to appear and give account of his Administration, wherein it was notorious that he had been guilty of many Misdemeanours. As for the Marquis of *Dublin* who was just made Duke of *Ireland*, he was sent away to the Island the Title whereof he bore, with a Pension of three thousand Marks, his whole Estate being confiscated by Order of Parliament. This done, the two *Houses* appointed thirteen *Commissioners* to take care of the Publick Affairs jointly with the King. The Duke of *Glouceſter* and the Earl of *Arundel* were authorized to examine the Publick Accounts, and how the King's Revenues had been disposed of. A few Days after the *Chancellor* having been found guilty of Mismanagement, was compelled to restore all the Grants he had received of the King. These Grants were so excessive, that *Richard* himself, having never computed them, could not help being surprized at them, and upbraiding his Favourite for abusing his Good-Will.

Thirteen Commissioners appointed to govern with the King.

The Chancellor forced to make Restitution

The French *Fleet lost by a Storm.*

Towards the End of this *Session* came the agreeable News of the *French* Army being separated, and their Fleet so damaged by a Storm that it could not be fit to put to Sea

again

again a good while. Of the great Number of Ships the *French* had got ready, the moſt Part foundered at Sea, or were loſt on the *Engliſh* Coaſts. Among the laſt were found ſome which were freighted with Plank for building the Fort above-mentioned. 1386.

The Parliament breaking up as ſoon as the Fear of the Invaſion was blown over, the King quickly gave Proofs of his Fickleneſs, by recalling to Court the Duke of *Ireland*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, and the Archbiſhop of *York*. He even affected to careſs them more than he had done before their Diſgrace, and to load them with freſh Favours. The Favourites took their former Poſts with Hearts full of Revenge, eſpecially againſt the two *Commiſſioners* of the publick Accounts, who by the ſtrict Examination they had made into their Conduct, had occaſioned their Condemnation. It was no hard Matter for them to perſwade the young King that it was for his Sake they had ſuffered, and that the Deſigns of their Enemies aimed not ſo much at the *Miniſters* as at the King himſelf. They repreſented to him, that by accuſing the Counſellors a Man plainly ſhows he believes the Sovereign incapable of governing, and that the readieſt way to diſcredit a Prince, is the perſwading his Subjects that he makes uſe of ill *Miniſters*. Theſe Inſinuations frequently repeated made ſo deep an Impreſſion in the King's Mind, that he reſolved to free himſelf from the Reſtraint put on him by the Parliament. But the Favourites gave him to underſtand that it would be a very difficult Task as long as the Duke of *Gloceſter* was at the Head of the Faction. By this Means they led him on to conſent to all the Plots which might bring about the Ruin of his Uncle. As ſoon as they were ſure of the King's Approbation, they concerted the Means to compaſs their Ends. They could think on no better than to poiſon the Duke and ſome other of their principal Enemies, at a Feaſt to which the City of *London* had invited them. But as they durſt not execute their Plot, with firſt making ſure of the *Mayor*, he gave the Duke of *Gloceſter* notice of it, who came not to the Feaſt.

Richard recals his Favourites, who ſtir him up to Revenge.

The Ruin of the Duke of Gloceſter *determined.*

He eſcapes being poiſoned.

If

1387. If it had been as easy for the Favourites to destroy their private Enemies, as it was to draw upon them the King's Hatred, hardly would there have been left in the Kingdom a Lord capable of giving them any Umbrage. But in a Government such as that of *England*, especially during a *Minority*, it is no easy Thing for the King and his *Ministry* to do whatever they please. The Favourites then saw themselves obliged to have recourse to secret Ways to ruin their Enemies, in the continual Fears they were in of being themselves prevented. Mean while they continued to give the King a bad Character of his best Subjects, till he being of *Age*, might act with a more absolute Authority. The Earls of *Arundel* and *Nottingham*, Admirals of *England*, having put to Sea in the beginning of the Spring, took a Fleet of *French*, *Spanish*, and *Flemish* Merchant-Men, and brought to *England* some of them laden with Wine. After that they sailed to *Bretagne* and relieved *Brest*, besieged by the Duke. This Piece of Service, which deserved some Return from the King, served only to draw upon them his Indignation. When they came back from their Expedition, he would not vouchsafe to speak to them, so much had he been prejudiced against them by his *Ministers*. They had intimated to him that the taking of these Ships would not fail of bringing Troubles upon him, which would very much embarass him. The two Earls, highly offended at the uncivil Reception they met with, threw up their Commissions, which was given to the Earl of *Northumberland*.

The Favourites stir up the King against their Enemies.

The Earls of Arundel *and* Nottingham *resign their Places.*

In this manner did the Favourites stir up their Master against the principal Lords, in Hopes of reaping the Fruits of their Artifices, when the King should be *of Age*, which would not be long first. But an Accident which fell out quickly after, made them think fit to hasten the Execution of their Projects sooner. The Duke of *Ireland* presuming upon the Influence he had over the King, had the Insolence to divorce his Wife, Daughter of the Lord *Concy*, and Grand-daughter of *Edward* III, in order to marry one *Lancerone*, Maid of Honour to the Queen, of a mean

The Duke of Ireland *divorces his Wife, Cousin to the King.*

mean Family in *Bohemia*. Though this Divorce was a great Diſparagement to the Royal Family, *Richard* ſhowed not the leaſt Concern at it. But it was not ſo with the Duke of *Glouceſter*, he highly reſented the Affront, and declared he would revenge it the firſt Opportunity. This Threat made the Duke of *Ireland* reſolve to be beforehand with him. To that End, after having concerted the Means with the King, he made as if he was to go to *Ireland*, and took the Road to *Wales*, whither the King was pleaſed to accompany him. But this pretended Voyage was only that they might the more privately concert together the Means of executing the Project they had formed of aſſuming an Arbitrary Power, of which the Duke of *Glouceſter*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick*, *Derby*, *Nottingham*, were to feel the firſt Effects. The Reſult of their Conſultations was, that the King ſhould raiſe an Army in order to terrify theſe Lords. That afterwards he ſhould call a Parliament, the Election whereof ſhould be ſo managed, that the Members ſhould be all at his Devotion, and that he ſhould cauſe to be paſſed all ſuch Acts as were neceſſary to ſecure him an unlimited Power.

1387.

The Duke of Glouceſter *threatens him.*

Plot to make the King abſolute.

As ſoon as the Plot was contrived, they went to *Nottingham*, where the King ſent for all the *Sheriffs*, ſome of the principal Citizens of *London*, and all the Judges. When they were met together, he communicated to them his Deſign of raiſing an Army to chaſtiſe the Lords, whom he named to them, among whom was the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and demanded of the *Sheriffs* what Number of Troops each of them could furniſh him with. Then he told them he deſigned to call a Parliament, and ordered them to let no *Repreſentative* be choſen but what was in the Liſt he ſhould give them himſelf. The *Sheriffs* made anſwer, *That* he gave them ſuch Orders as it was not in their Power to execute: *That* the People were ſo well inclined to the Lords he had mentioned, that there was no proſpect of being able to levy an Army againſt them: *That* it was ſtill more difficult to deprive the People of their Right of freely electing thoſe who were to repreſent them

Richard *communicates his Deſign to the* Sheriffs,

who refuſe to engage in the Plot.

1387. them in Parliament. But the Judges * were not so scrupulous in the Matters relating to them. The King demanded of them whether he had not Power to turn out the Thirteen Commissioners appointed by Parliament, and annul such *Acts* as were prejudicial to him? They replied, *The King was above the Laws.* Nevertheless, when they were required to set their Hands to their Opinion, some of them tried to be excused, but they were compelled to it by the Menaces of the Favourites. 'Tis affirmed, that one of the Judges *1 said aloud after signing, *That never did Action better deserve hanging than that he had just done.* The Opinions of the Judges being thus extorted, *Richard* thought he had got over all Difficulties. He immediately issued out Commissions to levy an Army: But he found so few willing to serve him, that he was forced to desist from his Project. Full of Rage at being thus disappointed, he returned to *London*, after having to no Purpose declared his Designs, which drew upon him more and more the Hatred of the Publick.

The Judges decide that the King is above the Laws.

The King's Plot comes to nothing.

A Plot of this Nature so publickly contrived, and which after all one is forced to leave unfinished, seldom fails of proving fatal to the Authors. The Duke of *Glouceſter*, and the other Lords of his Party, perceived that their Destruction was determined; and that if the King and his Favourites had not already sacrificed them to their Animosity, it was not for want of Will but of Power. The only Remedy left them as they thought was recourse to Arms. But as prudent Men make not use of that Method till all others have proved in vain, the Duke of *Glouceſter* judged it best to try once more to remove the King's Prejudices. With this view, he sent the Bishop of *London* with humble Assurances of his Allegiance, and an Offer to clear himself by Oath of the Crimes falsely laid to

The Duke of Glouceſter *tries to appease the King.*

* They were Sir *Robert Treſilian*, Chief Justice; Sir *Robert Belknap*, Chief Justice of the *Common-Pleas*; Sir *John Holt*, Sir *Roger Fulthorp*, Sir *William Burgh.*

*1 Sir *Robert Belknap*, who said upon signing, *There was nothing wanting but a Sledge, a Horse, and a Halter, to carry him to the Death he deserved.* Hist. Loceſtrons.

to his Charge. *Richard* ſeemed at firſt inclinable to admit of this Juſtification; but the Earl of *Suffolk* ſoon made him change his Mind, by ſaying to him, even before the Biſhop, he would never be ſafe on the Throne as long as the Duke of *Glouceſter* was alive. The Biſhop of *London* was ſo offended at theſe Words, that he could not forbear telling the Favourite, that being condemned by Parliament, and holding his Life purely by the King's Favour, it became him leſs than any body to accuſe loyal Subjects. This bold Reply was ſo diſpleaſing to the King, that he commanded the Prelate to depart from his Preſence. Affairs being come to this Point, and the *proſcribed* Lords being perſuaded that a vigorous Defence was the only way left to ſcreen them from the Deſigns of the Court, reſolved at length to take Arms. As they were in great Credit with the People, who looked upon them as their Protectors, they had ſoon drawn together an Army of Forty Thouſand Men, with which they marched directly to *London*.

1387. *The Earl of* Suffolk *hinders the Reconciliation.*

The Lords take Arms

The Diligence of the Lords broke all the Meaſures of the King and the *Miniſtry*. *Richard* had reſolved to go to *France*, and give up to King *Charles Calais* and *Cherbourg*, in order to have from him a powerful Aid, which might enable him to reduce his *Rebellious Subjects*, as he termed them. But the ſudden Approach of the Lords preventing him from executing his Deſign, there was a Neceſſity of having recourſe to other Means to extricate himſelf out of the preſent Difficulties. The beſt way as he thought, was to amuſe the Male-contents, whilſt the Duke of *Ireland* ſhould go and raiſe an Army in *Wales*, where he had many Friends. Purſuant to this Project, he ſent Word to the Male-content Lords, that he was ready to grant them all that was reaſonable, and to that End ſhould be on the Morrow in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where they might come and preſent their *Petition*. The Lords gladly embraced the Offer, and after having taken Care not to be ſurprized, they repaired to the Place appointed. They found the King ſeated on a Throne in his Royal Habit, expecting their coming. Approaching the Throne, they

The King's Deſign is fruſtrated.

He tries to amuſe the Lords.

Interview of the King and Lords.

1387. fell on their Knees, in the Posture of *Petitioners*, though in effect it was not so much to ask a Favour, as to prevail with him to punish his *Ministers*. The Bishop of *Ely*, who was *High-Chancellor* *, having asked the Reason of their taking Arms, they replied, It was purely for the Good of the King and Kingdom. Adding, the King's Person should be always inviolable to them, and that their Intention was only to bring the Traitors which were about him to condign Punishment. Then they named in particular the Duke of *Ireland*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, the Archbishop of *York*, Judge *Tresilian*, and one *Bembre* an Alderman of *London*, who was of the Cabal. The King gravely answered, that at the next Parliament Justice should be done to all. Then he upbraided them for their Presumption, and would have had them believe that it was in his Power to crush them, but that out of pure Condescension he was pleased to favour them with a Hearing. After this he took the Duke of *Glouceſter* by the Hand, and bidding the rest rise up, he told them Regard should be had to their Complaints. As his Aim was only to amuse them, he ordered a *Proclamation* to be published, to justify their appearing in Arms, in hopes that it would induce them to dismiss their Troops. But they were too well acquainted with the Character of the King and his *Ministers*, to trust to their bare Word. The Apprehension of being oppressed all on a sudden, as soon as they should be no longer in a Condition to make themselves feared, made them resolve to continue in Arms till the Parliament should meet. It was not long before they plainly saw how necessary this Resolution was. The Duke of *Ireland* having levied an Army in *Wales* with wonderful Expedition, marched with all Speed to the King's Assistance. If he should be able to approach *London*, it was not certain that the Citizens would join the Confederates. To prevent this Danger, the Earl of *Derby*, eldest Son of the Duke of *Lancaster*, went out with Part of the Army to meet the Duke of *Ireland*, and finding

The King sets them off to the next Parliament.

The Lords continue armed.

The Duke of Ireland marches to the King's Relief.

Is defeated.

* *De la Pole* was not *Chancellor* again after he was recalled.

ing him in *Oxfordſhire* gave him Battle, and gained an eaſy Victory over a General who was nothing leſs than a Warrior. In the beginning of the Fight, the Duke, who was afraid of falling into the Hands of his Enemies, took to his Heels, without troubling himſelf about what became of his Army. All his Baggage being taken, in a Caſket was found a Letter from the King, commanding him to march to *London* with all poſſible Speed, and promiſing him to live and die with him. This Defeat having broke all the King's Meaſures, the Duke fled into *Holland*, and after ſome ſtay at *Utrecht* he went and lived at *Louvain*, where he died Three Years after. The Earl of *Suffolk* would have retired to *Calais*, but the Governour not daring to take upon him at ſuch a Juncture either to arreſt or protect him, choſe to ſend him back to the King. Mean while the King had ſheltered himſelf in the *Tower*, uncertain as he was what Reſolution the victorious Lords would come to with regard to him. He had the more Reaſon to fear, as a *Frenchman* was ſtopped at that Time, bringing him a *Safe-Conduct* to come to *Boulogne*, where King *Charles* waited for him. It was moreover diſcovered by a Letter found in the Hands of the ſame Perſon, that *Charles* expected to be put in Poſſeſſion of *Calais* and *Cherbourg*, and that he had even advanced Part of the Sum which he was to give for theſe two Places.

1387.

Letters found in his Casket.

He retires into Holland.

The King's Deſigns are diſcovered.

The Confederate Lords being ſatisfied better than they had hitherto been, of the pernicious Deſigns of the King and his *Miniſtry*, marched the whole Army into *London*; which done, they demanded a Conference with the King. *Richard* would fain have been excuſed; but as he ſaw there was no Remedy, and as he was apprehenſive of ſtarving in the *Tower*, he durſt not refuſe it. At this Interview, they upbraided him bitterly with the *Nottingham-Plot* to deſtroy them; with his Deſign to make himſelf abſolute, by means of an Army; with his attempting to have a Parliament at his Devotion; with his Orders to the Duke of *Ireland* to march to *London*, whilſt he was fooling them with vain Promiſes; laſtly, with the Treaty he had made with

1388.

Conference of the Lords with the King.

They reproach the King.

1388. with the King of *France*, to deliver up *Calais* and *Cherbourg*. *Richard* answered these Reproaches with a Shower of Tears, which moved the Lords. They imagined that the King's ill Conduct proceeded only from his little Experience, and the bad Counsels of his Favourites, and that having them no longer about him, he might return to the right Way. This Notion having made them more tractable, it was agreed that the King should on the Morrow be at *Westminster*, to settle with them the Affairs of the Government. Hardly were they out of the *Tower*, before he altered his Mind, and sent them Word that he would not confer with them. This Fickleness incensed them so that they let him know immediately, that in case he came not next Day to *Westminster* as he promised, they would repair thither themselves, and proceed to the Election of a new King. So precise a Declaration put him into such a Fright, that he not only came to the Place of Conference, but consented also to the Banishment of his two principal Favourites, together with the Archbishop of *York*, the Bishops of *Durham* and *Chichester*, and several other Lords and Ladies, who had favoured the Designs of the Court. As for the Judges, it being resolved they should be treated with the utmost Rigour, they were taken off the *Benches* in *Westminster-Hall* and sent to the *Tower*.

The King answers not but with Tears.

Upon the King's refusing to come to Westminster as he had agreed, they threaten to chuse a new King.

He consents to the Banishment of his Favourites.

1389. The Parliament being assembled in *February* 1389, several Persons were impeached of High-Treason, and sentenced to divers Punishments. *Tresilian*, *Bembre*, and some other Knights and Gentlemen were hanged at *Tyburn*. The rest of the Judges with the Bishop of *Chichester* received the same Sentence: But they had their Lives granted them, and were banished to *Ireland*. As for the two Favourites and the Archbishop of *York*, they were condemned to Exile, and their Estates confiscated to the King's Use.

The Parliament met.

A General Pardon.

After the Parliament had thus paid what was thought due to Justice, two *Acts* were passed, the first of which forbad the ascribing to the King the late Commotions, and the other granted a general Pardon to both Parties.

Matters

Matters being thus ſettled, the King renewed his Coronation Oath, as if he had began a new Reign, and all the Lords did him *Homage*, and repeated their Oaths of *Allegiance*. This Parliament, which was called *the Mercileſs*, broke up not till *June* the 4th. 1388.

The Engliſh defeated by the Scots.

During the Troubles in *England*, the *Scots* willing to take the Advantage of the Juncture, had advanced as far as *Newcaſtle*, under the Conduct of Sir *William Douglas*, and committed great Ravages on the Borders. As ſoon as the Commotions were appeaſed, *Henry Percy*, ſirnamed *Hotſpur*, Son of the Earl of *Northumberland*, marched againſt the *Scots*, and giving them Battle, ſlew *Douglas* with his own Hand. But the Earl of *Dunbar* coming upon him during the Battle with a Body of freſh Troops, gave ſuch a Turn to Matters, that the *Engliſh* Army was at length defeated, and *Hotſpur* taken Priſoner.

Exploits of the Earl of Arundel.

About the ſame Time the Earl of *Arundel*, whom the Parliament had made *High-Admiral*, went to the Aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Bretagne* attacked by the King of *France*. His coming having obliged *Charles* to grant the Duke Peace, the *Engliſh* were ſent Home. In his Return the Earl of *Arundel* took from the *French* Eighty freighted Ships, and plundered the Iſles of *Ree* and *Oleron*; after which he ſailed with his Fleet to *England*. Shortly after, the two Crowns agreed upon a three Years Truce, in which the *Scots* were included.

Truce with France.

Richard takes upon him the Government.

Ever ſince the laſt Parliament all was quiet enough in *England*. The new *Miniſters*, guided by different *Maxims* from thoſe of the Old, took care not to ingage the King in ſuch Proceedings as had brought him upon the Brink of Ruin. But if they had ſucceeded ſo far as to change the King's *Council*, they had not found it ſo eaſy a Matter to change his Temper. Full of his own Merit, he beheld himſelf with extreme Regret under the Direction of another, at a Time when he was *of Age* to hold the Reins of the Government himſelf. Upon his entering into his One and twentieth Year, he called his Council, ordering all the Members to be preſent. When they were met, he demanded of them how old he was, to which

1389. which Answer was made, he was full Twenty Years of Age. *Since it is so*, added he, *I will govern my Kingdom my self; the Condition of a King ought not to be worse than that of his Subjects, who are at Liberty at that Age to manage their own Affairs.* Having thus made known his Mind to them, he commanded the *Chancellor* to deliver him the *Great Seal*, which he gave to the Bishop of *Winchester* *. At the same Time he turned out the Bishop of *Hereford* from being *High-Treasurer*, and removing from the *Council-Board* the Duke of *Glocester* his Uncle, the Earl of *Warwick*, and some others whom he did not like, he put such in their Room as he believed more pliant to his Will. This Procedure had nothing unusual in it, seeing it was in his Power to make these Alterations. However it was remarked that he had never given less Signs of Prudence which those who begin to be *of Age* are supposed to have, than in the Choice of his new *Ministers*, who were by no means qualified for their Posts. Accordingly it was not long before Disorder and Confusion were visible in the Publick Affairs. One of the first Things the Favourites did, was to insinuate to the King, that the Duke of *Glocester* had ill Designs upon his Person. But the Duke so fully vindicated his Innocence, that the King was ashamed of having given Ear to so groundless a Charge. He would not however suffer the Duke to prosecute his Accusers, though they had been confuted in his Presence.

Changes the Ministry.

The Duke of Glocester *being accused clears himself.*

1390. Whilst *Richard* was apprehensive of the Attempts of one Uncle, who was represented to him as a very dangerous Enemy, he saw another arrive who was no less formidable. This was the Duke of *Lancaster*, who was come back from the *Spanish* Expedition. The Progress he had made there, had at length obliged the King of *Castile* to make a Treaty with him, whereby he bound himself to pay down six hundred thousand *Livres*, with an Yearly Pension of forty Thousand, during the Lives of

Return of the Duke of Lancaster.

* *William Wickham* Founder of *Winchester School* and *New College* in *Oxford*.

of the Duke and Dutcheſs. This Treaty was followed by a Marriage of the Princeſs *Catharine*, Daughter of the Duke by *Conſtantia*, with *Henry*, eldeſt Son of the King of *Caſtile*, on the Score of which Marriage the Duke and Dutcheſs reſigned their Right to that Crown. 1390.

The King is reconciled to his Uncles.

Although *Richard* was not very well pleaſed with the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Arrival, he received him however with ſuch Careſſes as gave room to hope for a happy Union in the Royal Family for the time to come. This Propoſal was increaſed by the Reconciliation, which the Duke of *Lancaſter* brought about between the King and the Duke of *Gloceſter*; a Reconciliation which appeared ſo ſincere on the King's Side, that all the World was deceived. Notwithſtanding this fair Out-ſide, the Preſence of the Duke of *Lancaſter* was a great Eye-ſore to *Richard*. We may judge of this by the Price he was willing to purchaſe his Abſence with. To attain his Ends, he made him the richeſt Preſent that a King of *England* could then make a Subject, by inveſting him with the Dutchy of *Guienne*, with the ſame Privileges as were granted to the late Prince of *Wales* the King's Father. As he had never had any Affection for him, his making him ſo noble a Preſent could be only with a View to remove him at a Diſtance from *England*.

He gives Guienne *to the Duke of* Lancaſter.

The Earl of Derby *goes and ſerves in* Pruſſia.

Shortly after the Earl of *Derby*, eldeſt Son of the Duke of *Lancaſter* went and bore Arms in *Pruſſia*, where he ſignalized himſelf by many Gallant Actions. Whilſt this Prince was endeavouring to gain a Reputation by his warlike Exploits, *Richard* paſſed his Time in Sham-Fights. He ſpent immenſe Sums in *Tournaments*, which gave occaſion to compare him, very much to his Diſadvantage, with the Earl of *Derby* his Couſin, who was in great Eſteem.

1391. *Statutes againſt the Proviſions revived.*

Whilſt the King was taken up with theſe Diverſions, the Parliament revived a *Statute*, enacted in the Reign of *Edward* III, and confirmed in this. By this *Act* it was made *High-Treaſon* to bring into the Kingdom *Proviſions* from the Court of *Rome* without the King's Licenſe. A *Nuntio*, who was ſent to *England* upon this

1391. Account, made a great Noise, and even threatned that the Pope would bring Things to the last Extremity. But his Menaces were uncapable of obliging the Parliament to annul the *Act*. All he could obtain was a Reprieve for those who were guilty, till the ensuing Parliament.

Excessive Expences of the King.

Though a terrible Plague, and a Famine no less intolerable, afflicted *England* at that time, the King, who was fond of Pomp and Shew to Excess, retrenched none of his Diversions or Expences, which ran out to prodigious Sums. 'Tis affirmed that he entertained daily six thousand Persons. He valued himself mightily upon surpassing in Magnificence all the Sovereigns in *Europe*, as if he had been possessed of an unexhaustible Fund of Treasure. In his Kitchen alone three hundred Domesticks were employed; and the Queen had the like Number of Women in her Service. The Courtiers obtained so readily whatever they asked for, that the King's Favours lost much of their Value by their easiness to be come at. In a word, he affected in every thing a Profuseness which could not but be very chargeable to his Subjects, and by necessary Consequence draw on him their Aversion.

As his Revenues were not sufficient for so great Expence, he had a mind to try to get some Money out of the *Londoners*. But not to frighten them he was contented first to see how they stood affected by borrowing only a thousand Pounds, apparently with Design not to confine himself afterwards to so small a Matter. How inconsiderable soever this Sum might be, he had the vexation to be refused in a very mortifying Manner, even to the cutting in Pieces by the Populace an *Italian* Merchant who had offered to lend the Money himself. *Richard* highly resented this Affront, which soon after he found an Opportunity to revenge. Under Colour of punishing a Tumult of little Consequence, raised by a Baker's Apprentice, he stripped the City of all her Privileges, took away her *Charter* and removed the Courts of Judicature to *York*. It is true, he restored all again afterwards; but the *Londoners* were obliged to redeem their *Charter* by a Present of ten thousand Pounds and two Gold Crowns. But though

1392. *The* London*ers refuse to lend him* 1000*l.*

He takes away their Charter;

which he restores for Money.

ough they paid dearly for their refuſing to lend the King 1392.
Thouſand Pounds, it was nothing in compariſon to the
ejudice the King received by it. By this Procedure he
ſt all remains of Affection in the Citizens, who made
im ſenſible in the Sequel, how dangerous it is for a King
England to have *London* for his Enemy.

In the Beginning of the Year 1393, arrived at *London* 1393.
eputies from the *Engliſh* ſettled in *Ireland*, imploring *Rebellion in* Ireland.
ſiſtance againſt the Natives. For ſome time there had
en frequent Inſurrections in the Iſland, which plainly
owed that the *Iriſh* wanted to ſhake off the Yoke of the
gliſh. Theſe Diſorders ſhould have had a ſpeedier Re-
dy, but *Richard*, too much addicted to his Pleaſures,
d neglected the Affairs of *Ireland*, as if he had been
holly unconcerned. At length, Matters were come to
t paſs, that he could not without hazarding the Loſs of
Iſland, put off any longer the applying ſome Remedy
the Evil. The Duke of *Glouceſter* offered to go and *The King prepares to go to* Ire-
ppreſs the Rebels: But the King not thinking proper land.
truſt him with the command of an Army, reſolved to
himſelf. In this Reſolution he called a Parliament, *Negotiation with* France.
hich granted him a large Sum as well for the *Iriſh* War
o defray the Charges of an Embaſſy of the Dukes of
ncaſter and *Glouceſter*, who were to go and negotiate a
l Peace with *France*. But this Affair came to nothing
an Accident which prevented the Plenipotentiaries
m meeting between *Ardres* and *Guiſnes*, according to
greement. King *Charles*, who was from time to time *Sickneſs of* Charles VI.
zed with a Diſtemper which deprived him of his Un-
ſtanding, being come to *Abbeville* on purpoſe to let the
gliſh ſee he was in good Health, fell into one of his uſual
s. His Relapſe occaſioned the putting off the Nego-
tion of the Peace to a more convenient Seaſon.

The Preparations the King was making for his Voyage 1394.
Ireland were ſomewhat interrupted in the Beginning *Death of the Queen.*
the Year 1394, by the Funeral Solemnities of his
ueen, and of the Dutcheſſes of *Lancaſter* and *York*, who
died about the ſame time. 'Tis ſaid the Queen was a
eat Favourer of *Wickliff*'s Doctrine, and that, had ſhe

1394. lived any time longer ſhe would have ſaved the *Lollards*, ſo *Wickliff*'s Followers were called, a great many of the Calamities they afterwards underwent. The Departure of the Duke of *Lancaſter* their chief Patron, who was gone to take Poſſeſſion of the Principality of *Guienne*, not a little contributed to help forward the Deſigns of their Enemies, who laid hold of theſe favourable Junctures to perſecute them.

The King goes to Ireland *and makes ſome Progreſs.*

How great ſoever *Richard*'s Grief might be for the Death of the Queen, he ſet out however for *Ireland*, as he had deſigned. He arrived there in *September*, and at firſt made ſome Progreſs againſt the Rebels. But as the Seaſon would not permit him to proceed, he went to *Dublin*, where he called a Parliament, whilſt the Duke of *Glouceſter*, aſſembled another in *England* *, which granted a *Subſidy* for carrying on the War in *Ireland*.

1395. *Deſigns of the* Lollards, *which oblige the Clergy to ſend to the King.*

Richard was preparing to take the Field again, when the Archbiſhop of *York* and Biſhop of *London* arrived from *England*, being come to intreat him in the Name of the *Clergy*, to haſten his return to his own Kingdom. They even gave him to underſtand, that the leaſt Delay might bring an irreparable Damage to *Religion*. The Foundation of this great Alarm was, that at the late Parliament the *Lollards* had made Inſtances to ſet on foot a Reformation of the *Church* *1. As they had a great many Friends in the Kingdom, and even in the *Parliament-Houſe*, the *Clergy* were afraid they would proceed upon this Reformation. This is the Reaſon that the two deputed Prelates magnified to ſuch a Degree the Danger the *Church* was in, that *Richard* ſet out immediately for *England*, leaving to the Earl of *March* the Care of putting an End to the War. Upon his arrival at *London*, he took certain Meaſures with the *Clergy* to try to ſuppreſs the *Sect* of the *Lollards*.

The King's return.

Tries to ſuppreſs the Lollards.

* *Walſingham* ſays, the Parliament was ſummoned by Edmund Duke of *York*, whom the King had left Regent; and that the Duke of *Glouceſter*, whom the King had carried along with him to *Ireland*, repaired to *England* to ſet forth the King's Wants.

*1 They delivered a Remonſtrance into the *Houſe* againſt the Corruptions of the Church, containing twelve Articles.

Lollards, and compelled one Sir *Richard Story* publickly to abjure their Doctrine, threatning to puniſh him with Death if ever he returned to that *Sect*. 1395.

Shortly after was brought over into *England*, by the King's Order, the Corpſe of the Duke of *Ireland*, who died at *Louvain*. This Object having revived the King's Affection, he cauſed the Coffin to be opened, that he might have the Pleaſure to ſee the Man whom he loved ſo greatly. Then he celebrated his Funeral in a magnificent Manner, and was pleaſed to honour it with his Preſence, as *Edward* II had formerly done with regard to *Gaveſton*. But the *Nobility* would not ſhow that Reſpect to a Favourite, of whom they had ſo much reaſon to complain. So that, like *Edward* II, *Richard* was attended at the Funeral Pomp with only ſome of the *Clergy* *. *The Corpſe of the Duke of Ireland is brought into England.*

Whilſt the King had been employed in his *Iriſh* Expedition, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who was gone to *Bourdeaux* to get his Sovereignty acknowledged, had met with unexpected Obſtacles. The *Gaſcoins*, pretending that their Country was inſeparably united to the Crown of *England*, maintained that it was not in the King's Power to alienate it. This Pretenſion of theirs was backed with a Conſideration of Intereſt, which confirmed them in their Obſtinacy. They ſaid, if once they were ſeparated from *England*, they ran the Risk of ſeeing themſelves deprived of the only Protection which could prevent their falling under the Dominion of *France*. For this Reaſon they aſſerted that the Alienation in queſtion was equally prejudicial to themſelves and the Crown of *England*. It was objected to them that they had never made the ſame Scruple with regard to the Prince of *Wales*, that King's Father. But they replied, there was a wide Difference between That Alienation and This. That the former being made in favour of the next Heir to the Crown, was to be but for a time, whereas it might eaſily happen that the 1396. *The Gaſcoins refuſe to acknowledge the Duke of Lancaſter.*

* He was buried at *Coln* in *Eſſex*. He was ſucceeded in his Eſtate and Honour of Earl of *Oxford*, by *Alberic de Vere* his Uncle.

1396. the latter might be for ever. After several Contests on this Subject, which lasted some Time, the King resolved at length to revoke the Grant which the Duke of *Lancaster* readily yielded to, seeing he could not help it. To comfort him in some Measure for his Loss, the King gave him leave to to marry *Catharine Rowet*, Widow of Sir *Thomas Swinford*. The Duke had kept her as his *Mistress* many Years, and had by her several Children, which were legitimate by King and Parliament, by the Name of *Beauford*. Some Time after the King created the eldest *Earl of Sommerset* *.

His third Marriage.

His Bastards legitimated.

Richard *marries the King of* France's *Daughter.*

Before the Arrival of the Duke of *Lancaster*, the King had sent Ambassadors to *France* to demand in Marriage *Isabella* Daughter of *Charles* VI. The Court of *France* had at first rejected this Proposal, as well because the Princess was but seven Years old, as because she had been promised to the Duke of *Bretagne*. However, in spite of all Obstacles, the Marriage was concluded at a second Negotiation, and the same Time, a Truce for twenty eight Years was agreed upon between the two Crowns. Shortly after both the Kings met between *Ardres* and *Calais* under Tents pitched on purpose, where the two Courts displayed all their Magnificence, and where the Treaty was signed and the Nuptials solemnized. 'Tis affirmed that on this Occasion *Richard* expended three hundred thousand Marks *1, a Sum far exceeding that of two hundred Thousand, which he received in Deduction of what had been promised him with his Queen. The Duke of *Gloucester*, who liked neither the Marriage nor the Truce, could not forbear showing his Discontent. He frankly told the King, that it would have been more to the Purpose to exert his endeavours for the Recovery of what *England* had lost in *France*, by making a vigorous War, than by entering into an Alliance with a Crown that had all

A 28 Years Truce.

Interview of the two Kings.

The Duke of Gloucester *reproaches the King.*

* There were four, *John*, *Thomas*, *Henry* and *Joanna*. They were firnamed *Beaufort* from the Castle of *Beaufort* in *France*, that came by *Blanch of Artois*.

*1 *Speed* says, forty Thousand, *p.* 606.

all along gained more by Treaties with the *Engliſh* than by Force of Arms. 1396.

The King's uſual Expences, and the Charge he had lately been at for his Marriage, having entirely drained his *Exchequer*, and even forced him to borrow large Sums, there was a neceſſity of recurring to extraordinary Ways to fill his Coffers. Though the Parliament which met in the Beginning of the Year 1397 granted him a very conſiderable Sum, it was not ſufficient to enable him to pay his Debts. Beſides, he took Occaſion to increaſe the Expence of his Houſhould, from a Report which was ſpread that the *Electoral* Princes had caſt their Eyes upon him, to raiſe him to the Imperial Dignity, and by ſo doing, ſtill brought himſelf to greater Streights. As he was aſhamed to demand a freſh *Subſidy* of the Parliament, he had recourſe again to *Loans*, or rather to extorted Grants, which he exacted from all Perſons in eaſy Circumſtances. There was not a Lord, Biſhop, Gentleman, or rich Burgher, but what was obliged to lend him Money, though they were very ſenſible he never deſigned to repay them. But though this Method of raiſing Money upon the People, had all along been looked upon by the *Engliſh*, as one of the greateſt Breaches of their Privileges, it occaſioned no Commotion at this Time. Every Body was intimidated, and although they highly reſented theſe unjuſt Proceedings, they took them patiently, in hopes in would be the laſt Time. 1397.

The King's exceſſive Expences.

He makes uſe of illegal Ways to raiſe Money.

People beheld not ſo calmly the Reſtitution of *Cherbourg* to the King of *Navarre*, and of *Breſt* to the Duke of *Bretagne*. Though theſe two Places belonged not originally to *England*, yet the *Engliſh* had been at ſo vaſt a Charge in aiding the Princes, to whom they appertained, that they might have juſtly kept them till they were reimburſed their Expences. This made every Body extremely diſſatisfied with giving them up, and the more becauſe the King had but an inconſiderable Sum for ſo doing, the which was alſo laviſhed away in needleſs Expences. It is true he pretended that the Engagement he was under to reſtore the Places after a Peace, or a long Truce with *France*,

He gives up Breſt *and* Cherbourg.

The Publick murmurs at it.

1397. *France*, made this Restitution necessary; but it was well known also that the King of *Navarre*, and the Duke of *Bretagne* had been the first to break their Word. Be that as it will, the Duke of *Glouceſter* thought this false Step so prejudicial to *England*, that he could not help upbraiding the King with it in very sharp Terms; to which *Richard* made such a Reply as plainly showed him how much he was offended at his Remonstrance. This Accident revived in the Heart of the King the Hatred he had before entertained against the Duke of *Glouceſter*, which being rather laid asleep than extinguished, did not fail to break out from Time to Time, how careful soever he might be to conceal it. He complained to the Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *York*, that the Duke of *Glouceſter* took upon him to controle his Actions; and amongst his Complaints, he let fall some Expressions, which made them think he suspected all three of having ill Designs upon him. The two Dukes protested they had an unshaken Loyalty for him, and did not question in the least but the Duke their Brother had the same, though his hasty Temper caused him sometimes to speak with too much Warmth. The King appeared satisfied with what they said. However, his Easiness to be appeased, after showing so great Anger, gave them Suspicions, which induced them to quit the Court, and retire to their Estates. Their withdrawing proved in all likelihood the Occasion of the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Ruin. His Enemies had the better Opportunity to exasperate more and more the King against him, and to determine him at length to get rid of that troublesome Inspector. But as they could lay hold of nothing in his Conduct which might expose him to the Rigour of the Law, and as it would be dangerous to take away his Life that Way, *Richard* resolved to make use of a speedier and less uncertain Method. To compass his Ends, he came one Morning to his Uncle's Country-House, and finding him in Bed, desired him to get up in all haste and go with him to *London*. He pretended he wanted him in an Affair of very great Moment, which he would acquaint him with on the Road. The Duke being soon mounted

The Duke of Glouceſter *reproaches him with it.*

Richard *ſuſpects his Uncles.*

The Dukes of York *and* Lancaſter *quit the Court.*

The King gets rid of the Duke of Glouceſter.

mounted on Horſeback, rode by the King, who talked to him about the pretended Buſineſs, without ſhowing he had any other Deſign. Whilſt they were diſcourſing together, they came to a hollow Way, where the Duke was ſurrounded on a ſudden with a Troop of Horſe, and carried on board a Ship, which lay ready in the *Thames* to convey him to *Calais**. Upon the King's coming to *London*, he ſent for the Earls of *Warwick* and *Arundel*, and after he had talked with them ſome Time, in a manner very different from his Deſign, he ordered them to be apprehended and ſent to the *Tower*. He ſerved the Lord *Cobham* the ſame, with ſome other Lords whom he deſigned to get rid of. In the mean Time the Intelligence he received that the People began to ſtir, obliged him to iſſue out a *Proclamation*, wherein he affirmed that theſe Lords were taken into Cuſtody for freſh Miſdemeanours, promiſing moreover that they ſhould be proceeded againſt according to Law. 1397.

And apprehends the Earls of Warwick *and* Arundel.

A Proclamation about it.

This *Proclamation* having ſomewhat appeaſed the People, the King ſummoned all the *Peers* of the Realm to *Nottingham*. This was done with Deſign to ſound them, rather than to ask their Advice about the manner of proceeding againſt the Priſoners, ſince he was already determined what to do. However he made uſe of this Pretence to convene them. After the Matter had been debated in *Council*, the Lords fearing to draw on themſelves either the King's Indignation, or the Hatred of the Publick, in Caſe they came to any Reſolution, declared the Affair was of ſuch a Nature that it could not be decided but by the Authority of the Parliament. This was pre-

The Peers are ſummoned.

* The King came to *Pleſhy* in *Eſſex*, about five a Clock in the Afternoon, and told the Duke at Supper, that he muſt go with him to *London* that Night. Accordingly, with no more than 7 Servants, he ſet out with the King, taking the Way of *Bondelay* to avoid the common Road, and riding hard they came to *Stratford* about ten or eleven a Clock, where the King putting Spurs to his Horſe, rode away before, at the ſame Time the Earl *Marſhal*, who lay in Ambuſh, ſeized upon the Duke, who in vain cried out to the King for Help. *Froiſſard.* p. 287.

1397. *The King gets a Parliament at his devotion.*

cisely what the King wanted. He had already taken all necessary Measures to have a Parliament at his Devotion. Some Time since, he had changed all the *Sheriffs* of the Kingdom, and suffered none to continue in, but what had promised to be subservient to his Designs. He had done the same Thing with regard to all the Magistrates, who might have any Interest in the *Burroughs* and *Counties*. So that by Means of these Magistrates, and all that were in publick Posts, he had caused such *Representatives* to be chosen as he had made sure of beforehand. If any were elected that should not be agreeable to him, the *Sheriffs* were ordered to use all sorts of Means to avoid their Election, and get others chose in their Room. Besides, as the *House of Commons* were the sole Judges of the Validity of *Elections*, he was very well assured that in a Parliament so made up, he could get such confirmed or rejected as he had a Mind to.

Let it not be thought that it is a very difficult Thing for a King of *England* to bring about such a Project, Experience has long since confirmed by numberless Instances, that by the like Ways, it is far from being impossible, to cause such *Representatives* to be chosen as are devoted to the Court. However, Historians remark, that it was in the Parliament I am speaking of, that such Practices were first set on Foot. But it must likewise be added, that this was one of the principal Causes of *Richard*'s downfall, as we shall see hereafter. And indeed it is impossible that a Nation can see their Liberties in the Hands of People whom they have not freely chosen, without desiring to rid themselves of such an Oppression.

The Bishop of Exeter's *Speech upon the absolute Power of the King.*

The Parliament being thus packed, the Bishop of *Exeter* opened the *Sessions* with a Speech, wherein he strained hard to prove that the *Regal Power* was unlimited, and that such as would set Bounds to it deserved the severest Punishment. Pursuant to this Principle, which met with a general Approbation, the Parliament repealed the *Act of Grace*, passed nine Years before in favour of the Duke of *Glocester*, the Earls of *Warwick* and *Arundel*, and all their Adherents. All the *Acts* were likewise annulled

nulled that were paſſed in the Parliament, which appointed the thirteen Governours to the King, as having been extorted during his *Minority*. 1397.

Unjuſt and violent Proceedings of the Parliament.

If the Parliament of 1386 deſerved to be called the *Mercileſs*, I cannot think what Name odious enough could be given to this. By a manifeſt Prevarication, this *Aſſembly* made no ſcruple to Sacrifice to the Paſſions of the King and his *Miniſters*, the moſt diſtinguiſhed Lords of the Kingdom, as well as the *Liberty* and *Priviledges* of the People. *Thomas Arundel*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was impeached of High-Treaſon, for having been one of the *Commiſſioners* appointed by the Parliament of 1386, to whom was committed the Inſpection of the Adminiſtration of the Publick Affairs. For this new Kind of Crime, the Archbiſhop was condemned to Baniſhment, and his Eſtate confiſcated to the King's uſe. Then the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick* were accuſed of the ſame Crimes, for which nine Years before the King had granted a Pardon, and ſentenced to dye by this truly *mercileſs* Parliament. *Froiſſard* ſays, the King would be preſent at the Execution of *Arundel*. Another Hiſtorian adds, that the Spectacle remained ſo deeply imprinted in his Memory, that his Sleep was often interrupted by Dreams, repreſenting to him the Earl all bedewed with Blood, and upbraiding him with his Injuſtice. To this contributed, it may be, the Rumour that was ſpread of ſeveral Miracles being wrought at the Tomb of the deceaſed, and of his Head being miraculouſly joined again to his Body. Although to prevent the ill Conſequences which might follow from this falſe Notion, the King had ordered the Corpſe to be taken up, and expoſed to Publick View, ten Days together, in a Church, yet it was not poſſible to cure the People of their Prepoſſeſſion. As for the Earl of *Warwick* who was willing to confeſs himſelf guilty, without taking Advantage of the *Pardon*, he was treated with leſs Rigour, his Sentence being changed into perpetual Baniſhment to the *Iſle of Man*. As to the Duke of *Glocester*, in all Appearance the King was apprehenſive that it would be too dangerous to put him to Death publickly,

Archbiſhop Arundel *baniſhed.*

Earls of Warwick *and* Arundel *ſentenced to dye.*

The latter executed, and paſſes for a Martyr.

Warwick *is baniſhed.*

Glocester *ſtrangled at* Calais.

1397. or that the Parliament would not comply ſo far as to make a Sacrifice of ſo conſiderable a Perſon. Be this as it will, he had taken Care to have him privately ſtrangled at *Calais*, as appeared afterwards. Mean time, his Enemies gave out that he died of an *Apoplexy*, and that before he expired, he had confeſſed himſelf guilty of Treaſon againſt the King. Upon this Report, the Truth of which was not at all examined into, the Duke's whole Eſtate was confiſcated to the King's Uſe.

The King makes divers Grants.

It could not be but theſe Severities muſt needs produce ſome Alteration among the Nobility. But to prevent the Accidents which might thence ariſe, *Richard* took care to gain the principal Lords, and particularly the Princes of the Blood, by conferring on them new Honours. He created the Earl of *Derby* his Couſin, eldeſt Son of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, *Duke of Hereford*. The Earl of *Rutland*, eldeſt Son of the Duke of *York*, was made *Duke of Albermarle*. The Earl of *Kent* received the Title of *Duke of Surrey*. The Earl of *Huntington*, half Brother of the King, was created *Duke of Exeter*. The Earl of *Nottingham*, *Duke of Norfolk*; and the Lord *Scroop*, *Earl of Gloceſter* *. Laſtly, Out of Complaiſance to the Duke of *Lancaſter*, the King made his eldeſt Son by his third Marriage, who was already Earl of *Sommerſet*, *Marqueſs of Sommerſet* *1. To theſe honourable Titles he added other Favours, by diſtributing among theſe Lords the forfeited Eſtates of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and of the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*.

The Parliament adjourned to Shrewſbury.

In thoſe Days the Parliament ſeldom ſat above one *Seſſion*, unleſs the Buſineſs required a ſhort Prorogation. But this was too well diſpoſed for the King to be willing to hazard

* The Lord *Scroop* was made *Earl of Wiltſhire*, and the Lord *Spencer*, *Earl of Gloceſter*. Dugdale, Walſing. *Thomas Percy* was created alſo *Earl of Worceſter*; and the Lord *Nevil*, *Earl of Weſtmorland*.

*1 He was firſt made *Marqueſs of Dorſet*; but his Title was afterwards changed into *Marqueſs of Sommerſet*, by a new Charter of Creation, bearing the ſame Date with the former. Nevertheleſs though his firſt Title was cancelled, he was always called *Marqueſs of Dorſet*. Dugdale.

zard the having one leſs devoted to him. So that not 1397.
inking fit to diſſolve it, he was pleaſed to adjourn it to
rewsbury: This Town in the Neighbourhood of *Wales*,
here he had many Friends, ſeeming to him more proper
r his Deſigns than *London*, where he was very ſenſible
e was not beloved.

The ſecond *Seſſion* was only a Continuation of the ex- 1398.
ordinary Proceedings already begun at *Weſtminſter*. The *The extra-ordinary Proceedings of the Parliament of* Shrewsbury.
arliament ſtrove to carry the *Prerogative Royal* to a higher
itch than any King of *England* had ever pretended to
retch it, and eſtabliſhed ſuch Maxims as were deſtruc-
ve to the *Conſtitution* and *Liberties* of the People. They
pproved as conformable to Law, the *Opinions* for which
ine Years before the Judges had been condemned. Pur-
ant to this Principle, the Judges who attended during
he ſitting of the Parliament, decided, that *When the King roposed any Articles to be debated in Parliament, it was High-Treaſon to bring in others before the King's were firſt iſpatched.* By this and the like Deciſions, the Caſes of *High-Treaſon* were multiplied to ſuch a Degree, that ardly was it poſſible to prevent incurring the Guilt of t, but by making the King's Will and Pleaſure the ſole Rule of their Actions. At laſt under Colour of diſ-atching Buſineſs, the Parliament appointed a certain Number of *Commiſſioners*, who were inveſted with the Authority of the whole *Houſe*. Thus by an unprecedent-ed *Act*, the whole Power of the Nation was devolved to the King, twelve *Peers of the Realm*, and ſix Members of the *Houſe of Commons*. To give the greater Validity to theſe irregular Proceedings, the King cauſed them to be confirmed by the Pope's *Bull*, which was publiſhed throughout all the *Counties* of the Kingdom.

During this ſecond *Seſſion*, *Richard* had brought into Cheſhire *made a Principality.* *Shrewsbury* a numerous Guard of the Militia of *Cheſhire*, who expreſſed ſo ſtrong an Inclination to ſerve him, that to gratify the *County*, he erected it into a *Principality*.

Let us ſtay here a Moment, and reflect a little on the *Remarks on the* Engliſh *Conſtitution.* Conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Government. It is certain, the Inſtitutions of *Parliaments* is of very great Advantage to

1398. to the Kingdom, being the only Support of the *Liberties* of the People, who without that would long since have fallen into a fatal State of *Slavery*. But on the other Hand, it cannot be denied, that these *Assemblies* become sometimes very dangerous, when influenced by *Popular Factions*, or by the *Cabals* of an ambitious Prince. Accordingly it has often happened, that instead of procuring the Good of the Realm, They have produced nothing but Confusion, and the Subversion of the Laws; one while by bringing down too low the *Prerogative Royal*; another while by carrying it higher than is consistent with the Welfare of the Nation. At which Time the Evil is so much the harder to be cured, as what is done by the Parliament is supposed to flow from the unanimous Consent of the whole Nation. For this Reason, it rarely happens that this Evil can be remedied but by Means as violent as those made use of to produce it; hence ensue generally *Civil Wars*. This is one of the principal Causes of the Domestick Troubles which have all along afflicted *England* more than any other *European* State.

Let us further observe that the violent Method practised by *Richard* to attain to *Arbitrary Power*, I mean the Force put upon *Elections*, and the *Opinions* of the Judges, was exactly copied in our Days by one of his Successors who had without doubt the same Intention. But we may add, that the Attempts of these two Monarchs served only to bring on their own Destruction, and that their Designs came to the same *Catastrophe*. This is what we are going to see with regard to *Richard* II, in the remaining Part of his Reign.

Richard *lives in a deceitful Security.*

Every Thing seemed to contribute to the supporting the King in the Enjoyment of the *Despotick Power* he had assumed. They who would have been best able to oppose his Designs, had suffered a tragical Death, or were banished the Realm, and they who still remained behind were gained by Places, Grants, or other sorts of Favours. The great Officers of the Crown, the Governours of the Towns and *Counties* were all at the King's Beck. Among the

e Magiſtrates of the Towns and Country, not one was 1398.
ffered but what was ready to help forward with all his
ight the increaſe of the *Regal Power*. Maugre all theſe
dvantages, *Richard* was much miſtaken in imagining
at his new acquired Power was out of the Reach of all
ttacks, ſince he had not the People on his Side, but on
he contrary was hated by them for his violent Actions.
t is even likely, that among thoſe whom he reckoned in
he Number of his Friends, there were many who out of
Veakneſs or Prudence, did but conceal their real Senti-
ents, till an Opportunity ſhould offer to free the King-
om from the Yoke it began to groan under. And an
pportunity preſented it ſelf ſooner than the King ima-
ned, becauſe ſuffering himſelf to be ſwayed by his Paſ-
ons, he had not the Prudence to keep within ſome
ounds, an Errour which Princes of his Character ſeldom
il of falling into. As they are always ſurrounded with
latterers, they fancy that all the reſt of the People are of
he ſame Sentiments, and generally it is too late before
ey perceive that the ſmall Number of Perſons they have
ined, is a weak Bullwark againſt the Fury of an inraged
Nation. For ſome Time, five or ſix Hundred Perſons
ho compoſe the Parliament, and ſome Hundreds of Ma-
ſtrates in the Towns and *Counties*, may ſeem to make
he Body of the Nation, and the reſt may be reckoned as
othing. But the Time comes when every ſingle Perſon
uſt be taken into the Account, and then the Number of
hoſe that are in Places is infinitely ſmall in Compariſon of
he reſt of the Nation.

Richard, uncapable of making theſe Reflections, ſuffer- *Quarrel between the Dukes of* Here-
d himſelf to be blindly guided by his Paſſions, which ford *and*
ade him conſider as a great Advantage, all Opportuni- Norfolk;
es of exerciſing the *Arbitrary Power* he thought he had
firmly eſtabliſhed. Towards the End of the Year
398, he gave a ſignal Proof of the little Meaſures he in-
nded to keep with his Subjects, on occaſion of a Quar-
l between two of the principal Lords of his Court. The
uke of *Hereford*, eldeſt Son of the Duke of *Lancaſter*,
aunted by the Examples of the Duke of *Glouceſter* his
Unle,

1398. Uncle, and of the other Lords whom the King had sacrificed to his Resentment, made it the Heighth of his Ambition, to keep in his Favour, and endeavoured by all Means to avoid giving him any Cause of Suspicion. It was apparently from this Consideration, that fearing the Duke of *Norfolk* had lain a Snare for him in speaking to him of the King in a very disrespectful manner, he informed *Richard* of the Matter. *Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolk*, having denied that he had ever said any Thing against the King, and the Duke of *Hereford* maintaining his Accusation, it was ordered that the Business should be decided according to the Laws of *Knighthood*, that is, by single Combat (*a*). *Coventry* was appointed for the Place of Combat, at which the King would be present in Person. But just as the two Dukes were entering the *Lists*, the King on Pretence of avoiding the shedding of Blood, but in reality to get rid of them both at once, commanded them to proceed no farther. Then, although there could be but one of them guilty, he banished them both, the Duke of *Norfolk* for Life, and the Duke of *Hereford* for ten Years. The former died shortly after at *Venice*, and the other retired to *France*. This Act of Authority was no less contrary to the Priviledges of the Nobility, than what the King had hitherto done with regard to the whole Nation in general, seeing by the Laws of the Land, these Lords could not be tried but by their *Peers*. But in those Times the Privileges of the People were but lightly regarded.

which is to be decided by Duel.

The King prevents the Duel, and banishes them both.

Duke of Lancaster's *Death. Injustice done his Son.*

Not long after the Banishment of the Duke of *Hereford*, the Duke of *Lancaster* his Father died little regretted by the People, and still less by the King, who could not help standing in fear of him. By the Death of this Prince, his Honours and Estates, which were very considerable, fell to the Duke of *Hereford* his Son, to whom before

(*a*) *Polydor Virgil* and others, who say that the Duke of *Norfolk* accused the Duke of *Hereford* of having spoken ill of the King, were mistaken. See the *Acts of Parliament* 21 of *Rich.* II. [*Collier* is likewise guilty of this Errour. p. 603. Vol. I.]

before he went away, the King had remitted four Years of his Baniſhment. Moreover he had granted him *Letters Patents*, impowering him, though in Exile, to take Poſſeſſion by *Proxy*, of the *Fiefs* which ſhould happen to fall to him in his Abſence, with a ſuſpenſion of Homages till his Return. Notwithſtanding, immediately upon the Death of the Duke his Father, the King, by a Sentence no leſs unjuſt than the former, decreed that his Baniſhment ſhould be perpetual, and confiſcated all his Eſtate. 1398.

Ill State of the Kingdom.

By ſuch like Acts of deſpotick Power, the *Laws* and *Liberties* of *England* were in a deplorable Condition. The Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *Gloceſter*, and the Earl of *Arundel* being dead, *Warwick* ſent off, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Dukes of *Hereford* and *Norfolk* in Exile, there was ſcarce a Man in the Kingdom able to make Head againſt the Arbitrary Power the King had uſurped. The Duke of *York* alone, Uncle of the King, might have defended the Nation's Intereſts. But as he was a great Lover of his Eaſe, he was by no Means a proper Perſon to take the Pains ſuch an Undertaking required. *Richard* ſeeing himſelf therefore, above all Reſtraint, gave himſelf up to a ſoft and effeminate Life, without troubling himſelf about the Good of the Publick. In the mean Time, his *Miniſters*, little qualified for the Poſts they were in, let every Thing go to Wrack, and beheld without any Concern, the *Engliſh* Nation falling into the utmoſt Contempt. The *Scots* frequently broke the Truce, by Incurſions into the Borders, being very ſure that the Court of *England* would give them no Diſturbance. What *England* had held in *France* was almoſt reduced to nothing, and the Places which might one Day ſerve to repair theſe Loſſes had been ſold without any Neceſſity. The Merchant Ships were daily plundered by the Corſairs of *France*, and the *Low Countries*, and no one ſought Means to protect the Trade. Amidſt theſe Diſorders, the *Miniſters*, of whom the Earl of *Wiltſhire* was the chief, minded only the augmenting the King's Revenue, by Loans, new Taxes, and by ſtill leſs legal Ways. The Queſtion was not to ſeek Pretences to demand *Subſidies*;

1398. all that the *Ministers* troubled themselves about, was how to find speedy and effectual Means to extort Money from the People, to whom they would have thought they did too great Honour to demand it. At length, having practised divers Expedients, as unjust as extraordinary, to supply the King's prodigious Expence, and satisfy the Avarice of his *Ministers*, a Method was used which could not fail of procuring large Sums. As the late Parliament had annulled the *Pardon* granted in 1386 to the Adherents of the Duke of *Gloucester*, Accusations were brought against such as had then taken Arms in Behalf of the Duke. By the *Judgments* which were given upon these Accusations, seventeen *Counties* were condemned as guilty of Treason, and the Estates of all the Inhabitants were adjudged to the King. In this Extremity, the richer sort of Gentlemen and Burghers saw themselves constrained, in Order to prevent their Estates from being seized, to give *blank Bonds*, which the King caused to be filled up with what Sums he was pleased to exact from each. Moreover by what was inserted in these *Bonds*, which were termed *Ragmans*, every one bound himself under great Penalties, to stand by the *Statutes* of the *Shrewsbury-Parliament*, and by all that had been done in consequence of them, that is to say, they entirely threw themselves upon the King's Mercy. It was impossible that a Government so tyrannical should not draw the Hatred of the Nation upon the Prince and his Agents. One might also easily perceive, that these Oppressions kindled in the Hearts of the People an ardent Desire of freeing themselves from them, insomuch that the least Spark was capable of producing a fatal Combustion.

Oppressions exercised by the King and Ministry.

The Estates of 17 Counties confiscated to the King.

Rebellion in Ireland.

Whilst *England* was exposed to all these Calamities, the *Irish* contemning the small Number of Troops *Richard* had left in their Country, took up Arms with one Consent. *Roger Mortimer* Earl of *March*, Governour of *Ireland*, having made Head against the Rebels, was slain in the first Battle. This Earl, who had been declared by an *Act* of Parliament Heir Apparent of the Crown, left two Sons, *Edmund* and *Roger*, the eldest of whom succeeded him

The Earl of March *slain.*

him in his Honour of *Earl of March*, and died without Iſſue, as well as *Roger* his Brother. But the Marriage of *Ann* their Siſter with the ſecond Son of the Duke of *York*, proved a fertile Source of Troubles which long afflicted the Kingdom. 1398.

Richard having received the News of the *Iriſh* Revolt, reſolved to go in Perſon and chaſtiſe the Rebels, being in a terrible Rage that ſuch a pitiful and wretched People ſhould dare to contemn his Power, at a Time when he found no Oppoſition in *England*. Purſuant to this Reſolution, he levied a numerous Army, which furniſhed him with a freſh Occaſion to exact great Sums from his Subjects, the which conſiderably increaſed their Hatred already entertained againſt him. *The King prepares to go to* Ireland. *He extorts great Sums*

When he was ready to embark, ſome Suſpicions inſtilled into him againſt the Earl of *Northumberland*, Governour of the *Northern Counties*, made him ſend him a poſitive Order to come and join him without Delay. But the Earl having excuſed himſelf on account that his Preſence was abſolutely neceſſary in thoſe Parts, the King without any further Examination, pronounced him *Traitor*, and ordered all his Eſtate to be ſeized. Then having left the Regency of the Kingdom to the Duke of *York* his Uncle, he ſet Sail, and arrived *May* the 31ſt at *Waterford*, from whence he marched to *Dublin*. He was attended by the Sons of the Duke of *Lancaſter* by his third Wife, and by thoſe of the late Duke of *Gloceſter*, whom he carried with him as Hoſtages, and had taken with him the beſt Part of his Jewels, as if he had foreſeen he ſhould never enter into his Palace again. He made at firſt ſome Progreſs againſt the Rebels, and in ſeveral Encounters gave Marks of Valour, which made it thought, that if hitherto he had ſhown no great Inclination for War, it was not to be aſcribed ſo much to a Want of Courage, as to a bad Education. 1339. *The Earl of* Northumberland *declared a Traitor.* *The King leaves the Duke of* York *Regent.*

But whilſt his Vanity was flattered by the Advantages he gained over the *Iriſh*, a Conſpiracy was forming in *England* to deprive him of the Crown. Under an Arbitrary Government, ſuch as *Richard*'s, there muſt needs *Conſpiracy in* England.

1399. be great Numbers of *Male-Contents*. Some Persons indeed reap great Benefit from the absolute Power of the Prince, but then they are far from being the Majority. So that, although a King of this Character is commonly surrounded with a Cloud of Flatterers, who endeavour to perswade him that the People bear his Yoke patiently, if he has any Knowledge of the World, he ought to consider, that there is no preserving the Power acquired by Force, but by the same Way it was usurped. And if he is so unwise as to confide in Subjects he has violently oppressed, in vain does he expect from them a *Fidelity* which serves only to increase their Misery. This is what *Richard* found by Experience. By an imprudent Security, he had left his Kingdom, and carried all his Forces into *Ireland*, at a Time when the Hatred of the People against him was at the greatest Height, and in so doing he had committed a capital Errour, of which his Enemies failed not to take the Advantage. Hardly was he set out for *Ireland*, with almost all the Lords devoted to him, but the *Male-Contents* who were in *England*, began to think of Means to dethrone him. To that End, after several Conferences together, they sent Word to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who upon his Banishment had retired into *France*, that all *England* was ready to rise, and that nothing was wanting but a Person of Distinction to head the *Male-Contents*. That upon mature Deliberation, they thought no one so proper as the Duke of *Hereford*, for whom the People had a great Esteem and Affection, and who moreover had a very plausible Pretence to take up Arms, to demand Satisfaction for the Injuries done him: That if the Duke would repair into *England*, they engaged to assist him to the utmost of their Power; and that in the Temper the Nation was in, there was no doubt but they would join those that were willing to undertake to free them from the Oppression they groaned under. The Archbishop, who was himself extremely provoked against the King, having communicated this Letter to the Duke, he resolved to lay hold of the Juncture, to try what Fortune would do for him. However as he was sensible

The Conspirators call in the Duke of Hereford.

ſible he could not carry on this Enterprize by himſelf, took Care to manage it ſo that he might eaſily draw k; in Caſe Things were not in the Poſture he was made Hope. Purſuant to this Reſolution, he privately re- tired into *Bretagne*, where he fitted out three Ships, and mbarked in Company with the Archbiſhop of *Canterbu-* and about fourſcore Men, among whom there was not bove ſixteen or eighteen *Lanciers*. With this ſmall Force ſet Sail, and hovered for ſome Time about the Coaſt of *ngland*, now in one Place, then in another, without nding any where. His Deſign was to ſee what Effect is coming would have among the People, and to engage he *Engliſh* openly to declare for him, in a Belief that he as attended with a greater Force. This Tryal ſucceeded yond Expectation. As ſoon as it was known that he as on the Coaſt, the People took up Arms in ſeveral arts, not conſidering whether the Aid which appeared as ſufficient to protect them; and this Readineſs it was hat determined the Duke to puſh this Enterprize further. n the Beginning of *July*, he landed at *Ravenſpur* in *York-ire*, where the Earl of *Northumberland* and *Henry Percy* is Son, immediately came and joined him with ſome roops. After which the Concourſe of People who ocked in Crowds to liſt under his Banners was ſo great, hat in a ſew Days his Army was threeſcore Thouſand rong. So eager were the *Nobles* and *People* to put them- lves under the Protection of a Prince who ſtood himſelf ſo great Need of their Aſſiſtance.

1399.

He repairs to Bretagne, *and imbarks.*

He lands at Ravenſpur, *where he aſſembles* 60000 *Men.*

As ſoon as the Duke of *York*, Regent of the Kingdom, ad Intelligence of the Duke's Landing, he called a Coun- il to conſult about the Meaſures it was neceſſary to take n this Occaſion. But the News which came every Hour of the Increaſe of the Duke's Forces, and the Diſ- oſition the Kingdom was in, quickly put the Counſel- ors, among whom there were few Perſons of Abilities, ut of all Hopes of being able to remedy the Evil. In his Perplexity, they committed a fatal Blunder, in reſolv- ng to quit *London*, and retire to St. *Albans*. This im- prudent

The Regent in vain tries to prevent a general Revolt.

The Council retire to St. Albans.

1399. prudent Step was extremely prejudicial to the King's Affairs. The Lords of the Council were no sooner gone from *London*, but the Citizens, no longer restrained by the Presence of those who represented the Person of the King, declared for the Duke, and by their Example drew in such Towns as had not yet ventured to proceed so far.

London declares for the Duke.

The Duke publishes a Manifesto.

In the mean Time the Duke, who upon his Arrival in *England* had taken the Title of *Duke of Lancaster*, published a *Manifesto*, wherein, without showing he had any Design upon the Crown, he set forth that he had taken Arms purely to get Satisfaction for all the Injustices done him. This *Manifesto* had so good an Effect, that when the Regent would have issued out Commissions to levy Troops, he hardly found any Body willing to accept them. Every one said publickly, that they should take Care not to oppose the lawful Pretensions of a Prince who had been so unjustly oppressed. This Refusal having convinced the Earl of *Wiltshire*, and the rest of the *Ministry* that they were so far from being able to support their Authority, that they ran the hazard of seeing themselves sacrificed to the Publick Hatred, they deserted the Duke of *York*, and retired to *Bristol-Castle*. After the Flight of the Counsellours, the Regent perceiving there was no stemming the Torrent, threw up the Care of the Publick Affairs, and withdrew to his own House, leaving the Kingdom like a Ship exposed to the Winds and Waves without Pilot or Mariners. All the other Lords, who had as yet stood Neuter that they might side with the strongest Party, finding the King's Interest abandoned, no longer deferred openly declaring for the Duke.

The Regent cannot levy Troops.

The Ministers retire to Bristol, *and the Regent to his own House.*

The Duke marches to London, *and is well received.*

Mean while the Duke improving these Advantages marched with all speed to *London*, where the Citizens had invited him. He was received in Triumph in that noble City, with all the Demonstration of Zeal and Affection which could be given by a People extremely incensed against their Sovereign, and looking upon themselves as delivered from Tyranny. But how pleasing soever these Honours done him by the *Londoners* might be, he staid no longer than was necessary to secure their Allegiance

iance; after which he marched to *Briſtol*. Upon his rival there, the Gates being opened to him with Joy, commanded the Caſtle to be aſſaulted, where the *Coun-lors* were retired. The Siege was puſhed ſo vigorouſly, t in four Days the Beſieged were obliged to ſurrender on Diſcretion. The People's Fury againſt the Earl of *lt ſhire* and his Companions was ſo violent, that the Duke ought he could not refuſe them the Satisfaction to ſee eſe *Miniſters* ſacrificed to their Vengeance. So that, not nſidering the Power he aſſumed was ſtill more illegal n the King's Uſurpations, he ordered the Earl of *Wilt-re* to be beheaded, with ſome others of the *Council* *, ſatisfy the People who loudly called for their Death. he happy Succeſs of this Expedition made the whole ngdom eſpouſe the Duke's Party, and ſhortly after he d the Satisfaction to ſee the Duke of *York* his Uncle come him to aſſiſt him with his Councils. 1399.

He takes Briſtol-*Caſtle, and beheads ſome of the Miniſters.*

Whilſt theſe Things were tranſacting in *England*, *Rich-d* was in *Ireland* in a deep Security. The contrary inds which continued to blow above three Weeks, hin-red his having any News. As ſoon as he had notice of e Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Deſcent, he clapt up in Priſon s Brothers, with the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Sons, and re-lved to go over immediately into *England*, with Deſign fight his Enemy. But the Duke of *Albermarle* ad-ſed him to ſtay a few Days longer, that he might have ime to get Ships ready to tranſport all his Forces at ce. He took this fatal Advice, which compleated his uin, ſince every Moment is precious at ſuch a Junc-re. And indeed, it was during that Time that *Lon-n* declared for the Duke, which perhaps would not have en, had the King been known to be in *England*, and ſolved vigorouſly to oppoſe the Deſigns of his Enemies. *ichard* being determined to ſtay ſome Days longer in *eland*, ſent the Earl of *Salisbury* before to levy Troops *Wales*, aſſuring him he would not be long after him. he Earl uſed ſuch Expedition, that in a few Days he drew

The Wind hinders the King from hearing from England.

He defers his going to England.

Sends the Earl of Salisbury *to levy Troops*

* Sir *John Buſhy* the Treaſurer, and Sir *Henry Green*.

1399. drew together an Army of Forty Thousand Men, the *Welsh* and *Chester-Men* having zealously taken Arms for the King. If *Richard* had come with his Forces by the Time he had promised, he might at least have had the Satisfaction of trying the Fortune of a Battle in Defence of his Crown. But the Wind turning again to the East, detained him Eighteen Days longer in *Ireland*, and would not permit him to make so short a Passage. During this Time a Rumour being spread in the Earl of *Salisbury*'s Army, that the King was dead in *Ireland*, the Troops would have disbanded themselves. 'Twas with great Difficulty the Earl prevailed with them to stay a few Days in order to have certain News from the King. This Delay being expired, and *Richard* not appearing, the *Welsh* and *Chester-Men* deserted their Colours, and returned to their Homes.

The King is detained by contrary Winds.

The Earl of Salisbury's *Army go to their Homes.*

Richard landed a few Days after, and as he knew nothing of the Earl of *Salisbury*'s Army being dispersed, marched towards *Carmarthen* in hopes to meet them. But when he heard how Matters stood, and that all the Nobility had declared against him, that his *Ministers* had lost their Heads at *Bristol*, and that the People ardently espoused the Duke of *Lancaster*'s Quarrel, he was at a Loss what Course to take, all that were proposed to him appearing equally dangerous. The Officers and Soldiers would have had him put himself at their Head, and go and give his Enemy Battle. They promised to stand by him to the last Drop of their Blood, and put him in hope that his Army would increase every Day in his March by the coming in of those whom Force, or the Belief of his Death had made to desert him. Some advised him to go back to *Ireland*, and fortify himself there. Others were of Opinion, that he should go and take Refuge in *France*, with the King his Father-in-law, till a more favourable Season afforded him an Opportunity to return to his Dominions. Amidst these Uncertainties, the unfortunate King, incapable of chusing the best Advice, and having about him none but such as wanted Courage or Capacity, could not fix upon any Resolution. And yet

The King arrives, and knows not what Course to take.

as he diſtruſted every Body, he could not long remain in a State which ſeemed to him ſo dangerous. On a ſudden, without adviſing with any one, he privately withdrew from his Army in the Night, and went and ſhut himſelf up in *Conway-Caſtle*, which was eſteemed impregnable, but at that Time unprovided of all Things. He had no ſooner diſappeared, but the Lord *Thomas Percy*, Earl of *Worceſter*, Maſter of the Houſehold, broke his *White-Staff* (a) before the King's Domeſticks, and went to meet the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who was advancing towards *Cheſter* at the Head of his Army. 1399. *He goes to* Conway-Caſtle.

Richard finding himſelf almoſt alone in the Caſtle he had pitched upon for his Safe-guard, without any Proſpect of being able to defend himſelf, was afraid, in caſe he attempted to ſave himſelf by Flight, of falling into the Hands of an enraged People, who gave him but too many Proofs of their Hatred. In this Extremity, he ſaw no other Remedy but to throw himſelf upon the Generoſity of his Enemy. He ſent him Word by one of his Attendants, that he was ready to ſubmit to what Terms he himſelf ſhould judge reaſonable, and deſired him to ſend ſome Body to confer with him. The Duke immediately diſpatched the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the Earl of *Northumberland*, both ſworn Enemies to the King, to know his Mind. In the ſhort Conference *Richard* held with theſe Deputies, he offered, if his Life were ſecured, with an honourable Penſion for himſelf and eight Perſons he ſhould name, to reſign his Crown, and be content to lead the Reſidue of his Days like a private Perſon. The Deputies giving him hopes that his Offer would be accepted, he deſired to confer with the Duke himſelf. To that Purpoſe he went to *Flint*, which is not above ten Miles from *Cheſter*, where the Duke was then arrived. Next Day the Duke being come to *Flint*, went to the *The King propoſes an Accommodation.* *He offers to reſign his Crown.* *Interview of the King and Duke.*

(a) The Officers of the King's Houſehold carry a *White-Staff* as a Badge of their Office, and when they break it, their Authority ceaſes, and thoſe that are under them are diſcharged from their Service.

1399. King, who said to him with a chearful Countenance: *Noble Cousin, you are welcome Home. I am come,* answered the Duke, *sooner than you desired, upon Information of the Complaints which the Nation makes against your Government; but by God's Grace I will put Things in a better Order for the Time to come. Your Will is mine,* replied the King. Some add, that *Richard* intreated the Duke in very submissive Terms, not to touch his Life, in consideration of his having spared his Brothers, whom he was satisfied with confining in *Ireland*, and that the Duke gave him a positive Promise, he would not. There are Historians who say, that *Richard* was betrayed by the Earl of *Northumberland*, who having induced him to demand this Conference, laid an Ambush for him in the Way, and carried him Prisoner to the Duke. Be that as it will, the two Princes went the same Day and lodged at *Chester*, from whence they set out together for *London*.

They go together to London.

Richard *is confined in the Tower.*

Upon their Approach, the *Londoners* came out in Crouds, to receive, the one with a Thousand Curses, and the other with excessive Applauses and Commendations. Then the King was conducted to the *Tower*, and confined there, whilst the Duke took Measures with his Friends in order to compleat their Work. One cannot without Wonder reflect on the Suddenness of this *Revolution*, and the Expedition wherewith the Duke of *Lancaster* traversed so many *Counties*. If a Man considers that in seven and forty Days, he marched from *Ravenspur* where he landed, to *London*, *Bristol*, *Chester*, and from thence back to *London*, hardly will he be able to conceive, that an Army of sixty Thousand Men could possibly run over so much Ground in so short a Space.

Consultations between the Duke and his Friends.

The Moment the Duke had got the King in his Power, he had taken Care to cause him to summon a Parliament at *London*, that no Time might be lost. In the Conferences he had with his Friends, before the Parliament met, the Question was not so much to know what was to be done, since the placing him upon the Throne was resolved upon, but the manner they were to proceed in it. Some were for having him take Possession upon the bare

bare Promiſe *Richard* had made of reſigning his Crown. Others thought that the Promiſe appeared too much conſtrained to be able to ground a Right upon it, eſpecially as there was a nearer Heir than the Duke. This was *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*, Son of that *Roger* who was declared preſumptive Heir of the Crown. The Truth is, he was deſcended from *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, ſecond Son of *Edward* III; whereas the Duke of *Lancaſter* was Son of *John*, younger Brother of *Lionel*. Though *Edmund* derived not his Right but from a Woman, that would have been no Objection to his Title, provided they would have kept to the uſual Practice, ſince there was no ſuch Thing in *England* as the *Salick-Law*. So that by *Richard*'s Reſignation, the Duke of *Lancaſter* had no Right to Claim the Crown. For this Reaſon they added, that ſeeing there was a Neceſſity of ſetting aſide the Law, the Authority of Parliament was abſolutely requiſite. Hence they concluded, that *Richard* muſt be formally depoſed, and the Duke elected by the ſame Authority. This Advice had likewiſe its Difficulties, as it aſcribed to the Parliament a Power to diſpoſe of the Crown, contrary to the Laws and Cuſtoms, to the Prejudice of the lawful Heir, to whom nothing could be objected that might weaken his Title. At laſt, after many Debates upon ſo nice a Point, the Duke of *York*'s Opinion was to unite the three Ways propoſed, in order to render what they had reſolved to do the more valid. In the firſt Place, *Richard* ſhould be obliged to make an abſolute Reſignation. Secondly, the Parliament ſhould proceed to depoſe him before the Crown was diſpoſed of. Laſtly, Theſe two Steps being made, and the Throne declared *vacant*, the two Houſes of Parliament, in Conſideration of the great *Services* the Duke of *Lancaſter* had done the *State*, ſhould adjudge him the Crown by the ſupreme Authority, which in extraordinary Caſes was lodged in them, paramount to all Laws. This Advice was unanimouſly approved of. Thus in puniſhing a King for having placed himſelf above the Laws, a Power was given the Parliament no leſs contrary to them. So difficult it is on ſuch Occaſions, to keep within the Bounds of Juſtice and

1399.

The Duke of York's *Propoſal is followed.*

1399 Equity. This Expedient, then thought proper to restore Peace to the Kingdom, proved the real Source of the Calamities which afflicted the Nation afterwards, when these violent Proceedings seemed to be entirely forgotten. The Descendants of the Duke of *York*, the first Broacher of this Project, found it their Interest to destroy the Foundation on which it was built, and maintain that the Parliament had exceeded their Power in transferring the Crown to the *House* of *Lancaster*.

Richard *resigns his Crown absolutely.*

Pursuant to the Resolutions the Duke of *Lancaster* had taken with his Friends, he repaired to the *Tower*, the Day before the opening of the Parliament, attended by a great Number of Lords. There in the Presence of them all, *Richard* delivered up the Crown and Scepter, with the other Ensigns of Royalty, and by an *Instrument* signed with his own Hand, confessed himself *unworthy* and *unfit* to govern the Kingdom any longer. Next Day, the Parliament being met, the *Instrument of Resignation* was brought in and approved of by unanimous Consent. But as this *Resignation* alone, according to the Measures agreed upon, did not appear sufficient, the two *Houses* ordered that *Articles* of Accusation against *Richard* should be drawn up, to serve for Grounds to depose him, which they resolved to do. The Substance of the *Articles* was as follows:

Articles of Accusation against Richard.

I. That *Richard*, had without Judgment and Discretion, lavished away the Revenues of the Crown, and put the Administration of the Publick Affairs in the Hands of unexperienced and ill-designing Persons, to the great Damage of the People who were loaded with excessive Taxes.

II. That he had without any Ground impeached of Treason, and unjustly punished the *Commissioners* appointed by Parliament to take Care of the Government of the Realm.

III. That he had compelled the Judges to give *Opinions* contrary to the Law, in order to condemn the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, and several other Persons.

IV. That

IV. That he had put the Duke of *Glouceſter* his Uncle to Death without a *legal* Proceſs. 1399.

V. That he had levied Troops in *Lancaſhire* and *Cheſhire*, in order to make War upon theſe three Lords, and allowed his Soldiers to commit all manner of Outrages with Impunity.

VI. That although by a *Proclamation*, he had declared that the ſaid Lords were apprehended only for ſlight Miſdemeanours, he had cauſed them to be condemned as guilty of High-Treaſon.

VII. That he had exacted from divers Counties exorbitant *Fines* for the very Crimes which he had granted a *Pardon* for.

VIII. That he had hindered the Publick Affairs from being communicated to the *Commiſſioners* appointed by the Parliament to take Care of the Government.

IX. That he had forbid all Perſons, on Pain of Death, to petition the recalling of the Duke of *Hereford*.

X. That although he held his Crown of God, and not of the Pope, he had procured *Bulls* from the Court of *Rome*, to ratify *Acts of Parliament* made in his Favour.

XI. That he had baniſhed the Duke of *Hereford*, although the Duke was ready to make good his Acceſation againſt the Duke of *Norfolk* according to the Laws of the Land.

XII. That although by his *Letters Patents*, he had granted the ſaid Duke the Liberty of taking Poſſeſſion, by his *Attorney*, of the *Fiefs* which ſhould fall to him in his Abſence, he would not ſuffer any Perſon to appear for him.

XIII. That he had turned out ſeveral Sheriffs, and ſubſtituted others in their Room by his ſole Authority, contrary to the Laws of the Land.

XIV. That he had borrowed ſeveral large Sums, and had never repaid them.

XV. That he had laid Taxes upon his Subjects by his own Authority.

XVI. That he had frequently ſaid, *All the Laws of the Realm were in his Mouth, and depended on his Will.* That in Conſequence of this wild Maxim, he had taken away the

1399. the Lives of ſeveral Perſons, and ruined Abundance of his Subjects.

XVII. That he had extorted from the Parliament an Act whereby it was enacted, that no *Statute* ſhould be more prejudicial to him than to his Predeceſſors; from whence he had taken occaſion to explain the *Acts of Parliament* according to his own Fancy, and not according to the Intent of the two *Houſes*.

XVIII. That contrary to the Laws of the Land, he had ſuffered the *Sheriffs* to continue in their Office above one Year.

XIX. That by his ſole Authority he had voided the Elections of *Members of Parliament*, and put others in their Room.

XX. That he had kept Spies in Town and Country, to inform him of the Complaints made againſt his Government, and that theſe ſame Complaints had ſerved him for Pretence to levy exceſſive *Fines* upon ſeveral private Perſons.

XXI. That before his going to *Ireland* he had exacted great Sums from the *Clergy*, and compelled the Churches to give him up their *Plate*.

XXII. That by Threats he had hindered the Judges of the Realm, and the Members of his Council to ſpeak the Truth, though they were obliged to it by Oath.

XXIII. That he had carried into *Ireland* the Crown Jewels, and *Records* of the Kingdom.

XXIV. That in his Negotiations with foreign Princes he had uſed ſo many Equivocations and Shifts, that none of them would take his Word any longer.

XXV. That he had ſaid ſeveral Times, *The Lives and Fortunes of his Subjects were in his Diſpoſal*.

XXVI. That contrary to the Tenour of *Magna Charta* he had ſuffered that the Caſes which ought to have been tried by *Common Law*, were decided by Military Laws. That under Colour that theſe Laws, upon certain Occaſions, allowed ſingle Combats, he had permitted ſtrong and robuſt Men to challenge ſuch as were worn out with old Age: And that in Caſe they refuſed to expoſe themſelves

lves to ſo unequal a Duel, he had given the Cauſe for the 1399.
hers.

XXVII. That he had forced ſeveral of his Subjects to e in general Terms Oaths, which he afterwards ex-ained to their Detriment and Ruin.

XXVIII. That he had granted under his Privy-Seal *ohibitions*, to which the *Chancellor* refuſed to put the *reat-Seal*, becauſe they were contrary to Law.

XXIX. That he had baniſhed without Cauſe the Arch-ſhop of *Canterbury*, and without a previous Tryal; that had even ordered him to be guarded by Soldiers, in the ace where the Parliament was aſſembled.

XXX. That he had not granted the *Temporalities* of the iſhopricks, but upon Condition that the Biſhops elect could bind themſelves by Oath to ſtand by the *Statutes* the *Shrewsbury-Parliament*.

XXXI. That when the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was peached, he perſuaded him not to appear, by aſſuring m he would himſelf be *Security* for him, and afterwards niſhed him for Non-Appearance.

There were four *Articles* more relating to the Affair of e Archbiſhop.

Theſe Articles being drawn up, they were laid before e Parliament, and unanimouſly declared to be well-ounded and publickly known, whereupon it was pro-ounced, that *Richard* ſhould be *depoſed*. At the ſame me, Commiſſioners were appointed to go and give him tice of his *Depoſition*, and to annul the Oaths and Ho-ge of the People of *England*, much in the ſame man-r as was done with regard to *Edward* II. Richard *is depoſed.*

This Affair being thus ſettled, and the Throne being cant, the Duke of *Lancaſter* roſe up, and after croſſing mſelf, claimed the Crown. He built his Pretenſions *on his being deſcended from* Henry III, *and upon the ght he had received from God, by the Aſſiſtance of his Re-ions and Friends for the Recovery of his Realm of* Eng-d, *which was upon the Brink of Deſtruction* *. *The Duke of* Lancaſter *claims the Crown.*

'Twas

* He claimed the Crown in the Form following: *In the Name of the*

1399. *Remarks upon it.*

'Twas not without Reason that he affected to make use of obscure Expressions, which left undetermined the Foundation on which he built his pretended Right. If he seemed to derive his Claim from *Henry* III rather than from *Edward* III his Grandfather, it was because there had been a Rumour among the People, that *Edmund* Earl of *Lancaster*, surnamed *Crook-Back*, was eldest Son of *Henry* III; but by reason of his Deformity, *Edward* I. his younger Brother was placed on the Throne. According to this Supposition, the Duke would have made the Ignorant believe that he could ground his Title upon his being Son of *Blanch of Lancaster*, Grand-daughter of *Edmund Crook-Back*, and Heiress of that Family. But as he was very sensible that every Body could not be imposed upon by so gross a Forgery, he added certain Expressions which hinted that he built his Right also upon the Service he had just done the *State*. This is the Meaning of the Claim expressed in such obscure Terms.

As it had been resolved to adjudge the Crown to the Duke, the Parliament took care not to examine his Claim too closely, but were very willing to suppose it uncontestable. Thus without any Regard had to the just Right of the Earl of *March*, it was decreed that *Henry of Lancaster* should be proclaimed *King of* England *and* France, *and Lord of* Ireland, the which was done that very Day, being the 30th of *September*.

End of the Reign of Richard II.

In this manner ended the Reign of *Richard* II, a Prince who in his younger Years seemed to have noble and generous Inclinations, but unfortunately suffered himself to be corrupted by Flattery. He had the Advantage of being descended from a Father and Grandfather so universally esteemed, that had he never so little answered the No-

blen-

the Fader, Sonne, and Holy Goſt, I Henry *of* Lancaſter, *chalenge this Reneme of* Ynglond, *and the Croune, with all the Membres and the Appurtenances, als that I Deſcendit be Ryght Lyne of Blode comeing fro the Gude Lord King* Henry *therde, and thorgh that Ryght that God of his Grace has ſent me, with help of Kyn and of my Frends to recover it; the which Reneme was in Poynt to be ondone for de faut of Governance, and undoying of the Gude Laws*

bleneſs of his Birth, he might have been one of the moſt glorious Kings that ever wore the *Engliſh* Crown. But like *Edward* II his great Grandfather, he had the Weakneſs to give himſelf up to the Guidance of his Favourites. Accordingly he underwent the ſame Fate with that Prince, whom he did but too much reſemble in every other Thing. The main Difference to be obſerved between them, conſiſts in that *Richard* was of a more cruel and inflexible Temper, and uſurped a more arbitrary Power then *Edward*, the which rendered him more odious, and the leſs regretted. Let us cloſe this Reign with a Reflection which the ſad *Cataſtrophe* of theſe two Princes furniſhes us with. That is, in a Government, ſuch as that of *England*, all the Endeavours uſed by the King to make himſelf *Abſolute*, are but ſo many Steps towards his Downfal. 1399.

The End of the Reign of RICHARD II.

The STATE *of the Church from the Reign of* EDWARD I. *in* 1272, *to the End of the Reign of* RICHARD II, *in* 1399.

Tyranny of the Court of Rome, *with regard to* England.

AFTER *John Lackland* had made himself *Vaſſal* and Tributary to the *See* of *Rome*, the Popes conſidered *England* only as a conquered Country, with which they kept no Sort of Meaſures. Of this the Reigns of *John* and *Henry* III, afforded us ſuch flagrant Inſtances, that it would be needleſs to add any Thing further to ſhow to what enormous Height the *Papal* Power was carried in the Kingdom. It will ſuffice to remark, that the Incroachments of the Court of *Rome* continuing inceſſantly, or rather increaſing daily, the *Engliſh* grew ſo weary of them, that at length in the Reign of *Edward* I, they began to look about for effectual Means to get rid of them. 'Twas not however till after having frequently found by Experience, that all their Complaints and all their Sollicitations to the Popes were fruitleſs. In this conſiſts almoſt all I have to ſay as to *Church-Matters* during the four Reigns we have gone through. But for the better Underſtanding this Matter, it will be neceſſary briefly to remark what were the Grounds of the Diſputes *England* had, as well with the Court of *Rome*, as with the *Clergy*.

Complaints of the Engliſh *againſt the Popes.*

I. The firſt Cauſe of Complaint, was the frequent *Appeals* to the Court of *Rome*, not one of which was rejected.

II. The frequent *Citations* were complained of, which theſe *Appeals* cauſed, and which obliged People to ſpend their

their Substance in Journeys to *Rome*, to sollicit their Affairs.

III. That the Pope had usurped the *Collation* of almost all the Church-Preferments, not excepting the *Bishopricks* and *Archbishopricks*, contrary to the Rights of the King, the *Chapters* and the *Patrons*.

This Encroachment was grown to that Height, that there was not a *Benefice* great or small, but what the Pope disposed of by the never-failing Means they had contrived to get all the *Collations* in their Hands. One while, by the *Plenitude* of their *Apostolick* Power, they reserved to themselves all the *Benefices* which should become void, by the Translation of the *Incumbents* to another *Benefice*. Then again they kept to themselves all such as were vacant by Death, or by any other Way whatever. By this Means they eluded all the *Canonical* Elections made in *England*, without alledging any other Reason, but that they had reserved to themselves beforehand the Right of *Nomination* to these Benefices. It appeared so plainly, that their Aim was to get by degrees the Collation to all the *Benefices* of the Kingdom, that every one could not but see it. For whenever they could not make use of these Pretences, they seldom failed of having something to object against the Party elected, and of conferring the Benefice upon another. Very often when the Bishop elect appeared, to have his Election confirmed, he found the Pope had already disposed of his Bishoprick.

IV. But as this was generally the Occasion of great Contests, and as those that were *canonically* elected were commonly supported by the King, the Pope found a certain Means to free himself from these Importunities. He bestowed the Bishopricks and other *Benefices*, before they were vacant, by way of *Provision*, which he granted beforehand; and this was another great Cause of Complaint for the *English*.

V. It was moreover complained of, that the greatest part of the *Benefices* disposed of by the Pope, by the *Plenitude* of his Power, were conferred on Foreigners, particularly on the *Cardinals* and their Relations, who by Vir-

tue of the Pope's Diſpenſation, enjoyed the *Profits* without ever reſiding. Theſe *Benefices* were commonly farmed out to the *Engliſh*, who to make the moſt of them, got the *Cure* ſerved for a very ſmall *Salary*. Hence *Divine Service* was neglected, the *Churches* ran to ruin, Hoſpitality was baniſhed, and the Inſtruction of *Chriſtians* almoſt wholly laid aſide. Hence likewiſe this further Inconvenience; the Money was carried out of the Kingdom, without ever coming back again. It may eaſily be judged what a Detriment this was to the Country, if it is conſidered, that by a Calculation made in the Reign of *Henry* III, it was found, that the *Foreign Eccleſiaſticks* had greater Revenues in *England* than the King himſelf.

VI. Another Cauſe of Complaint ſprang from the frequent Taxes impoſed on the *Clergy* by the Popes; one while under colour of a *Cruſado*, another while to ſupply the Neceſſities of the *Holy See*, and laſtly, by the *Tenths*, which they liberally granted the King, becauſe they generally went ſhares with him.

VII. In the next Place, the *Legates* and *Nuntio's*, who were ſent into *England* without any manner of Neceſſity, were a great Grievance to the *Engliſh*. The *Clergy* were not only obliged to maintain them at a great Expence, but alſo to make them conſiderable Preſents, and pay them *Procurations* and other Impoſitions which the Pope allowed them to levy upon the *Eccleſiaſticks*. Hence the Money went out of the Kingdom, and no way left to bring it back again.

VIII. The Popes had likewiſe got the *Firſt Fruits* of all the *Benefices*, from whence aroſe the ſame Inconvenience, I mean the Draining of the Kingdom of its Coin.

IX. *Peter Pence*, which originally was only a charitable Allowance granted by the *Saxon* Kings for the Maintenance of the *Engliſh College* at *Rome*, was converted into a Tribute, which the Pope cauſed to be collected in a very rigorous Manner, very different from that practiſed in former Days.

X. Laſtly, The Tribute King *John* had bound himſelf to pay to the *Holy See*, and which the Popes exacted with great

great Haughtineſs, was looked upon by the *Engliſh* as an intolerable Yoke, and a ſtanding Mark of their Servitude.

XI. As to the Conteſts between the Crown and the *Clergy*, the King and the Magiſtrates complained that the *Clergy* were continually endeavouring to encroach upon the *Prerogatives* of the Crown, ſure, as they were, of being always backed by the Pope.

XII. That the *Clergy* had extended their Juriſdiction to a great many Matters purely *Civil*, under Pretence that there is nothing but what *Religion* may be concerned in. This Complaint chiefly regarded *Matrimonial* Cauſes.

XIII. They ſaid further, that the *Eccleſiaſticks* inſtead of ſtanding by, on occaſion, the Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, were always ready to ſide with the Pope, as if he were their only Sovereign.

Theſe are the principal Grievances complained of by the *Engliſh*, and which they endeavoured from Time to Time to get rid of, either by *Acts of Parliament*, or Orders of *Council*. But the Precautions which they took to ſcreen themſelves from the Incroachment of the Court of *Rome*, afforded the Popes at the ſame Time an Occaſion of complaining in their Turn that the *Engliſh* were ſtriving to rob the *Church* of her *Privileges*. They had a great Advantage on their Side, by crying up the *Cauſe of God*, which they always took care to confound with their own Intereſt. In a *Bull* of Pope *Clement* V, inſerted in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, are ſpecified the Complaints of the Court of *Rome* againſt the *Engliſh*. And ſince I have laid down the Grievances of the *Engliſh*, it is but fair I ſhould likewiſe make known thoſe of the Pope.

Grievances of the Popes againſt the Engliſh.

I. The Pope complained that the *Cardinals* were hindered from enjoying the *Prebends* he conferred on them, without conſidering the Reſpect due to Perſons ordained by God to bear their Part of the Burden of governing the *Church*.

II. He ſaid, That although he had an inconteſtable Right to collate *Benefices* as well in *England* as in all other *States*, yet thoſe on whom he had beſtowed them were not permitted

mitted to take Poſſeſſion, neither were they that had the Boldneſs to oppoſe it *excommunicated.*

III. That ſuch as were ſummoned upon that Score were not ſuffered to obey the *Summons.* That *Notaries* were forbid to act in the Affair, and the King's Subjects prohibited to go and appear out of the Kingdom.

IV. That the Pope's *Nuntio's* were hindered from exerciſing their Commiſſion, at leaſt before they had obtained the King's Licenſe. That ſome of them had even been clapt up in the publick Priſons, from whence they could not get out without paying a large *Fine.*

V. That the Magiſtrates would not ſuffer the *Excommunicated* to be impriſoned after the Forty Days, which, according to good and laudable Cuſtom, were allowed them to make the *Church* Satisfaction.

VI. That the King ſent frequent *Prohibitions* to the *Eccleſiaſtical Courts*, not to try Cauſes which were of their *Cognizance.*

VII. That the ſaid *Courts* were abridged of the Juriſdiction they have over the *Clergy*, not conſidering that *Eccleſiaſtical* Perſons are in no manner dependent upon the *Laiety.*

VIII. That the *Civil Courts* took upon them to condemn *Eccleſiaſticks* without the Conſent of their *Superiours.*

IX. That *Clergymen* were made to appear in their Shirts in the *Civil Courts*, notwithſtanding they pleaded their *Privileges.* That indeed they were ſent back to the *Eccleſiaſtical Court* when they were demanded: But that it very often happened, if they were not found guilty, the *Civil* Judges were ſo bold as fully to acquit them, without ſuffering the *Eccleſiaſtical Court* to take any *Cognizance* of the Matter.

X. That *Clergymen* were ſubjected to the Tryal of Twelve *Lay*-Perſons, and were acquitted or condemned by the Verdict of thoſe Twelve incompetent Judges.

XI. That the great Men frequently went and lodged in Monaſteries, to the great Expence of the *Religious Houſes*, on the frivolous Pretence that they were founded by their Anceſtors.

XII. That

XII. That during the Vacancy of the Abbeys, they o were entruſted with the Cuſtody of them by the ng, waſted the Revenues. and did great Damages.

XIII. Laſtly, That the Tribute of a Thouſand Marks e to the *Holy See*, was not regularly paid, and that the rears which were to be ſent to *Avignon*, had been put other Uſes.

Theſe are the mutual Complaints of the *Engliſh*, and the Popes; concerning which it may be obſerved, that h Parties were agreed as to *Facts*, and that their Diſe was only about *Right*. To diſcover on which Side Right lay, it would be neceſſary to examine whether *Pope* and *Clergy* were originally poſſeſſed of the *Rights* y claimed, or whether they were granted by ſome *wer*; and laſtly, whether that *Power* could lawfully nſer them. But this would be entring into an old ten Diſpute, on which a Man cannot expect to ſay Thing new. Leaving every one therefore to his n Notions, I ſhall content my ſelf with relating the eans uſed by the *Engliſh* to do themſelves Juſtice for Injuries they complained of, and the Endeavours of the pes to ſupport the Privileges they had got. But firſt will be proper to take notice, that in theſe Conteſts Popes had great Advantages. Every Pope conſtantly hered to the ſame Maxims, without the leaſt Variation. t it was not ſo as to the Kings of *England*, who to ſe their Fancy, or gratify their Paſſions, ſcrupled not act very often in Derogation to the *Prerogatives* of the own. This is the true Cauſe of the ſlow Progreſs of *Engliſh* in their Deſign of caſting off the Oppreſſions *Rome*. The leaſt Relaxation made them loſe a great l of Ground. And it may be they would never have mpaſſed the redreſſing any one of their Grievances they mplained of, if the *Schiſms* which happened in the *urch* had not afforded them Opportunities, of which y were wiſe enough to take the Advantage. The pes, who at ſuch Junctures ſtood often in need of the ngs of *England*, found themſelves many Times obliged

Advantages of the Popes.

Schiſms *diſadvantagious to* Rome.

to

to Compliances, which doubtleſs they would never hav ſubmitted to at any other Seaſon.

Means of redreſſing the Grievances.

As the *Pope* and *Clergy* mutually ſtood by one anothe one of the moſt effectual Means practiſed in *England* t oppoſe the *Papal* Power, was to check the Growth of th *Clergy*'s Riches. With this View it was that in the Reig of *Edward* I. the *Statute* of *Mortmain* was enacted, as ha been before related. This was a fatal Blow for the *Clergy* who, had it not been for this *Statute*, would have bee Maſters of all the Lands in the Kingdom, ſeeing the daily *acquired*, and never *alienated*. But this *Act* wa very near as prejudicial to the Pope, ſince Bounds cou not be ſet to the Power of the *Clergy* without leſſenin at the ſame Time that of the Court of *Rome*. *Edward* ſtruck likewiſe at the Pope's Authority, at leaſt with Re gard to the *Collating* to Biſhopricks, by obliging the Bi ſhops to renounce the Article of the *Proviſion-Bull*, whic gave them their *Temporalities*, wherein he was followed b his Succeſſors.

Statute *of* Mort-main.

Renunciation of the Biſhops.

Fruitleſs Attempts under Edward II.

If *Edward* II had ſhown greater Reſolution and Firm neſs, or if the Times had not conſtrained him to keep fa with *Rome*, he might have been able greatly to forwar the Buſineſs of *Liberty*, which the *Engliſh* had ſo lon been in purſuit of. Never were they in a better Diſpoſi tion to ſhake off the galling Yoke. This is evident fro the King's Letters to the Pope, and from the vigorou Reſolutions of ſeveral Parliaments held in his Reign. B the King, expecting always to find in the Pope's Autho rity, a Protection againſt his Subjects, frequently ſtoop to ſuch Condeſcenſions for the Court of *Rome*, as we fatal to the Intereſts of his Kingdom. This rendered i effectual the Endeavours of the Parliament during t Courſe of his Reign.

The Statute of Proviſors.

But under *Edward* III more effectual Meaſures wa taken to throw off the Oppreſſions ſo long complain of. I mean the two *Statutes* which tended to cut up b the Roots two of the moſt conſiderable Grievances, h they been punctually executed. The firſt was *the Sta tute of Proviſors*, whereby it was enacted, that in Ca

the Pope collated to any Archbiſhoprick, Biſhoprick, Dignity, or other Benefice, contrary to the Rights of the *Kings*, *Chapters*, or *Patrons*, the *Collation* was to fall to the King for one *Turn*. And if any Perſon ſued for and procured *Reſervations* or *Proviſions* from the Court of *Rome*, he ſhould be impriſoned till he had made *Fine* to the King at his Will, and found ſufficient *Surety* not to ſue any Proceſs againſt any Man in the Court of *Rome*, on the Score of his Impriſonment.

The ſecond *Act* was the *Statute of Præmunire*, by which it was enacted, that in Caſe any of the King's Subjects ſhould carry into a *Foreign Court* Cauſes the Cognizance whereof belonged to the *King's Court*, they ſhould be impriſoned, and their Lands, Goods, and Chattels be forfeited to the King. Statute *of* Præmunire.

Notwithſtanding theſe two *Acts*, which ſeemed to take from the Pope all Hopes of diſpoſing for the future of any *Benefice*, and ought to have made him apprehenſive that the Parliament would go on to redreſs other Grievances, the Court of *Rome* ſtill continued her Oppreſſions. In 1376, that is, about a Year before the Death of *Edward* III, a *Memorial* was preſented to the Parliament, ſhewing, *That* by the Death and Tranſlation of Biſhops, the Pope extorted five Times the yearly Revenue out of a ſingle *See*, and by that Means drew out of the Kingdom twenty Thouſand Marks a Year. That the Pope's *Agents* collected a no leſs Sum, for the Neceſſities of the *Holy See*. *That* this very Year, the Pope had laid his Hands upon the *Firſt-Fruits* of all the *Benefices* in *England*. *That* he increaſed the Number of the *Cardinals* to Thirty, among whom there were not above two or three well-affected to *England*. *That* the Pope's Avarice was worſe than the Plague. *That* in ſpite of *the Statute of Proviſors*, there were Perſons every Day *provided* with *Benefices* by the Court of *Rome*, and *that* there was no hindering it, but by baniſhing all thoſe that ſhould dare to accept of the Pope's *Proviſions*. In ſhort, *that* it was abſolutely neceſſary to put a ſtop to theſe Proceedings, unleſs they were willing to ſee *England* involved in a fatal State of *Memorial to the Parliament againſt the Court of* Rome.

Agreement between Edward III, *and* Gregory XI.

Slavery. Upon theſe Complaints, which were carried to *Gregory* XI, there was a Sort of an Agreement made between the King and the Pope, but ſo full of *Equivocations* and *Reſervations* on the Part of the Pope, that it was eaſy to perceive he had no Intention to deſiſt from his pretended Rights. He was content with promiſing in general, that he would conſider the Complaints of the *Engliſh*, and behave with more Moderation for the future. *Gregory* dying ſoon after, his Succeſſors never minded his Engagements, but continued to beſtow *Engliſh Benefices* upon Foreigners. This Procedure obliged the *Houſe of Commons* to Petition *Richard* II to ſeize all the Profits of the *Benefices* in the Hands of *Aliens*, and to baniſh them the Realm; the which the King did accordingly.

Freſh Efforts of the Engliſh.

In the ſame Reign, *the Statute of Proviſors* was confirmed [and enlarged.]

Two Years after, *Richard* forbad the *Clergy*, under great Penalties, to pay a Tax which the Pope had laid upon them.

The next Year he iſſued out a *Proclamation* commanding upon Pain of Death, and Forfeiture of Eſtate, all Perſons that were gone to *Rome* to ſollicite the annulling the Statutes *of Proviſors* and *Præmunire*, to return into *England* within ſuch a Time.

The Statute of Præmunire *enlarged.*

All theſe Precautions proving ineffectual to check the Popes, who pretended not to be bound by *Acts of Parliament*, the Statute of *Præmunire* was revived in 1392 with Enlargements, which ſeemed to leave the Court of *Rome* no Hopes of evading it. The Act ran, That all Perſons that ſhould purſue in the Court of *Rome*, *Tranſlations*, *Sentences of Excommunication*, *Bulls*, *Mandates* or any other Things whatſoever, contrary to the Rights of the King and Crown, ſhould be put out of the Protection of the Laws, and proceeded againſt according to the *Statute of Præmunire*. That all thoſe who ſhould bring into the Kingdom theſe foreign *Inſtruments*, or receive and publiſh them, ſhould be liable to the ſame Penalties. Laſtly, That they who purſued any Proceſs in

foreign

foreign Court, to the Prejudice of the King's Right, ſhould be treated in the ſame manner.

This rigid *Act* might well put a Check upon the *Engliſh* who were ſubject to the Laws, but not upon the Pope, who was out of their Reach, accordingly he deſiſted not from his Pretenſions. In 1398 he tranſlated the Biſhop of *Lincoln* to the *See of Cheſter*, and gave the Biſhoprick of *Lincoln* to *Henry Beaufort* a Son of the Duke of *Lancaſter*. But the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who had not ſued for this *Tranſlation*, not daring to accept of it, by Reaſon of the *Statute of Præmunire*, retired to a Monaſtery, and the Pope tranſlated the Biſhop of *Landaff* to the *See of Cheſter*. *Richard* was extremely offended at the Pope's taking upon him, without being deſired, to remiſe Biſhops from one *See* to another. He ſummoned the *Clergy* upon this Subject, and demanded of them their Opinion of theſe *Tranſlations* contrary to his Will. This was a puzzling Queſtion for the *Clergy*, who fearing to diſpleaſe the King or the Pope, avoided giving a poſitive Anſwer. Some Time after, the Pope ſent a *Nuntio* into *England*, to try to get the *Statutes* abovementioned repealed. But although the *Nuntio* met with an honourable Reception, he could not ſucceed in his Commiſſion. *Richard* being depoſed, the next Year, the Conteſts with the Court of *Rome* remained in this Poſture.

The Pope goes on notwithſtanding.

Certainly it was high Time for the *Engliſh* Nation, as well as for all the reſt of *Europe*, to labour with all their Might to put a ſtop to the Growth of the *Papal* Power. They muſt have ſhut their Eyes voluntarily, not to ſee that all the Proceedings of the Popes tended to render them *Sovereigns of Europe* in *Temporals*. The *Decretal Unam Sanctam* of *Boniface* VIII, wherein it appeared that the Pope thought himſelf inveſted with the *Temporal* as well as *Spiritual* Power, is a clear Evidence enough of this. But ſince it might be ſaid, that it is not reaſonable to aſcribe the ambitious Deſigns of *Boniface* to all the Popes in general, this Evidence may be ſupported by another, which ſhows that *Boniface* did but tread in the Steps of his Predeceſſors. I mean *John* XXII, who by

Deſign of the Popes to extend their Authority over Temporals.

his ſole Authority, publiſhed a Truce between *England* and *Scotland*, againſt the Conſent of one of the Parties, and impowered his *Legates* to conclude a Peace between the two Kingdoms, upon what Terms they pleaſed, with Orders to compel the two Kings and their Subjects, punctually to keep it, under Pain of *Excommunication*. Does not this Proceeding plainly ſhow that the Popes all acted with the ſame Spirit, and that in Caſe a Check had not been given to their Ambition, they would have conſidered *Chriſtian* Princes but as *Subjects*, or at leaſt, as *Vaſſals* of the *See of Rome*? Let us proceed now to the *Hereſies*, or rather the *Opinions* which were branded with that Name, during the Interval we have run through.

HERESIES.

Opinions condemned.

In 1286 or 1287, *Peckham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, cenſured eight Propoſitions, maintained by one *Richard Knapwell* a *Dominican* Fryar. Some of them, which will ſerve to let us ſee on what Subjects they employed their Studies in thoſe Days, were as follow:

I. That the dead Body of *Jeſus Chriſt* had not the ſame *ſubſtanſtial Form*, as when living.

III. That if the *Euchariſtical Bread* had been conſecrated with theſe Words, *This is my Body*, during the three Days *Jeſus Chriſt* lay in his Grave, the Bread would have been *tranſubſtantiated* into the *new Form*, which the Body of *Chriſt* took at the Separation of his Soul.

IV. That after the Reſurrection of *Jeſus Chriſt*, the *Euchariſtical* Bread is *tranſubſtantiated* by Virtue of theſe Words, *This is my Body*, into the whole living Body of *Chriſt*; that is, the Matter of the Bread is converted into the Matter of his Body, and the ſubſtantial *Form* of the Bread, into the ſubſtantial *Form* of his Body, that is to ſay, into his intellectual Soul, ſo far as it conſtitutes the *Form* of his Body.

VII. That in the *Articles of Faith*, a Man is not bound to reſt upon the Authority of the *Pope*, or of any *Prieſt* or *Doctor*, but that the *Holy Scriptures* and evident Deductions from thence, are the only Foundation of our Aſſent.

VIII.

VIII. That the *rational Soul* is the only *Form* by which a Man is a Man. This laſt Article was looked on as the Foundation of the reſt, and all together were condemned by the Archbiſhop.

In 1314, In the Reign of *Edward* II, ſome of the Students in *Oxford*, maintained in their Diſputations certain Opinions concerning the *Trinity* and *Creation* of the World, which being brought before the *Univerſity*, were condemned as *Heretical*.

Wickliff publiſhes his Doctrine.

Theſe Opinions being wholly founded on *Scholaſtick Notions*, were ſtifled in the Birth, becauſe the People underſtood nothing of ſuch Matters. But the Caſe was quite different with *Wickliff*'s Doctrine, which he publiſhed towards the cloſe of the XIVth *Century*, in the ſame *Univerſity*. The Reaſon is, his Doctrine was of another Nature, and tended to reform the Abuſes which had crept into the *Church*. Accordingly his Opinions were embraced by great Numbers. As this is the moſt important Matter with regard to the *Eccleſiaſtical* Affairs of the XIVth *Century*, it will be neceſſary fully to ſhow thoſe *Opinions*, and the Zeal wherewith they were receiv'd by ſome, and condemned by others.

John Wickleſ, or rather *Wickliff*, was educated at *Oxford* in *Merton-College*, where he took his Degree of *Doctor of Divinity*. He was ſo eminent for his Learning, Parts, and fine Genius, that *Simon Iſlip* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, having founded *Canterbury-College* * in *Oxford*, made him *Rector* of it. *Wickliff* behaved in his Poſt with univerſal Approbation till the Death of the Archbiſhop, who had a great Eſteem for him. *Langham*, Succeſſor of *Iſlip*, willing to favour the Monks, and introduce them into the *College*, attempted to turn out *Wickliff*, and put one *Woodhull* a Monk in his Room. But he could never get the *Fellows* of the *College* to conſent to it, they being deſirous to keep their *Rector*. This Affair being brought to *Rome*, the Monks of *Canterbury* ſollicited the Pope ſo earneſtly in

* Now ſwallowed up in *Chriſt Church*.

in behalf of *Woodhull*, that *Wickliff* was depriv'd of his *Rectorſhip*. However, this did no Injury to the Doctor's Reputation. Every Body ſaw it was a Party Buſineſs, and that it was not ſo much againſt his Perſon that the Monks had a Grudge, as againſt all the *Seculars* that were Members of the College. And indeed they were all turned out as well as he, to make room for the Monks. Shortly after *Wickliff* was preſented to the Living of *Lutterworth* in the *Dioceſs* of *Lincoln*; and then it was that he publiſhed in his *Sermons* and *Writings* certain *Opinions*, which appeared to be *Novel*, becauſe contrary to the received *Doctrine* of thoſe Days. As he did not declare his Sentiments till after he had loſt his *Rectorſhip*, his Enemies have taken occaſion from thence, to accuſe him of acting out of a Spirit of Revenge, by Reaſon of the Injury that had been done him. I ſhall not undertake to clear him from this Charge. As there is none but God alone that ſees into the Hearts of Men, there is Raſhneſs to accuſe or excuſe them, with regard to the ſecret Motives of their Actions. I ſhall only take notice that *Wickliff*'s bittereſt Enemies have never taxed him with any *Immoralities*. Theſe are the chief Articles which he maintain'd in his Writings and Sermons.

Wickliff's *Doctrine.* Walſing. *p.* 192.

I. That the *Euchariſt* after *Conſecration* was not the real Body of *Chriſt*, but only an *Emblem* or *Sign* of it.

II. That the Church of *Rome* is no more the Head of the *Univerſal Church* than any other Church, and that St. *Peter* had no greater Authority given him than the reſt of the *Apoſtles*.

III. That the Pope of *Rome* has no more Juriſdiction in the Exerciſe of the *Keys*, than any other *Prieſt*.

IV. That in Caſe the *Church* misbehaves, it is not only lawful but meritorious to diſpoſſeſs her of her *Temporalities*.

V. That when a Prince or Temporal Lord is convinced that the *Church* makes an ill uſe of her *Endowments*, he is bound under Pain of *Damnation* to take them away.

VI. T

VI. That the *Goſpel* is ſufficient to direct a *Chriſtian* the Conduct of his Life.

VII. That all other *Rules* inſtituted by holy Men, and ractiſed in the *Monaſteries*, do no more good to *Chriſtia-ty* than Whiteneſs does to a Wall.

VIII. That neither the Pope nor any other Prelate ought o have Priſons for the puniſhing Offenders againſt the *Diſcipline* of the *Church*; but that every Perſon ought to e left at his Liberty in the Conduct of his Life.

It muſt be obſerved that *Wickliff*, in the laſt Article, id not pretend, as he explained himſelf afterwards, to take om the *Pope* or the *Prelates*, the Power of *Binding* and *Looſing*; but his Meaning was only that the *Church* had o Right to inflict *Temporal* Puniſhments on Sinners.

Whether *Wickliff* and his Followers extended theſe *Ar-icles* by the Conſequences which might naturally be de-uced from them, or whether his Adverſaries, from whom ve have all we know of him, made any Additions, in rder to render him odious, we find in the Hiſtorians many nore *Opinions* aſcribed to him. Among which there may be ſome which are not to be maintained, and others which, being contrary to the Articles of the *Church of England*, have made ſome *Engliſh* Writers ſpeak of *Wickliff* with Contempt, and even call him *Heretick*. But it would be oo long to examine here all theſe *Opinions* in particular. Let us be contented then with thoſe that firſt appeared, which are really his, and ſerved for a Foundation to all the reſt.

Theſe *Opinions*, which *Wickliff* maintained with great Vivacity, were immediately countenanced by Abundance of Followers, not only among the Students in *Oxford*, but among the Great Men at Court, particularly the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and the Lord *Percy Earl Marſhal* declared for him. It muſt be obſerved that this happened towards the End of the Reign of *Edward* III, at a Time when that Monarch, old and infirm, left the Adminiſtration of the Government to the Duke of *Lancaſter* his Son, as we have ſeen in his Hiſtory.

Wickliff *has many Followers.*

Gregory

The Pope takes Information againſt him; but he is ſupported by the Duke of Lancaſter *and the Lord* Percy.

Gregory XI having been informed that theſe Articles had been publickly maintained at *Oxford*, diſpatched an Order to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the Biſhop of *London*, to apprehend and examine *Wickliff*, and to ſend the Depoſitions to *Rome*. But it was a difficult Matter for theſe two Prelates fully to execute theſe Orders, the Duke of *Lancaſter* and the *Earl Marſhal* having openly declared they would not ſuffer *Wickliff* to be impriſoned. Indeed there was yet no *Act of Parliament* which impowered the Biſhops to impriſon *Hereticks* without the King's Conſent. The two Prelates therefore were contented with ſummoning *Wickliff* before them, in St. *Paul*'s Church where there was a vaſt Concourſe of People to hear the Examination. The Duke of *Lancaſter* and the Lord *Percy* accompanied the Doctor, after having aſſured him he had nothing to fear, and that he might make his Defence with Courage againſt the Biſhops, who were but mere Ignorants in reſpect to him. Here is a ſhort Dialogue which paſſed between theſe two Lords, and the Biſhop of *London* upon *Wickliff*'s Account. The Lord *Percy* having bid the Doctor ſit down, the Biſhop of *London* oppoſed it, and commanded him to ſtand up; but the *Earl Marſhal* would not let him.

Biſhop of London. *Lord* Percy, *if I could have gueſſed that you would have played the Maſter here, I would have prevented your coming.*

The Duke of Lancaſter. *Yes, he ſhall play the Maſter here for all you.*

The Lord Percy. Wickliff, *ſit down; you have need of a Seat, for you have many Things to ſay.*

Biſhop. *It is unreaſonable that a Clergyman cited before his Ordinary, ſhould ſit down during his Anſwer. He ſhall ſtand.*

Duke of Lancaſter. *My Lord* Percy *is in the Right. And for you, my Lord Biſhop, who are grown ſo proud and arrogant, I will take Care to humble your Pride, and not only yours, but that of all the Prelates in* England. *Thou dependeſt upon the Credit of thy Relations, but far from*

ing able to help thee, they ſhall have enough to do to ſupport themſelves.

Biſhop. *I place no Confidence either in my Relations, or in any Man elſe, but in God alone, who will give me the Boldneſs to ſpeak the Truth.*

The Duke ſpeaking ſoftly to the Lord *Percy*:

Rather than take this at the Biſhop's Hands, I'll drag him by the Hair of the Head out of the Church.

The Duke of *Lancaſter* muſt needs have been very paſſionate, ſince it is certain the Biſhop's laſt Words were not ſo inſolent, as that they ought to have put him in ſo great a Rage. But it may be the Biſhop uſed harſher Expreſſions, which the Hiſtorians, Friends of the *Clergy*, have taken Care to ſoften, that the Duke might appear to be in the wrong. Be that as it will, the Duke's Words to the Lord *Percy*, being over-heard by ſome Stander-by, occaſioned the Tumult mentioned in the Reign of *Edward* III. the Particulars whereof it will be needleſs to repeat. It ſuffices to obſerve, that the Aſſembly broke up upon this Accident, and *Wickliff's* Examination was put off to another Time.

Wickliff's Proſecution dropt.

The Death of *Edward* III happening ſhortly after, and the Duke of *Lancaſter* being Preſident of the new King's *Council*, the Biſhops durſt not proceed againſt *Wickliff*. During that Time, the Number of his Followers increaſed ſo conſiderably, that the *Univerſity* of *Oxford*, debated whether they ſhould receive the Pope's *Bull*, commanding them to proſecute *Wickliff* with the utmoſt Rigour. The Hiſtorian who relates this Particular not acquainting us with their final Reſolution, it is ſomewhat probable the *Bull* was rejected. Hence it appears, that *Wickliff*'s Doctrine was not embraced by ſome ignorant Perſons only, but by Men of *Letters*, and Perſons of Quality. Some would fain make us believe that People were frightened into a feigned Approbation of his Doctrine. But it may be ſaid on the contrary, with much greater Probability, that Fear hindered many from being his Followers. The Truth is, a Man ran no Risk in continuing

Walſing.

Collier.

tinuing to adhere to the *old Tenets*, whereas it might be dangerous to embrace the *new* ones.

Bull to the Archbiſhop to cite Wickliff.

The Pope finding the *Bull* he had directed to the *University* of *Oxford*, had produced no great Effect, ſent freſh Orders to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and Biſhop of *London* to proſecute *Wickliff*. But as he was given to underſtand that the Biſhops could not proceed in the Affair without the King's Licenſe, he enjoyned them to repreſent to *Richard* and his *Council*, that *Wickliff*'s Errours were not only dangerous to the *Church*, but likewiſe to the *State*. However the King's *Council* it ſeems did not think ſo. Perhaps no Body was willing to offend the Duke of *Lancaſter*, avowed Protector of *Wickliff*.

They cite him,

The two Prelates however willing to obey the Pope to the utmoſt of their Power, ſummoned *Wickliff* a ſecond Time before them at *Lambeth*. He appeared, and by the manner wherein he explained his *Opinions*, he ſeemed willing to give the Prelates ſome ſort of Satisfaction.

but drop the Affair.

But in all Appearance, they would not have been contented with ſo general an Explanation, if one *Clifford* a Gentleman had not entered the Aſſembly in a pretty rough manner, forbidding them to proceed any farther. 'Tis ſaid that the two Prelates were over-awed by this abſolute Order, though they knew not from whence it came, believing that *Clifford* durſt not act thus of his own Head. Beſides, the *Populace* intimated by their menacing Words that they would not ſee *Wickliff* ill-treated. Theſe Conſiderations obliged the Biſhops to diſmiſs the *Doctor*, forbidding him to amuſe the People any more with Diſputations of ſo dangerous a Conſequence. But he had no Regard to this Injunction, ſince according to the Teſtimony of an antient Hiſtorian, he continued to preach and defend his *Doctrine*. By the Way, this Steadineſs ill agrees with the Explanation of his *Opinions*, which 'tis pretended he made before the Biſhops, and which is repreſented as full of *Equivocations* and *Evaſions*. The Truth is, this diſguiſing his Sentiments is little conformable to his natural Temper, which was far enough from being fearful. Be this as it will, from that Time he

live

ived in quiet upon his *Cure* of *Lutterworth*; without any arther Diſturbance. Some Time after *Courtney* Archiſhop of *Canterbury*, Succeſſor of *Simon Sudbury* beheadd by the *Kentiſh* Rebels, ſummoned a *Provincial Synod* at *London*, wherein *Wickliff*'s *Doctrine* was condemned. An Hiſtorian affirms, that *Wickliff* was cited, and that he explained his *Opinions* in a manner very different from the *iteral Senſe* of the Words. But as the *Records* of the *Syod* mention nothing of his appearing, in all likelihood he Hiſtorian has confounded this *Synod* with that of *Lambeth*.

His Doctrine condemned by a Synod.

Knighton.

The condemning *Wickliff's Doctrine*, prevented it not rom ſpreading all over the Kingdom, and that with ſuch ucceſs, that the Hiſtorian above mentioned aſſures us, wo Men could not be found together, and one not a *ollard*. *Richard* II having permitted the Biſhops to proecute and impriſon *Hereticks*, as was related in the Hiſory of his Reign, ſeveral *Lollards* were cited before their eſpective Biſhops. Some recanted, and others bravely ood the Shock. But among theſe laſt, there was not one elivered over to the *ſecular Arm*, there being as yet no aw to that Purpoſe. 'Twas not till the next Reign hat thoſe *horrid Executions* commenced in *England*. So hat in ſpite of the Oppoſition of the Biſhops, *Wickliff*'s *enets* flew over the Kingdom with a wonderful Swiftneſs, ecauſe the *Clergy* were not at Liberty to employ the only leans they have all along thought proper to root out *ereſy*. It ſeems that the Biſhops durſt not attack *Wickff* perſonally, for fear of having their Ignorance too uch diſplayed by his ſuperiour *Learning*. Be that as it ill, *Wickliff* was ſuffered to paſs his Days quietly at *utterworth* till his Death in 1384. It is probable, that Proceſs of Time his Followers made ſome Additions his *Doctrine*, and that hence it is that they have aſcrid to him whatever his Diſciples advanced.

Wickliff's Followers increaſe.

The Loſs of their Maſter diſheartened not his Follow. They continued to preach and maintain their *Opi-ns* with the ſame Courage he had done when alive. he Progreſs their Doctrine daily made, became at length

ſo conſiderable, that in 1386, *the two Houſes of Parliament* thought themſelves obliged to petition the King to take Care that the *Church* and *State* received no Detriment by the *novel Opinions* of the *Lollards*. Whereupon the King appointed *Commiſſioners* to peruſe *Wickliff*'s Books; but this Commiſſion was but very faintly executed.

The Wickliffites *ſeparate from the reſt of the Church.*

In 1389 the *Wickliffites* or *Lollards* began to ſeparate from the *Church of Rome*, and to appoint *Prieſts* from among themſelves to perform *Divine Service*, after their Way. Though from Time to Time the Biſhops proſecuted them, yet it was not done very rigorouſly. Their Aim ſeemed to be only to hinder them from pleading Preſcription. Beſides, a *Petition* preſented to the King by a former Parliament, praying him to revoke the Power he had granted the Biſhops to impriſon *Hereticks*, reſtrained the moſt forward.

Remonſtrances to the Commons.

But in 1395 the Endeavours of the *Lollards*, in the King's Abſence, to get their *Doctrine* confirmed by the Parliament, put the Biſhop's upon taking other Meaſures. The pretended *Hereticks* finding they were backed by vaſt Numbers of followers, preſented to the *Houſe of Commons* a Remonſtrance, containing theſe twelve Articles.

I. That when the *Church of England*, treading in the Steps of the *Church of Rome*, began to make an ill uſe of her *Temporalities*, *Faith* and *Charity* began to diſappear.

II. That the *Engliſh Prieſthood* derived from *Rome*, and pretending to a Power ſuperiour to *Angels*, is not the *Prieſthood* ſettled by *Chriſt* upon his *Apoſtles*.

III. That the *Celebacy* of the *Clergy*, was the Occaſion of Abundance of ſcandalous Irregularities in the *Church*.

IV. That the Doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation*, renders the greateſt Part of *Chriſtendom* guilty of *Idolatry*.

V. That *Exorciſms*, *Benedictions*, pronounced over *Water*, *Bread*, *Oil*, over the *Stones* for the *Altar*, the *Church-Walls*, Prieſts-*Veſtments*, *Mitres*, *Croſſes*, *Pilgrims-Staffs*, have more of *Conjuring* than *Religion* in them.

VI. That

VI. That it was a great Crime, to join in the ſame Perſon *Eccleſiaſtical* and *Civil* Offices.

VII. That *Prayers for the Dead*, wherein one Perſon is preferred to another, are not conformable to the *Charity* preſcribed by the *Goſpel*.

VIII. That *Pilgrimages*, and *Offerings* made to *Images* and *Croſſes*, and eſpecially the *Pictures* repreſenting the *Holy Trinity*, are a ſort of *Idolatry*.

IX. That *Auricular Confeſſion*, ſerves only to make the *Prieſts* proud, and by letting them into the *Secrets* of the *Penitent*, gives Opportunities for Abundance of Sins, and Scandalous Intrigues.

X. That the taking away any Man's Life, either in War, or in Courts of Juſtice, is contrary to the Doctrine of the *Goſpel*, which is a Diſpenſation of *Grace* and *Mercy*.

XI. That the Vow of *ſingle Life*, undertaken by Women, is the Occaſion of numberleſs Diſorders, and of the Murder of Multitudes of Children unbaptized, or even before they are born.

XII. That it is neceſſary to baniſh from *Civil Society*, all *uſeleſs Trades*, which ſerve only to ſupport *Pride* and *Luxury*.

All theſe *Articles* were backed with Proofs too long to be inſerted here.

This *Remonſtrance*, which in all Appearance had been privately approved of by ſeveral *Members* of Parliament, alarmed the *Clergy* to that Degree, that they immediately deputed the Archbiſhop of *York* and Biſhop of *London* to the King, praying him to return with all Speed into *England*, that he might by his Preſence and Authority check the Growth of the *new Doctrine*, as hath been related in the Reign of *Richard* II.

Some Time after, *Thomas Arundel*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſummoned a *Synod* at *London*, where eighteen Articles extracted out of *Wickliff*'s Book, entituled *Trialogus*, were condemned.

Theſe are the moſt remarkable Matters relating to *Wickliff* and his *Doctrine*, which happened before the Depoſing

of

of *Richard* II. But I must not forget to add, that certain *Bohemian* Students, being at *Oxford* when *Wickliff* began to publish his Doctrine, they carried it into their own Country, where it spread wonderfully. It is Time now to proceed to other Affairs relating to the *English Church*, and in the first Place to the *Councils*.

COUNCILS. *Council of* Lyons. 1274.

I shall begin this Head with the *General Council* of *Lyons*, which was opened *May* 1, 1274. This Council was summoned chiefly to receive the *Greeks* into the *Communion* of the Church of *Rome*, from which they had separated a second Time, upon the *Latins* being driven out of *Constantinople*. This Union indeed was brought about, but it was of no long Continuance. Another Reason of the *Council*'s Meeting, was to restore the Affairs of the *Christians* in *Syria*. As great Matters were to be done for them, the Pope demanded a *Subsidy* of every *Church*. It was easy to see that the Pope had a View to his own Interest in this Demand. His Predecessors had so frequently made use of this Means of heaping up Money, that People could not be deceived. However, not a Bishop dared to open his Mouth against it, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* who was there, kept Silence as well as the rest. *Richard de Peckham* Dean of *Lincoln*, was the only Person that ventured to stand by the Interests of *England*. He boldly said, that the *English Clergy* were not in a Condition to contribute towards the War, by Reason of the continual Exactions of the Court of *Rome*, which had scarce left them wherewithal to subsist. This Freedom cost him his *Deanery*, which the Pope deprived him of that Instant. Hence we may judge of the Liberty of speaking their Minds in this *Council*. I come now to the *Councils* held in *England* during the four Reigns before-mentioned.

Synod of Reading. 1279.

The First was convened in the Reign of *Edward* I, by *John de Peckham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. In this *Council* was ratified what had been decreed in the General Council at *Lyons*, concerning *Pluralities*. After which the Archbishop passed some *Canons* directly contrary to

the

the *Prerogative* Royal, and for that Reaſon he was obliged to repeal them afterwards.

The *Firſt* decreed *Excommunication* againſt ſuch as ſued for the King's *Letters* to prohibit certain Things from being tried in the *Eccleſiaſtical Court*.

The *Second* rendered liable to the ſame Penalty the Magiſtrates which refuſed to impriſon *excommunicated* Perſons, after the Forty Days allowed in the *Canons*.

By the *Third*, they that forcibly took away the *Church*'s Lands were likewiſe to be *excommunicated*.

The *Fourth* prohibited under the ſame Penalty the ſelling of Proviſions to the Archbiſhop of *York*, whenever he ſhould come within the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Juriſdiction.

This was a ſhort and ſure Way of putting an End to his Diſpute with the Archbiſhop of *York*, about the carrying the *Croſs*. So that in Caſe this *Canon* had not been annulled, the Archbiſhop of *York* would have been at a great Loſs how to be preſent at the Parliament, which was generally held at *London*.

The *Fifth*, ordered the Copies of *Magna Charta* ſhould be ſet up on Church-Doors, that every one might read them.

Hence may be judged what Temper this Prelate, who had long ſojourned at *Rome*, was come back with to *England*, and how far he would have extended the *Church*'s Power, if the King had not oppoſed his Deſigns.

In 1281, the ſame Archbiſhop convened at *Lambeth* a Provincial *Synod*, where, among others, the following *Canons* were made. *Synod of* Lambeth. 1281.

The Iſt enjoyned the *Prieſts* to acquaint the more ignorant Sort of the *Laiety*, that the Body and Blood of *Jeſus Chriſt* are contained under the ſingle *Species* of Bread; and that what they receive in the *Chalice*, is only mere Wine, to help them to ſwallow the other *Species* the better. For as the *Canon* goes on, the Blood of our Lord is allowed only to the *Prieſts* that celebrate *Divine Service* in theſe leſſer *Churches*.

The

The IIId Canon forbids Priests to re-baptize th Children that had been baptized by the *Laiety*, unles there is Reason to doubt whether the Child was baptize or not. In that Case, the *Canon* allowed the *Priest* t baptize the Infant, with these conditional Words, *If thou art not already baptized, I baptize thee in the Name of the Father*, &c.

The Xth enjoyned the *Priests* to instruct the People committed to their Charge in plain intelligible Language without making use of *Scholastick* Terms and Distinctions Then the *Canon* lays down the Heads they were to expound upon, and the Sense they were to take them in.

Synod of Exeter. 1287.

In 1287 *Peter Quivil* Bishop of *Exeter*, held a *Diocesan Synod*, which enjoined that Care should be taken t instruct the People concerning the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*. The Priests were to let them know that th Adoration of the *Host* could not be carried too far, sinc *they received under the Species of Bread, that which hun upon the Cross for their Salvation, and under the Species o Wine, the Blood which was shed from* Christ's *Side*. It seems that we may infer from hence, that in the *Church o Exeter*, the *Laiety* received the Sacrament *Then* in bot Kinds.

Synod against the Templars 1310.

We meet but with one remarkable *Council* in the Reig of *Edward* II, which was held at *London* in 1310, whe the *Templars* were condemned to perpetual Banishment.

Synod at London. 1328.

In 1328, in the Reign of *Edward* III, *Mepham* Arch bishop of *Canterbury* held a Provincial *Synod* at *Londo* By this *Synod*, *Good-Fryday*, and the *Conception of th Blessed Virgin* were made *Holy-Days*, and all Work forbid den: But however the Country People were allowed t follow their Business after *Divine Service*. All *Monk Hermits*, *Canons Regular* were prohibited taking *Confessions* A *Canon* at a *Synod* in *Oxford*, which admitted *Appeal* only after a definitive Sentence, was revoked.

Synod of Magfield. 1332.

In 1332 *Mepham* held another Provincial *Synod* *Magfield*, which settled all the Holy-Days kept in th Province of *Canterbury*. Among the *Festivals* we fin

St. *George*'s Day, and St. *Auguſtin*'s firſt Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Stratford Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, held at *London* in 1342 a Provincial *Synod*, the moſt remarkable *Canons* whereof are theſe: *Synod at* London *againſt the mendicant* Fryars.

The IVth enjoyned the Monks who had the *Appropriations* of *Pariſhes*, to relieve the Poor in Proportion to the Value of the *Benefice*. In Caſe of failure, the Biſhops were impowered to compel them to their Duty by ſequeſtring the Profits.

The IXth was levelled againſt the *mendicant Fryars*, who abuſing the Confidence dying Perſons put in them, perſwaded them to make *Wills* prejudicial to their *Families*. As the *Synod* durſt not directly come upon the *Fryars*, who were under the Pope's Protection, thoſe who were prevailed on to diſpoſe of their Eſtates in ſo unreaſonable a manner, were barred the Benefit of *Chriſtian Burial*.

During the Reign of *Richard* II, we find no *Councils* worth remarking, but thoſe which were held on the Score of *Wickliff* and his Followers. But as theſe have been mentioned elſewhere, it will be needleſs to repeat here what has been already related.

Although *England* was no more concerned than other *Chriſtian States* in the *Schiſms* which happened in the *Church*, I don't think it proper however wholly to paſs them over in Silence. The Knowledge of them is not only abſolutely neceſſary for the underſtanding the *Eccleſiaſtical* Hiſtory of thoſe Times, but one may affirm in ſome Meaſure, that the beſt Part of the ſaid Hiſtory conſiſts of what followed from theſe ſcandalous Schiſms. *Of the Schiſms.*

From the Beginning of the Reign of *Edward* I, to the End of that of *Richard* II, *Chriſtendom* was divided by two *Schiſms*. The firſt laſted not long. *Clement* V, having removed the *Papal Chair* to *Avignon*, died there in 1314, and was ſucceeded by *John* XXII, who kept his Reſidence at the ſame Place. This Pope's Election was after a very extraordinary manner. This *Holy See* having remained vacant above two Years after the Death of *Clement*, becauſe the *Cardinals* could not agree, they met at John XXII *and* Nicholas V.

length at *Lyons* in 1316 in order to chuſe a Pope. But the ſame Diviſions ſtill reigning among them, they agreed to refer the Matter to Cardinal *d' Oſſa* Biſhop of *Porto*, who, without any more to do, nominated himſelf, and took the Name of *John* XXII. At the ſame Time the Empire was divided by a double Election, one Part of the Electors having given their Voices for *Lewis of Bavaria*, and the other for *Frederick* Duke of *Auſtria*. *John*'s Refuſal to acknowledge the firſt for Emperor, occaſioned a Quarrel between them, which daily increaſed till 1328, when *Lewis* going over into *Italy* degraded Pope *John*, and then got *Peter de Corbaria* a *Cordelier*, to be elected, who took the Name of *Nicholas* V, and reſided at *Rome*. *Nicholas* being ſupported by the Emperor and the *General* of the *Cordeliers*, kept his Ground ſome Time. But at laſt the Emperor having been forced to quit *Italy*, and Diſſenſions ariſing among the *Cordeliers*, *Nicholas* having none to ſtand by him, was taken and carried to *Avignon*, where he asked *John*'s Pardon with a Halter about his Neck. After this Submiſſion, he was put into cloſe Confinement, where he died in a few Months.

Schiſm of Urban VI. *and* Clement VII.

The ſecond *Schiſm* between *Urban* VI, and *Clement* VII, was more conſiderable and of much longer Continuance. I have related the Riſe of it in the Hiſtory of *Richard* II, for which reaſon I ſhall only report the Conſequences of it, to the Time I have confined my ſelf here.

To *Urban* VI Pope of *Rome*, ſucceeded in 1389 *Boniface* IX, who as well as *Clement* made as if he were deſirous to put an End to the *Schiſm*; but nothing was farther from their Intentions. *Clement* VII, who died at *Avignon* in 1394, had for Succeſſor *Benedict* VIII.

All *Chriſtendom* being tired and offended at the *Schiſm*, the Court of *France* endeavoured to perſwade the two Popes to reſign their Dignity, that another Pope might be *canonically* elected. They both conſented to it, but broke their Word. *Benedict* eſpecially uſed ſo many Shifts, that the King of *France* reſolved to withdraw his Kingdom from his Obedience. To that Purpoſe, he gained the

Cardinals

Cardinals of the Pope's Party, who promiſed to deſert him: but *Benedict* having taken notice of it, fortified himſelf in his Palace at *Avignon*, by introducing a Garriſon of *Arragonians*. He was beſieged by Marſhal *Boucicaut*; but quickly after the *Marſhal* had Orders to raiſe the Siege. Thus by the Intrigues of ſome of the Princes of the Blood of *France*, the *Schiſm* ſtill continued notwithſtanding the King's Endeavours to cloſe it.

Nothing more remains but to give a ſhort Account of ſuch *Eccleſiaſticks* as were eminent for their Merit and Learning, in the Reigns of the three *Edwards* and *Richard* II.

Robert Kilwarby, a *Cordelier* or *Minorite*, was Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in the Reign of *Edward* I, and a Prelate of eminent Learning for the Age he lived in. He wrote ſeveral *Theological* Tracts, which were in great repute in thoſe Days. His Merit having raiſed him to the Dignity of a *Cardinal*, he reſigned his Archbiſhoprick, and went and lived at *Rome*, where he died. Kilwarby.

Robert Burnell, Biſhop of *Bath*, was choſen Succeſſor to *Kilwarby*; but the Pope, by the *Plenitude* of his *Apoſtolick* Power, gave the *See* of *Canterbury* to *John Pecham* an *Engliſh Franciſcan*, who was *Auditor* of his *Chamber*. This Prelate had great Conteſts with *Edward* I, as well on the Score of the *Canons* of his *Synod* before-mentioned, as upon other Accounts. The Quarrel went ſo far, that the King was upon the Point of baniſhing him the Realm. He paſſed for a very learned Prelate, particularly in the *Civil* and *Canon* Law. There are ſome *Theological* Tracts of his, and ſeveral *Commentaries* upon the *Holy Scriptures*. Burnell. Pecham.

Robert Winchelſey, Succeſſor of *Pecham*, preferred his Archbiſhoprick to a *Cardinalate* which the Pope would have honoured him with. This Prelate is chiefly praiſed for his *Charities*: He uſed to relieve four Thouſand Poor People twice a Week at his Houſe, beſides his maintaining many young Scholars at both the *Univerſities*. Theſe Charities gained him the Affections of the People, who after his Death, flocked in Crouds to his Tomb, and Winchelſey.

payed him the Regard of a *Saint*. Mean while this ſame Archbiſhop, ſo beloved by the People, had great Conteſts with *Edward* I, for having too far entered into the Intrigues of the Lords who oppoſed the Deſigns of the King. The Pope, whom *Edward* knew how to make his Friend, cited the Archbiſhop to *Rome*, to juſtify his Conduct, and laid him under a *Suſpenſion*. It was not till the Reign of *Edward* II that he was reſtored.

Britton. *John Britton* Biſhop of *Hereford*, chiefly excelled in the Knowledge of the *Common Law*. He wrote a Book much eſteemed, *de Juribus Anglicanis*, and died in 1275.

Duns Scotus. *Johannes Duns Scotus*, commonly called *Doctor Subtilis*, lived in the Reign of *Edward* II, and is too well known to need inſiſting upon. It is enough to remark, that he differed in many Things from the *Opinions* of *Thomas Aquinas*, and was a great Stickler for the *immaculate* Conception of the *Bleſſed Virgin*. After he had been *Profeſſor* in Divinity at *Oxford* and *Paris*, he died at *Cologn* in the ſame Office, in 1309 or 1310.

Stapleton. *Walter Stapleton* Biſhop of *Exeter*, was eminent for his *Learning*, and Capacity in the Adminiſtration of the Publick Affairs, and particularly for his Loyalty to *Edward* II his Sovereign, for which he loſt his Life, as was related in the Hiſtory of that Prince.

Stratford. *Stratford* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* under *Edward* III, was more famous as a *Stateſman*, than as an Archbiſhop. I have related elſewhere his Conteſt with *Edward* III, who accuſed him of Miſdemeanours. But afterwards the King commanded the Accuſations entered againſt him to be cancelled, as containing Things neither True nor Reaſonable.

Bradwardin. *Thomas Bradwardin* Succeſſor of *Stratford*, was a great *Philoſopher* and *Mathematician*, and withal a very learned *Divine*. He was commonly called *the profound Doctor*, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe Days of giving ſuch *Titles* to thoſe that were eminent for their *Learning*. He wrote a Book againſt the *Pelagians*, which gained him a great Reputation, intitled, *Of the Cauſe of God*. But what rendered him ſtill more eſteemed than his Learning,

was

was his *Humility*, and his *Zeal* to inſtruct the People committed to his Care. Before his Promotion to the *Archiepiſcopal See*, he was Confeſſor to *Edward* III, and attended that great Prince in all his Expeditions. Some have done him the Honour to ſay, that the Progreſs of *Edward's* Arms in *France* was in a great Meaſure owing to his prudent Counſels.

William Occam, of the *Order* of St. *Francis*, Diſciple of *Duns Scotus*, is famous for being Head of the *Nominaliſts* againſt the *Realiſts*, of which his Maſter *Scotus* was Chief. It would be needleſs to explain here, wherein conſiſted the Difference between theſe two *Sects* of Philoſophers, whom God be thanked, the *publick Schools* are now ſeldom troubled with. Occam.

Richard Fitz-Ralph Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, and born at *Dundalk* in *Ireland*, was a great Enemy to the *mendicant Fryars*. He attacked them vigorouſly in his *Sermons* preached at *London*, wherein he undertook to make good the nine Propoſitions following. Fitz-Ralph.

I. That with Reſpect to the Place where *Confeſſions* are to be made, the *Pariſh-Churches* are to be preferred before thoſe of the *Fryars*.

II. That *Pariſhoners* ought rather to confeſs to a *Curate*, than to a *Fryar*.

III. That notwithſtanding *Jeſus Chriſt* was *Poor* whilſt upon Earth, yet he never affected *Poverty*.

IV. That *Chriſt* did never beg, nor make Poſſeſſion of *voluntary Poverty*.

V. That he never taught People to make Profeſſion of *Beggary*.

VI. That *Chriſt* held the contrary, *namely*, that Men ought not to beg by Inclination and Choice, but only when forced to it by Neceſſity.

VII. That to profeſs *Beggary*, is a Thing contrary to *Religion* and *common Senſe*.

VIII. That to be under Engagements of *voluntary Poverty*, is not agreeable to the *Rule* of the *Fryars Minorites* or *Cordeliers*.

IX. That

IX. That the *Bull* of *Alexander* IV, which condemns the *Libel* of the *Doctors* of *Paris* cenſures none of theſe eight Propoſitions.

Theſe Articles, which attacked the *Fryars Mendicant* in the moſt ſenſible Part, it being by their *voluntary Poverty* that they had gained and preſerved their Credit with the People, were carried to the Pope, who cited the Archbiſhop before him. He appeared, and couragiouſly maintained all he had advanced. But before this Affair was decided, he died at *Avignon* 1360. He tranſlated the *Bible* into *Engliſh*, and wrote two Treatiſes, one in Defence of the *Pariſh-Prieſts*, againſt the *Fryars*; the other, concerning thoſe whoſe Right it was to take *Confeſſions*.

Trevisa. *John de Treviſa* a *Corniſh*-Man, who lived in the Reign of *Edward* III, tranſlated the Bible and ſeveral other Books into *Engliſh*. He was of the ſame *Opinion* as the Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, and maintained that *Jeſus Chriſt* ſent *Apoſtles*, but never *mendicant Fryars*, to preach the Goſpel.

Theſe are almoſt all that were eminent for their *Piety* and *Learning* during the four Reigns I have gone through, unleſs we ſhould reckon among the famous and learned Men, a Croud of *Schoolmen*, who, in my Opinion, deſerve not that Rank. Some add, the Founders of *Colleges* and *Monaſteries*, as holding a conſiderable Place among the *Devout*. But theſe are too ambiguous Marks of *Piety* to be depended upon. A Man may judge by this ſmall Number of learned Perſons, how much the *Sciences* were degenerated, ſince among all the above-named, hardly is there to be found one *truly* Learned. In ſpite of the Prejudices of *Wickliff*'s Enemies, I ſhall make no Scruple to except that *Doctor*, of whom I have already ſaid enough to excuſe me from adding any Thing more upon his Account.

The moſt noted Hiſtorians of the *Fourteenth Century* were :

THOMAS

THOMAS WIKES. His Hiſtory begins at the *Conqueſt*, and ends at the Death of *Edward* I, 1304. He was *Canon Regular* of *Oſney* near *Oxford*, and writes as clearly and fully (eſpecially in ſome Paſſages relating to the Barons-Wars) as ſo compendious a *Chronicle* as his is would allow him to do. Dr. *Gale* has publiſhed this Hiſtory in his *Hiſt. Ang.* Vol. II. Wikes.

The Author of the *Chronicle*, which goes under the Name of *John Brompton*, Abbot of *Joreval* or *Jorvaulx*, in *York-ſhire*, lived about this Time. The *Chronicle* begins with the Coming of *Auſtin* in 588, and ends with the Death of *Richard* I, 1198. It is plain from this Hiſtory's taking no notice of the Foundation of that Monaſtery, *&c.* that neither *Brompton*, nor any Member of that Religious Houſe was Author of this Chronicle, but that it was procured by that *Abbot*, and by him beſtowed on his Monaſtery. The Author (whoever he be) is very full in his Collections for the *Saxon* Times, but takes no notice of the Chronological Part in the whole Story of the Heptarchy. He gives the *Saxon* Laws at large, and tranſlates pretty honeſtly. This *Chronicle* is publiſhed among the *Decem Scriptores.* Brompton.

RANULPH HIGDEN, Monk of St. *Werburg's* in *Cheſter*, where he died very aged in 1377, was a downright Plagiary. He falls foul on *William* of *Malmsbury* in many Places. He ſtiles his Work, *Polychronicon.* What he taught relating to the Times of the *Britains* and *Saxons*, has been lately publiſhed by Dr. *Gale*, Vol. I. who commends him for preſerving many Remains out of antient *Chronicles*, now wholly loſt or miſlaid. Higden.

MATTHEW a *Benedictine* Monk of *Weſtminſter*, ended his Hiſtory at the Year 1307, though it was afterwards continued by other Hands. He was a choice Collector of the Flowers of former Hiſtorians, from whence he is uſually ſtiled *Florilegus.* He entirely tranſcribes Matthew *of* Weſtminſter.

ſcribes *Matthew Paris.* His moſt eminent Continua
Merimuth was *Adam Merimuth* Canon-Regular of St. *Paul's*, a
an eminent *Civilian,* who in his latter Days gave him
wholly to the Reading and Writing *Engliſh* Hiſtory.
begins his Work at 1302, and reaches to 1380.

The End of VOL. IV.

1st. Genealogical Table of the Royal Family of Scotland from Malcolm II to Robert II.

The Scots pretend that Malcolm II was the 83 King of Scotland from Fergus I.

83 *Malcolm II.* K. of Scot. d. 1040.

Beatrix — Boada

84 *Duncan I.* K. of Scot. d. 1046. — 85 *Macbeth* K. of Scot. d. 1061. — Luctacus

86 *Malcolm III.* Canmoir, *Margaret of England Sister of Edgar Atheling.* d. 1097. — 87 *Donald VI* K. of Scot. expelld 1099.

Edward, *Slain wth his Father.* — Ethelred, *d. before his Father.* — 89 *Edgar* K. of Scot. d. 1109. — 90 *Alexander I.* K. of Scot. d. 1120. — 91 *David* K. of Scot. d. 1151. — Edmund — Matilda, *Henry I. K. of Eng.* — Maria, *Eustace E. of Bulloign.* — 88 *Duncan II.* Bastard, K. of Scot. imprisond 1103. — Bethoca

Henry, *Pr of Scot. d. before his Fa.* — Matilda, *1. Hen. III Emp. 2. Geoffrey E. of Anjou.* — Matilda, *Stephen K. of Eng.* — Hexilda, *N... Comin.*

92 *Malcolm IV.* K. of Scot. d. 1160. — 93 *William* K. of Scot. d. 1214. — David, *E. of Huntingdon Matilda of Chester.* — Ada, *N... E. of Holland.* — Marjory, *N....* — Will.m *Comin.*

94 *Alexander II.* K. of Scot. d. 1249. — Isabella, *Rob.t de Ross.* — Ilda, *N... de Dunbar.* — Margaret, *Eustace de Vesci.* — Henry, *de Galithly* — Alfrick, *Will.m Say.* — Henry. David. John. — Margaret, *Alan de Galway.* — Isabella, *N... Bruce.* — Ada, *Hen. Hastings.* — Florence, *E. of Holland.* — Alix, *N... de Pinkenny.* — Richard, *Comin.*

95 *Alexander III.* K. of Scot. d. 1283. — Margaret — Marjory, *Nich. de Soules.* — William, *de Ross.* — Patrick, *E. of Dunbar.* — William, *de Vesci.* — Patrick, *de Galithly.* — Will.m, *Say.* — Thomas, Christina. — Devergulda, *John Baliol.* — Marjory — Robert Bruce, *E. of Carick.* — John, *Hastings E. of Holl.* — William — Henry, *de Pinkenny.* — John, *Comin.*

David, *Alexander.* — Margaret, *Erick K. of Norway.* — Magoth — Nicholas, *de Soules.* — Robert, *de Ross.* — Patrick, *E. of Dunbar.* — John, *de Vesci.* — Will.m, *de Vesci.* — Alfrick, *Robt Werden.* — 97 *John Baliol* Made K. of Scot. by Ed. I. of Engl. — 98 *Robert I* Bruce, K. of Scot. d. 1329. — Edw.d *slain in Ireland.* — David. Marjory.

96 *Margaret* of Norway, *Q. of Scot. Contracted to Ed. Pr of Wales, Son of Edw. I. d. in coming over to Scot.*

Robert, *de Ross.* — Patrick, *E. of Dunbar.*

Agatha, *N... of Mandeville.* — 100 *Edward* Baliol, Made K. of Scot. by Ed. III. in the room of David II. & expelld by the Scots.

99 *David II.* K. of Scot. Joanna of Eng. d. 1370. — Margory, *Walter Stuart.* — Margaret Matilda.

After the Death of Margaret of Norway the Crown of Scot. was in dispute chiefly between John Baliol and Robert Bruce. The rest marked with Stars claimd it likewise, but were descended from Bastards, or the younger Branches of David E. of Huntington.

Roger, *de Mandeville.*

101 *Robert II.* Stuart, *King of Scot.*

Place this at the end of Vol. II.

A Genealogical Table of the Posterity of Edward III down to K. James I.

11
Edward III
Philippa of Haynault
d. 1377.

Edward *P. of Wales* *Joan of Kent* *d. 1371.*

Lionel *D. of Clarence* *1. Elizabeth de Burgh* *2. Violante of Milan* *d. 1368.*

Isabella *Ingelram de Courcy.*

Joanna *contracted to Alphonso X K. of Castile.*

John *of Gant* *D. of Lancaster.* *1. Blanch of Lancast.* *2. Constan. of Castile* *d. 1399.* *3. Catherine Roet.*

Mary *Jo.n of Montfort* *D. of Bretaign.*

Margaret *John Hastings* *E. of Pembroke.*

Edmund *Duke of York* *1. Isabella of Castile.* *2. Jane Holland.* *d. 1402.*

Thomas *D. of Glocester & Earl of Buckingham* *Eleanor Bohun* *d. 1397.*

12
RICHARD II *1. Ann of Luxenburgh.* *2. Isabella of France.* *deposed 1399.*

Philippa *Edmund Mortimer* *E. of March.*

Philippa *John I King of Portugal.*

Elizabeth *1. Jo.n Holland* *D. of Exeter.* *2. John Cornwall.*

13
HENRY IV *1. Mary Bohun.* *2. Joanna of Navarre.* *d. 1412.*

Catherine *Henry III K. of Castile.*

Joanna *Ralp Nevil* *Earl of* *Westmoreland.*

John *Beaufort* *E. of Somerset* *Marg.t Holland.*

Thomas *Beaufort* *Duke of Exeter* *d. 1428.*

Henry *Beaufort* *Card.l of Winchest.r* *d. 1447.*

Constantia *Tho: Spencer* *Earl of Glocester.*

Edward *D. of York* *slain at Azincourt* *1415*

Richard *E. of Cambr.* *Ann Mortim.* *beheaded 1415.*

Humphrey *Earl of Bucking-ham.*

Ann *1. Edmund Earl of Stafford* *2. Will. Bourchier E. of Essex.*

Joan *Gilbert L.d Talbot*

Elizabeth *Jo.n Mowbray* *D. of Norfolk*

Philippa *Mar. thrice* *d. without* *Children.*

Roger *E. of March* *Eleanor Holland* *d. 1399.*

Edmund —

John *beheaded 1425.*

Blanche *Lewis Count Palatine.*

Philippa *Erick K. of Denmark.*

14
HENRY V *Catherine of France* *d. 1422.*

Thomas *Duke of Clarence* *d. 1420.*

John *D. of Bedford* *1. Ann of Burgundy* *2. Jaqueline of Luxemburgh.* *d. 1435.*

Humphrey *D. of Glocester* *1. Jaqueline of Haynault* *2. Elean.r Cobham* *d. 1446.*

Henry *D. of Somer-set.*

Joanna *James I K. of Scotland.*

Margaret *Tho: Courtney* *Earl of Devonshire.*

John *D. of Somerset.* *Marg.t Beauchamp.*

Edmund *Duke of Somerset.*

Thomas *E. of Perth.*

***Richard** *D. of York* *see on the left hand of Lionel D. of Clarence.*

Humphrey *Duke of Buckingham.*

Henry *Earl of Essex.*

Edmund *E. of March* *Ann Strafford.*

Ann *Rich.d of York* *E. of Lambridge.*

Eleanor *Edward Courtney* *E. of Devonsh.*

15
HENRY VI *Margaret of Anjou* *d. 1472.*

Margaret *1. John de Lapole Duke of Suffolk.* *2. Edmund Tudor* *3. Thomas Stanley.*

Henry *Duke of Somer-set.*

Edmund *Duke of Somerset.*

Humphrey *who died before his Father.*

****Richard** *Duke of York* *Cecil Nevil.* *d. 1460.*

Edward *Prince of Wales* *d. 1472.*

19
HENRY VII *Elizabeth of York* *the Da. of Edward IV.* *d. 1509.*

Henry *Duke of Buckingham* *beheaded in 1485* *in the Reign of Rich. III.*

16
EDWARD IV *Eliz: Woodvil* *d. 1483.*

Edmund *Earl of Rutland* *Slain at Wakefield* *1460.*

George *D. of Clarence* *Isabella Nevil* *d. 1477.*

18
RICHARD III *Ann Nevil* *d. 1485.*

Elizabeth *John de Lapole* *Duke of Suffolk.*

Margaret *Charles D. of Burgundy.*

Ann *1. Jo.n Holland* *2. Thomas* *St. Leger.*

Arthur *Catherine of Arragon.*

20
HENRY VIII *1. Cath. of Arragon* *2. Ann Bolleyn* *d. 1546.* *3. Jane Seymour.*

Margaret *1. James IV K. of Scot.* *2. Archibald Douglas Earl of Angus.*

Mary *1. Lewis XII King of France* *2. Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk.*

Edward *D. of Buckingham* *beheaded in 1521 in the reign of Hen. VIII.*

17
EDWARD V *d. 1483.*

Richard *Duke of York* *d. 1483.*

Elizabeth *Henry VII.* —
Cecilia *N. Lord Wells.* —
Ann *Tho: Duke of Norfolk.*

Catherine *Wm Courtney* *Earl of Devonshire.* —
Bridgit *a Nun.*

Edw.d *Earl of Warwick* *beheaded* *1499.*

Margaret *Richard de Lapole* *beheaded* *1541.*

Edward *Prince of Wales d. 1484.*

John *Earl of Lincoln.*

Edmund *Duke of Suffolk* *beheaded.*

Richard *Margaret of Clarence.*

22
MARY *Philip II. K. of Spain* *d. 1558.*

23
ELIZABETH *d. 1602.*

21
EDWARD VI *d. 1553.*

James V *Mary of Lorrain* *d. 1542.*

Margaret *Douglas Math. Stuart* *E. of Lenox.*

Frances *Hen. Gray* *E. of Dorset.*

Eleanor *N... Clifford* *Earl of* *Cumberland.*

Henry *L.d Montague.*

Arthur

Geoffroy

Reginald Poole *Cardinal. d. 1558.*

Mary *2. of Scotland* *Henry Steuart* *beheaded* *1586.*

Henry *L.d Darnley* *K. of Scotland* *Mary Stuart* *d. 1566.*

Esme *Duke of Lenox.*

Charles *Stuart.*

Jane *Gray Guilford Dudley* *beheaded 1553.*

Catherine *Edw.d Seymour* *Earl of Hartford.*

Mary *Henry Keys*

24
JAMES VI I *Ann of Denmark* *d. 1625.*

Lewis *Duke of Lenox & Richmond.*

Esme *Earl of March.*

Elizabeth *Henry Earl of Norfolk*

Arbella *William Earl of Hartford* *d. 1615.*

I do not pretend to give a compleat Genealogy of y.e Posterity of Edward III. down to K. James I. It would be an endless piece of work. For as in England the Women & their Descendants have a right of Succeeding to the Crown, when it comes to their turn, to make therefore a compleat and exact Genealogy, it would be necessary in it to comprehend all the Women descended from Edward III. with all their Posterity, both Males & Females, which would take in the Genealogys not only of the noblest Families of Europe, but also of most of the best Families of England. That would indeed be proper, but very difficult to be done. When Philip II K. of Spain was preparing to invade England, in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, he had a Genealogy drawn, whereby it appeared that he was sprung from John of Gant Duke of Lancaster the 3.d Son of Edward III. by Philippa & Catherine two of this Dukes Daughters, one of which married John I King of Portugal, & the other Hen: III King of Castile. There are still several Families in England that are descended from Edward III by Lionel Duke of Clarence his 2.d Son, and Edmund Duke of York his 4.th Son. But it would be impossible to place 'em all in one Genealogical Table. I have therefore set down here no more than I thought necessary for the understanding this History.

Clark.e

Place this at the end of Vol. IV.

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